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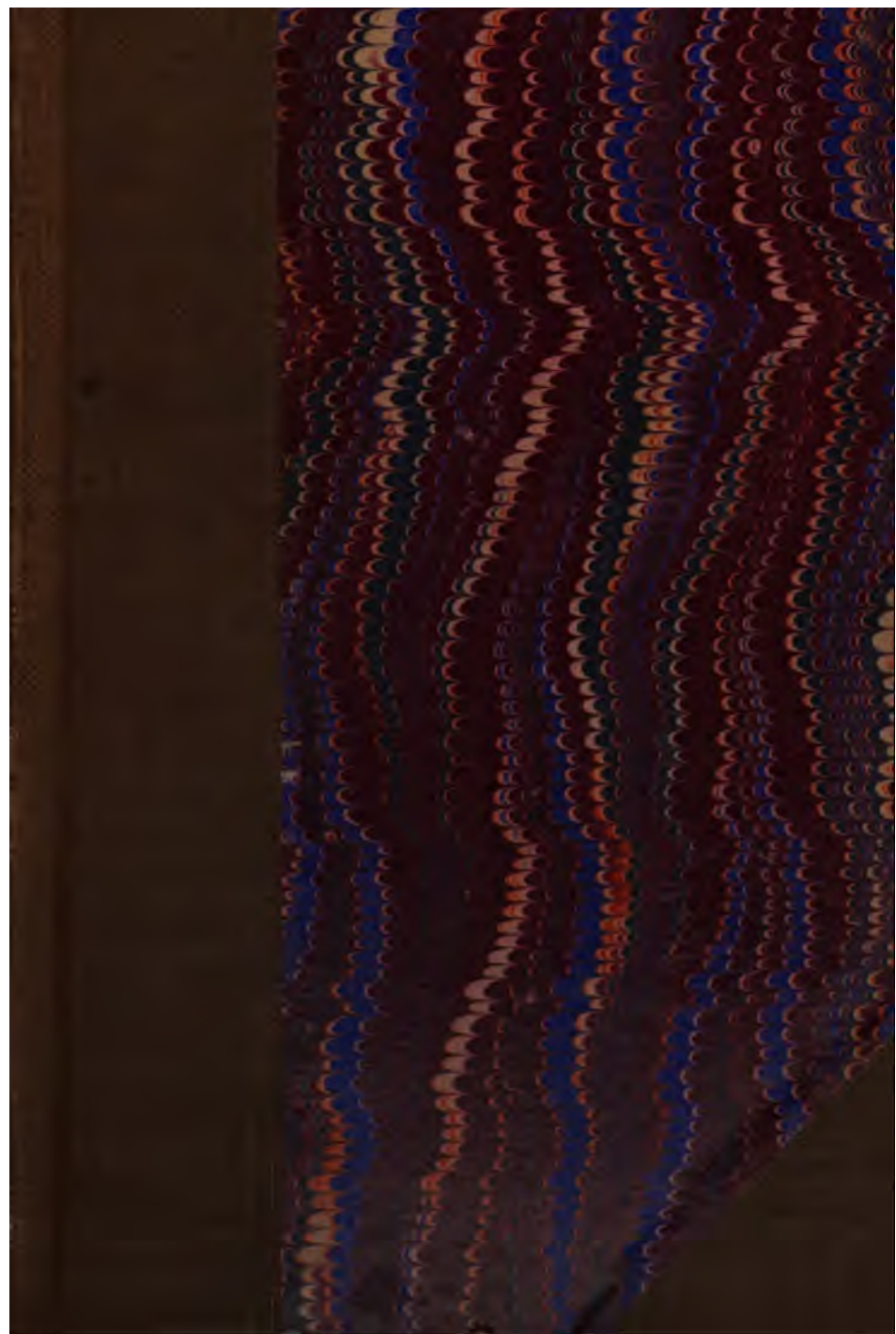
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*This book belonged to the  
late Hugh Edward Egerton,  
Beit Professor of Colonial  
History in the University of  
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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1799.



LONDON:

Printed by T. Burtge, No. 31, Little Queen-Street,

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HOOD.

ings, the republic of letters would sink under its own weight. Classifications, results, conclusions, and maxims, long perhaps the subjects of discussion, become the elements of new compositions.

The necessity of compression, in our European campaigns, is not lessened by the co-incident movements of armies in Syria, Egypt, and India; nor yet by the negotiations at Rastadt and Seltz: a scene of political intrigue bearing some analogy to the wide and various field of action.

The time that was necessary for the arrangement of so many materials into a plan, not entirely disproportionate to our usual dimensions, and for the correction of errors, by recent and undoubted information, will, we trust, afford not only an apology for being somewhat later in the publication of this volume, than was promised in our last; but afford a new proof of our earnest desire, by all means, to render our work as complete and satisfactory as possible. On the whole, our engagements to the public, with regard to the time of bringing up this work, which had indeed fallen greatly behind, have been now fulfilled. It may be said that we have now very nearly overtaken time. It shall be our care to keep an equal pace with this in future; though at a due distance. The Annual Register is not addressed to the same curiosity that thirsts after newspapers, but to curiosity of a higher order: that of seeing plans and systems unfolded by events; and these events, from new relations and combinations, deriving not only a degree of novelty, but greater interest and importance.

THE

# THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1799.

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## THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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### CHAP. I.

*A general View of the Year 1799.—Hazardous Situation of Buonaparte, in consequence of the Destruction of the French Fleet.—Present State of Egypt.—Mamelukes.—Beys.—Arabs.—Jews.—Greeks.—Cophits.—Force, Land and Marine, under the Command of Buonaparte.—Various Cures of Buonaparte.—Means of maintaining the Army.—And of recruiting and preserving it.—Buonaparte respects himself, and gives Orders to his Officers to respect, the Prejudices of all the Egyptians.—His Proclamation to the People of Egypt.—At great Pains to propagate, in all Mahometan Countries, a Belief of his Veneration for Islamism and the Prophet.—Treachery and Punishment of the principal Sheick, or Shereef, of Alexandria.—Endeavours of Buonaparte to blend and harmonize the French and the Egyptians.—Measures taken for the Accomplishment of that Design.—Grand Feast at Cairo, on the Anniversary of the French Republic.—Great Ceremony at the annual opening of the Grand Canal of Catro.—Liberality of Buonaparte to the Egyptians.—Useful Institutions.—Government of Egypt attempted to be assimilated to the new Government in France.—Notables.—Departments.—And a general Assembly, or Divan, in Egypt.—Difficulty of operating and producing any permanent Change in the Minds of Barbarians.—Jealousies of the French.—Discontents.—Mur-*  
 VOL. XLI. murs.



## 2] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

*murs.—And Insurrections.—Particularly at Cairo.—This, with the others, subdued.—A general Amnesty.—Mourad Bey defeated, with great Loss.—And forced to retreat to the Mountains.—The French, under the Command of Desfais, in Possession of the best Part of Upper Egypt.*

THE year 1799 exhibited a strange picture of the world turned upside down: the sublime Porte at war with France, and in confederacy with Russia and Great Britain; the Turkish banners united with those of Russia and Austria; a nation of professed philosophers fraternizing, or attempting to fraternize with the votaries of Mahomet; the Roman catholic religion, with institutions therewith connected, persecuted by a power formerly one of its main supports, but, on the other hand, patronized by sovereign princes, sons of churches heretofore its zealous adversaries; \* a great and illustrious nation, once so highly distinguished by a devotion to the Romish faith, as well as political power, valour, and a sense of honour, in close alliance with infidels, and the murderers of a royal family, connected with their own, by ties of blood, by political treaties and interests, and a long intercourse of mutual and courtly politeness. Nor was the situation of the Spaniards less whimsical than it was deplorable. They dreaded the power of their ally; and their only safety lay in the victories of their enemies.

The destruction of the French fleet, which cut off Buonaparte from any certain and effectual support from France, or any of her conquered and dependent states, left him in such an isolated state, as those in which great commanders in

former times, when war was less complicated than now, have voluntarily precipitated themselves, by burning their own ships, in order to shew their troops that there was no retreat, and that they must perish or conquer. In this new and trying situation, his conduct became an object of more interest and curiosity, with ingenious minds, than ever it had been, in the most rapid career of his success and victory. The circumstances in which he was now placed were universally admitted to be pregnant with danger. Attention was every where awake to the measures and contrivances that would be suggested by genius and science, or to the resolution that might be prompted by despair.

But, in order that a tolerably just idea may be formed of both the advantages and disadvantages under which the invading army laboured in Egypt, the enemies they had to encounter, and the means that presented themselves for encountering them, it may be necessary to recall to the minds of some of our readers, a view of the present state of that ancient and celebrated country.

It was not with the Mammalukes and Arabs alone, that the French general had to contend, but with the climate, endemial distempers, and the usual perfidy of barbarians, united with the malignity of a proud and illiberal superstition. On the other hand, as there were certain

\* The dislike of the Greek church to the Pope's and the Western church, was formerly so great, that one of their patriarchs declared publicly, to a Romish legate, that he would rather see a turban, than the pope's tiara, on the great altar of Constantinople.

common principles and passions which united great numbers of the natives and others in hostility to Buonaparte, so there were circumstances also which divided them against one another; while the common weakness of human nature, prevailing over sentiments of religion and duty, subjected them to various arts of corruption, and thus tended naturally to draw them over to the side of the most powerful party.

Egypt is commonly reckoned to be about 500 miles in length, and 160 in breadth. The borders of the Nile, from Abyssinia to Grand Cairo, form a narrow valley, which, with lesser vallies or openings into the hilly country, and the deserts on either side, is called the Upper, and the whole country watered by the Nile from thence downward, the Lower Egypt. The two grand branches of the Nile, which part at Grand Cairo, together with the Mediterranean, into which they fall, form a triangle, called the Delta, of which the ocean is the base, the two branches of the Nile the sides, and Cairo the apex, or head. A great portion of this part of Egypt, being enriched by the overflowing of the Nile, is extremely fertile. No country in the world is more plentifully stored than Egypt with corn, rice, flesh, fish, sugar, fruits, vegetables, and oil. The Delta produces oranges, lemons, figs, dates, almonds, and plantains in the greatest abundance. The extent of this famous country, that is, of the part of it now inhabited, does not seem, at first sight, to correspond with the descriptions which have been left by the ancients of its twenty thousand towns and cities, several millions of inhabitants, and armies

kept by its ancient kings of three hundred thousand men, executing the pyramids, the labyrinths, the grottos of Thebes, the lake Moeris, vast canals, obelisks, temples, and pompous palaces. But although the reports by travellers, of Egypt, being even at this day a most delicious garden be unanimously reprobated, by all the French who have spoken or written on the subject, since their late expedition thither, the most intelligent and observant admit, that the extent to which the happy influence and dominion of the Nile, by means of industry and art, may have been carried in times past, and yet carried in times to come, very much farther than at present, from the banks of the river over the arid desert. As a heavy counter-balance to these natural advantages, except in our winter, and the latter part of the autumnal months, the heat of the climate is oppressive to all who are not accustomed to it. The winds are sometimes of such extreme heat and aridity, that their influence proves mortal. During the time these last, the streets are deserted, and the inhabitants almost blinded by drifts of sand, so subtle, that they insinuate themselves into the closest apartments: so, that from this enemy there is no such thing as a perfectly secure retreat. The vermin that infest this land, to strangers particularly, is intolerable. And, in addition to all these evils, it is frequently visited by the plague.

Since Egypt fell under the dominion of the Turks, it has been ostensibly governed by a pacha, or, as we pronounce the word, bashaw, who resided at Grand Cairo: but whose authority, for a long time past, has been more nominal than real.

#### 4] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

real. The *baslaw* was, in fact, little more than a sign and memorial of the respect formerly paid, and still professed, by all Musselmén, to the eldest son of the prophet. Under the *baslaw* there were inferior governors, under various designations, in the different provinces, but the power of the sword was in the hands of the Mammalukes. A small number of Janissaries indeed was retained at Cairo, and a few other places in the service of the Porte, of which they held landed possessions, in return for their service. In Upper Egypt, there were some Arabs who paid tribute to the grand signior, or made presents to the *baslaw*: and in the Lower Egypt, there were some villages in the possession of sheicks. But the real government or sovereignty of Egypt was possessed by the Mammalukes, originally soldiers of fortune, but who paid very little regard to the conditions on which they held their power and property. They came originally from the mountainous countries, between the Black Sea and Caucasus, and their armies were still recruited by boys from those countries, and other youth, the children of Christian slaves brought for sale to Grand Cairo. The laws of Mahomet enjoin great compassion and tenderness for slaves, and nothing is considered as more pleasing and meritorious in the sight of God than their total emancipation. The condition of the young slaves, who fell into the hands of the Mammalukes, was certainly among the gentlest lots of slavery. It was the road to fortune. They were brought up by the Mammalukes in the same manner as their own children, and came, in time, to be almost considered as

such: nor did the circumstance of their having ever been in a state of slavery preclude them from any degree of preferment, even that of bey, which was the chief; who was chosen freely by a plurality of voices in a full council of officers: so that the beys, elevated to power, neither by the accident of birth, nor the particular favour of any sovereign prince, but in some degree at least, if not chiefly, by their own merit, were, for the most part, men of superior talents and unquestionable courage. The Mammalukes were all of them brave, even to excess. In the battle of the Pyramids, the issue of which gave the French a footing in Egypt, and of which some notice has been taken in the last volume of this work, they had the temerity to rush in between the compacted and square battalions of the French army; and there meet their fate. They, to a man, refused quarter, and fought to the last, sometimes when desperately and mortally wounded. They were accustomed, from their earliest years, to a dextrous management of the finest and most spirited horses in the world. They were armed with swords and pistols, muskets, and lances. Their wealth and state displayed in their arms, dress, and equipage. Their habitations and household furniture were wretched. It was their manner incessantly to wheel round about an enemy in his front, flank, and rear, and to retreat as he advanced, unless they perceived an advantage, or were under a necessity of coming to close action, while another division of them hung upon his rear, and endeavoured to surround and cut off detached parties, wherever they could find an opening. The general

tal spirit of their warfare, like that of the ancient Scythians and the Arabs, was, to cut off supplies, and harass and destroy their enemy by repeated attacks, according to opportunities. But in different circumstances, their courage, as might be expected, was more or less impetuous and daring.

The beys were not all of them, without exception, of Christian origin, as has been commonly supposed. Of late years the annual number of slaves from Georgia, Mingrelia, and Circassia, has been greatly diminished. In 1762, five of the beys were of Mahometan descent: and from the cause just mentioned, the proportion of the Mahometan to what we may call the Christian beys, has probably become greater.

The number of the beys, originally four-and-twenty, by the encroachments of the more powerful over the weaker, had been reduced, it is said, to eighteen or twenty: but on that point the accounts vary. They had frequent quarrels with one another, but these did not lead to such serious and obstinate contests as has been imagined. They did not draw the whole of their resources, whether of actual possession or credit, and many thousands of unoffending people, into the vortex of protracted war, but quickly settled their disputes by pitched encounters; in which they were accompanied and joined by the small corps of their respective bodyguards. When the combat was over, the conqueror returned immediately to the capital, where most of the bashaws resided. The vanquished party returned also thither, in a few days thereafter. If he fell in battle, another bey was chosen in his stead; and there was

an end of the matter. So that on the whole the disputes among the Mammelukes were not of such an inveterate nature, as to prevent a ready union against a common enemy.

There were about 10,000 Mammelukes clothed in one uniform, and which were at the disposal of government; or rather that of the Beys, who seem to have considered themselves as forming, in some respects, a kind of republic. But, besides these, each Mammeluke kept on foot, or could easily raise bodies of men among his own vassals.

There were in Egypt, besides the military and predominant caste of the Mammelukes, a great number of Arabs, Jews, Greeks, and Cophts, who were Christians, and the descendants of the ancient Egyptians. The Bedouin Arabs were attached to the Mahometan faith, and hostile to strangers: but neither absolutely proof against the power of money, nor the usual influence of a career of victory amongst barbarians.

After his first successes, the reduction of Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, and Cairo, and, above all, the battle of the Pyramids, there was ground for hope, that many of the Arabs might be drawn over to the side of the conqueror. The Jews, as usual, were at the service of the best paymaster; not to make any account of the resentment they must have felt at the treatment they received from the Turks and other Musselmén. The Greeks and the Cophts, though greatly humbled in their minds, as in their fortunes, and the latter debased almost to brutality, by a long series of tyranny and oppression, might yet be roused by kinder treatment, and better prospects, to a sense of natural dignity and freedom. The clouded prospects of Buonaparte were therefore, on the whole,

whole, brightened up by gleams of hope, sufficient to call the powers of his inventive and active mind into full exertion.

The land-forces on board Buonaparte's fleet, when he took possession of Malta, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, amounted to near 40,000. Four thousand were left to garrison that island; but, in return, some thousands of the Maltese sailors and soldiers joined him, as volunteers, in his expedition to Egypt. And the battle of Aboukir, which ruined the fleet, contributed to reinforce the army. To the 36,000 that remained, after leaving a garrison in Malta, he added the volunteers of that place, under the designation of the Maltese legion: and the mariners, who escaped from the wrecks of the fleet, to the number of 2 or 3,000, under that of the nautical legion. There were, on board the ships of the line, frigates, and other vessels of war, in the port of Alexandria, about 4,000 men. The crews of the transports amounted to 2,000, and those of a flotilla, equipped on the Nile, to 1,500. So that there still remained, at the disposal of the French commander, a force, land and marine, of near 50,000 men. The land force was disposed along the course of the Nile, as far as Salachier, at the entrance of the desert. Here a strong fort was raised with great expedition. The old castle of Cairo commanding that great city, whose population has been calculated at 400,000, was repaired, or rather rebuilt and strengthened, according to the rules of modern fortification. Redoubts were cast up in other places; and the entrance into the harbour of Alexandria was defended by formidable batteries, raised, on the

appearance of the British fleet, with wonderful celerity.

The first care of the general was to provide for the support of his troops, and the preservation of their health. The Egyptians, by nature a soft and timid race, were naturally struck, after the arrival of the French, with terror. They shut themselves up in their own houses, and concealed whatever they had fit for being used as food. So that for several days the French were forced to subsist on their own naval stores. But when the apprehensions of the natives were removed, by the good discipline of the French, the markets of Alexandria were supplied with all sorts of provisions, in the greatest abundance. The Delta was fully sufficient to supply all necessaries, which could be conveyed to the French magazines, by the Nile, or by canals. The old canal that conveyed the waters of the Nile to Alexandria, with other canals, were cleared and repaired. Wind-mills were constructed for the grinding of corn, the only mills known to the natives being hand-mills, and here and there mills wrought by oxen. The want of wine was found capable of being supplied by a spirit extracted from dates. And the Egyptian institute, formed on the plan of that of France, had it in charge, from the commander-in-chief, to inquire whether Egypt did not furnish a substitute for hops for the making of beer. At Alexandria, and Grand Cairo, boards were instituted for inquiring into the best means for the prevention of contagious distempers, and in general for preserving the health of the seamen and soldiers: among the first fruits of which was the cleaning of these and other cities from many impuri-  
ties,



ties, and a recommendation of the bath, with directions for using it, to the French soldiers. At Cairo, a theatre was established for the amusement of the French; and music was introduced on all occasions. But, in spite of every effort of this kind, the French army must be diminished by the accidents of war in the process of time, and that not very long, and by natural deaths and disease moulder away at last to nothing, unless it should, from time to time, be recruited by fresh supplies of men. Buonaparte, therefore, in imitation of the Romans, and of Alexander the Great, whose examples were still before him, determined to arrange, under his standard, the inhabitants of the country, which, as yet he had over-run, and that only in part, rather than conquered. He allured into his service, by liberal pay and the prospect of plunder, corps of Arahs and Greeks, and even a company of Janissaries. The sons of the Mammalukes, who had fallen in battle, or fled from the country, above eight but under sixteen years of age, as well as those of their slaves, white or black, he brought into the demi-brigades to supply the place of the French drummers, and players on the fife, whom he placed in the ranks, as fusileers. The young Mammalukes, from sixteen to twenty-four, were incorporated with the battalions.

The predominant passions of the inhabitants of Egypt, were religious bigotry and superstition, and a jealousy and indignation against any degree of familiarity with their women. Buonaparte, therefore, deemed it necessary to instruct and caution his army on these two important and delicate subjects. In a proclamation, dated at head-quarters, pp board the L'Orient, June 22,

1798, after declaring the object of the expedition, which was, to promote the general interests of civilization and commerce, and humble the naval power of England, and confidently promising, after several fatiguing marches, and some hostile encounters, complete success, he told them, that the people, among whom they were going to live, were Mahometans; the first article of whose religious creed was, that "There is no God, but God, and Mahomet is his prophet." Do not contradict them, said he. Conduct yourselves towards them, as we have done towards the Jews and the Italians. Shew respect to their mustis and their imans, and the ceremonies prescribed by the Koran; as you have shewn to the rabbis and the bishops. Cherish the same spirit of toleration for the mosques that you have entertained for the convents and the synagogues, for the religion of Moses, and of Jesus Christ. The Roman legions protected all religions. You will find here usages different from those of Europe. You will reconcile yourselves to them by custom.

The people of the land into which we are about to enter differ from us in their mode of their treatment of women: but, in every country, he who offers violence to the women is a monster. Buonaparte proceeded next to warn them against giving way to a spirit of plunder. "Pillage, which can enrich only a very few, reflects dishonour on the whole; it dries up our resources, and converts into enemies those whom it is our interest to have for friends." In conclusion, he reminded them that the city they were going to attack was built by Alexander, and that grand recollections, fitted to excite the

emulation of Frenchmen, would be recalled to their minds at every step. At the same time, orders were issued that every individual of the army who should pillage or steal should be shot; that the punishment of death should also be inflicted on every individual of the army who should impose contributions on towns, villages, or individuals, or should commit extortions of any kind; and that, when any individuals of a division should have committed any disorders in a country, the whole division, if the offender should not be discovered, should be responsible, and pay the sum necessary to indemnify the inhabitants for the loss sustained.

Nothing but necessities for the soldiers, hospitals, transports, and artillery, was to be put in requisition; and, when once the requisitions were made, the objects required were to be put into the hands of the different administrations, who should give receipts for them, and receive others from those to whom they should distribute them, and be accountable for every thing. Thus, in no case, could officers or soldiers receive directly the objects required.

While Buonaparte was anxious to restrain his officers and soldiers from giving any offence to the people of Egypt, he was farther solicitous to gain their forbearance and good will by the strongest professions of regard for both their religious sentiments and civil interests, endeavouring to persuade them that they and the Great Nation could have no other than the same objects in view, the same friends, and the same enemies. In a letter to the bashaw of Egypt, June 30, he says, "The executive directory of the French republic have

frequently applied to the Sublime Porte to demand the punishment of the beys of Egypt, who oppressed, with their vexations, the merchants of France; but the Sublime Porte declared that the beys, an avaricious and fickle race, refused to listen to the principles of justice; and, not only, that the Porte did not authorize these insults, but withdrew their protection from the persons by whom they were committed; the French republic has resolved to send a powerful army to put an end to the exactions of the beys of Egypt, in the same manner as it has been several times compelled, during the present century, to take these measures against the beys of Tunis and Algiers. You, who ought to be the masters of the beys, and yet are kept at Cairo, without power or authority. You ought to regard my arrival with pleasure; you are, doubtless, already apprised that I come not to attempt any thing against the alcoran or the sultan. You know that the French nation is the only ally which the sultan has in Europe. Come, then, and meet me, and curse along with me the impious race of the beys."

On the same day, the general-in-chief, assuming the air and character of a true Musselman, addressed a proclamation to the people of Egypt. As it serves to display the character of the Egyptians, as well as that of Buonaparte, it may be acceptable to the reader that it should be inserted here, at full length, rather than receive a tincture of any other mind, even by abridgement. It is a curious specimen of that moral artillery with which Buonaparte, "becoming all things to all men," proposed to spread the power of the French republic over the world. "In the  
gracious;

name of God, most merciful and gracious: there is no god, but only one God: he has not any son or associate in his kingdom. The moment destined for chastising the beys, long impatiently expected, has now come.

"For a long time, the beys who govern Egypt have insulted the French nation, and oppressed their merchants with exactions.

"For a long time, this heap of slaves, purchased in the mountains of Caucasus and Georgia, have tyrannized over the fairest part of the world.

"But God, upon whom all depends, has directed that their empire should cease.

"Inhabitants of Egypt, when the beys tell you I come to destroy your religion, believe them not: answer them, that I come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants; and that the French respect, more than the Mammalukes, God, his prophet, and the Koran.

"Tell them that all men are equal in the eyes of God. Understanding, ingenuity, and science alone, make a difference between them; and what wisdom, what talents, what virtues, distinguish the Mammalukes, that they should have exclusively all that renders life sweet and pleasant?

"Is there a beautiful woman? she belongs to the Mammalukes. Is there a handsome slave, a fine horse, a fine house? they belong to the Mammalukes.

"Is Egypt their farm? let them shew the lease which God has given them. But God is just and merciful to all his people. All the Egyptians are entitled to the possession of all places. The wisest, most enlightened, and most virtuous, will

govern, and the people will be happy. You had once great cities, large canals, much trade: who has destroyed them, but the avarice, injustice, and tyranny, of the Mammalukes?

"Cadis, cheiks, imans, tcherbadjies, tell the people that we are the friends of true Musselmén. Did we not destroy the pope, who saw that it was necessary to make war against the Musselmén? Did we not destroy the knights of Malta, because those foolish men thought that God wished war to be carried on against the Musselmén? Have we not been, at all times, the friends of the grand seignior, (may God accomplish his wishes!) and the foe of his foes? The Mammalukes, on the contrary, are not they ever revolting against the authority of the grand seignior, whom they still refuse to acknowledge? Thrice happy those who are with us! they shall prosper in their fortune and rank; happy those who are neuter! they will have time to learn, to know us, and will be with us. But miserable, thrice miserable those who shall arm for the Mammalukes, and fight against us; there shall be no hope for them, they shall perish!

Article I. All places which shall be three leagues distant from the route of the French army shall send one of their principal inhabitants to the general, to declare that they submit, and will hoist the French flag, which is blue, white, and red.

II. Every village which shall arm against the French army shall be burned to the ground.

III. Every village which shall submit to the French shall hoist the French flag, and that of the Sublime Porte, their ally.

IV. The

IV. The chiefs, cadis, and imans, shall continue to exercise their respective functions: each inhabitant shall remain in his house; and prayers shall continue as usual: every one shall return thanks to God for the destruction of the Mammalukes. Glory to the sultan; glory to the French army, his friend! curses to the Mammalukes; and happiness to the people of Egypt!"

To the same effect, but with the brevity of a conqueror, Buonaparte, after he was master of Cairo, addressed the bashaw and the people of Cairo. He confirmed, when master of Egypt, by means of the signal victory which his army had gained, his former declaration, to preserve to the bashaw of the grand seignior his revenues and appointment; and begged of him to assure the Porte that it would suffer no kind of loss, and that he would take care that it should continue to receive the tribute heretofore paid to it.

Buonaparte not only declared himself a disciple and friend to Mahomet, but, by means of his emissaries, as well as no obscure hints in messages and letters to different parties of Musselmens, insinuated, that he was acquainted with their inward thoughts and designs, and endeavoured to propagate a persuasion that he had been actually and expressly commissioned, by the prophet, to resist, repel, and overthrow, the tyranny of the beys, to reform certain errors and abuses, and to promote justice, mercy, and piety; the great ends of the Mahometan and only religion.

He was careful to pay homage, on every occasion, to the prophet. By his desire, and according to his

example, the French officers and soldiers were in the habit of assisting at the great festivals and ceremonies in honour of the prophet. The whole army took the tone of outward respect for Ismaulism.

In a few days after the reduction of Cairo, accompanied by several of his principal officers and several members of the Egyptian institute, he went to see the grand pyramid, called Cheops; in the interior of which he was attended by several mustis and imans. In a curious and interesting conversation, which took place between himself and those religious characters, on this occasion, Buonaparte sustained his part so well as to impress on their minds, at once, a respect for his own understanding and knowledge, and an idea, at least for a time, that he entertained a respect for the faith of Musselmens. Having saluted the strangers and sat down with them, in their manner, on the ground, he said, "God is great, and his works are marvellous. Here is a great work accomplished by the hands of man. What end had he in view who constructed this pyramid?" One of the priests answered, "It is the work of a great king of Egypt, called Cheops, who wished that his ashes might not be disturbed by sacrilegious intrusions." "Cyrus, the Great," replied Buonaparte, "gave orders, that his inanimate body should be exposed to the open air, on purpose that it might be the more easily and completely dissolved, and be re-united to the natural elements. Dont you think that he did much better? What think you? one of the mustis bowing his head said, "Glory to God to whom all glory is due." Buonaparte added, "Honour to Allah," (who was the caliph

caliph that gave orders for the opening of this pyramid, and disturbing the ashes of the dead.\* The mufti and imans made answer, "According to some, Mahomet, the commander of the faithful, who reigned, many centuries ago, at Bagdad; but, according to others, Haroun al Reschid, who fancied, that he should find treasures in it; but when those whom he had sent had entered this apartment, as the tradition is, they found nothing but mummies, with the following inscription on the wall, written in letters of gold, "The impious commit iniquity without fear, but not without remorse." Buonaparte applied a proverb, well known to the persons with whom he now conversed, "The bread that is taken by violence fills the mouth of the robber with gravel."

It was not only in Epypt that Buonaparte laboured to propagate a belief of his attachment to Muselmens and the Sublime Porte. He sent letters, to this end, to different agents of France, in different parts of the Turkish empire, and one written, in Arabic, to the shereef of Mecca, to whom he entrusted another to their friend, Tippu Sultan. This letter was received at Judda, early, first of July, 1799, and thence forwarded to the Holy City. But Buonaparte, who possessed much discernment, was at great pains to study characters, and who varied his tone according to that of the persons whom he addressed, seemed to consider the hierophant of Mecca rather as a political prince, concerned for the prosperity of his place and people,

than as a devotee to the religion of Mahomet; he told him, that every thing was quiet at Cairo and Suez, and between those places, and peace established among the inhabitants; not a single Mammaluke oppressor, he said, remained in the country, and the inhabitants, without dread or fear, employed themselves in weaving, cultivating the ground, and other trades, as formerly. The duties on merchandise were now the same as they were prior to their being raised by the Mammalukes; the merchants had every assistance granted them; and the road between Suez and Cairo was open and safe. He therefore requested of the shereef to assure the merchants of his country, that they might bring their goods to Suez and sell them without dread or apprehension, and might purchase, in exchange for them, such articles as they might wish.

It is impossible to ascertain the degrees of faith that was reposed in different places, and by different persons, in the religious professions of Buonaparte. Perhaps they were wavering, and different at different times in the same persons. The presence and authority of Buonaparte, and his literary staff, if we may borrow a metaphor from arms to arts, as well as military, no doubt, detracted somewhat from the compliments which were paid to him, and them, by the mufti and imans with whom they met and conversed, as he had done before, with the priests at Rome, on sundry occasions: yet they might probably be impressed with a temporary conviction of his sincerity, until they

\* The ancient Egyptians believed that the soul never wholly forsook the body, which any part of it hung, or was held together.



compared his professions with that spirit of domination, and worldly interest and advantage, which appeared in the tenor of his conduct. A like observation may be made on certain testimonials which were given in favour of the French general, by Musselmen, and others, particularly a letter from the notables of Cairo, on the arrival of Buonaparte, to the sherief of Mecca, giving an account of his respect for the law of the prophet. There was more sincerity probably in a hymn, composed by the musti of the Cophits, and chaunted in the grand mosque of Cairo, on the twenty-third of July, in celebration of the arrival of Buonaparte in that city; who, at the command and under the protection of Allah, had come at the head of the brave warriors of the west, to succour the oppressed, and drive out the boys with their Mammalukes. It is conceived in the most beautiful style of eastern simplicity, and gives no mean idea of either the sentiments of the musti of the Cophits, or his taste in composition.

That the expressions of respect for the French general-in-chief were not always voluntary and sincere, were it a matter that needed any proof, would be placed, beyond doubt, by the conduct and fate of Koraim, sherief of Alexandria, who, after swearing fidelity, with the musti and principal sheicks of the city of Alexandria, \* to the French republic, was convicted of treason-

able correspondence with the Mammalukes, and, on the sixth of September, condemned and executed. His head, with a label of his crime, was carried through the streets. This act of severity was fitted indeed to inspire terror: but the perfidy of Koraim would easily be forgiven by Musselmen, while his death might be followed by the usual consequences of martyrdom.

The task undertaken by Buonaparte, to amalgamate the prejudices of the Mahometans with the pretensions of the French, was difficult almost beyond example; and even more arduous than that of Mahomet. The plan pursued by Mahomet was great, but simple. The spirit of it was terror: the instruments or means of executing it, great and simple also; God, war, and fate. It was a more complicated, and a nicer undertaking to mingle terror with reasoning, the rights of man with the privileges or rather prerogatives of Musselmen, and the submission of the followers, to strangers, at best only dubious friends to the prophet. Of the manner in which Buonaparte set about to accomplish that design, some idea may be formed, from a view of a French feast at Cairo, on the twenty-third of September, the anniversary of the French republic.

On the setting of the sun, September twenty-second, the feast was announced by three salutes of artillery. The commencement of the feast was proclaimed at sun rising

\* The signatures of these to the declaration of fidelity shew how natural it is for all religionists (except, perhaps, the ancient polytheists) to affect heavenly-mindedness and an indifference to the things of this world: *the poor Sulciman, musti of Muliki; the poor Ibrahim el Boarge, chief of the St. Hamste; the poor Mahomed el Missira; the poor Ahmed, &c.* The titles bestowed on Christian prelates did not arise immediately from sentiments of religion, but from the dignity and consequence accruing to them from secular possessions.

the next morning, by three discharges from the whole of the artillery; that of all the different divisions of the army; that of the park; and that of the marine, or flotilla, on the Nile. Immediately the *generale* was beaten through the whole city, and all the troops, in the highest order, appeared under arms, in the place of Elbecquier. In this place a circle had been traced of two hundred fathoms diameter, of which the circumference was formed by one hundred and five columns, decorated with three-coloured flags, bearing the names of all the departments. These pillars were united by a double row of garlands, emblematical of the unity and indivisibility of all the parts of the French republic.

One of the entries into the circle was decorated by a triumphal arch, on which was portrayed the battle of the Pyramids; the other by a portico, above which were placed several Arabic inscriptions. Of these there was one as follows; "*There is no God but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet.*"

In the middle of the circle, there was raised an obelisk of granite, of the height of seventy feet. On one of its faces was engraven, in letters of gold, *To the French republic, ann. 7*: on that opposite to it, *To the expulsion of the Mammalukes, ann. 6*. On the collateral sides, these two inscriptions were translated into Arabic. The pedestal of the obelisk was embellished with *bas reliefs*; on the adjoining ground, seven altars in the ancient style, intermixed with candlesticks, supported trophies of arms, surmounted with three-coloured flags, and civic crowns. In the centre of each of these trophies, there was a list of those brave men,

of each division, who fell in the act of delivering Egypt from the yoke of the Mammalukes.

As soon as all the troops had assembled, and were drawn up on the place of Elbecquier, the commander-in-chief, accompanied by his staff officers, the generals of divisions, the commissary-general, the commissaries of war, and of civil administrations, artists and men of science, the *kiaya*, or Turkish officer, next in authority to the *bashaw*, the emir Hadji, and the members of the *divan*, (of which we shall presently give some account) both of Cairo and the provinces. The commander-in-chief, with his suite, seated themselves on the platform that ran round the obelisk. Superb carpets covered the mount on which it stood. The music of the different demigrares struck up warlike marches, and patriotic airs, and songs of victory.

The troops, after going through their exercises with great readiness and precision, came and arranged themselves around the obelisk; when a proclamation, by the commander-in-chief, for the discipline of the army, and the good government and well being of Egypt was read aloud, by the adjutant-general. It was listened to with the most profound silence, and followed by repeated cries of *vive la republique*. A hymn was performed at the orchestra, and the troops filed off, in perfect order, before the general-in-chief, who returned with his company to his quarters. The whole of this company, with several Turkish officers and Arabian chiefs, who had come up during the exhibition, were invited to dinner at the general's house; where a sumptuous table was provided, of one hundred

hundred and fifty covers. The French colours were united with the Turkish, the cap of liberty was placed by the side of the crescent, and the rights of man by the Koran. The gaiety of the French was tempered with the gravity of the Turks. The Musselmén were left to their own choice of meats and drinks, and expressed great satisfaction with the attentions that were shewn them. After dinner, several toasts were drank. The commander-in-chief gave, for a toast, *To the three hundredth year of the French republic.* One of his aides-de-camp, *To the legislative bodies, and the executive directory.* Mongé, president of the Egyptian institute, *To the perfection of the human understanding, and the advancement of knowledge.* General Berthier, *To the expulsion of the Mammalukes, and the prosperity of the people of Egypt.* Other toasts were given, but these were the chief. Each toast was received with unanimous plaudits, and suitable airs of music. Patriotic couplets, sung by the soldiery, concluded this civic feast.

At four o'clock, foot and horse races began, and the prizes were adjudged to the victors, who were borne in triumph around the circus. At the close of the day, the whole of the circumference of this was illuminated in the most brilliant manner. The pillars, the intermediate garlands, and the triumphal arches were hung with chrysal lamps, which produced the happiest effect. At eight o'clock, there was a beautiful display of fire-works, accompanied, at different intervals, by discharges of musquetry and artillery. A considerable number of Turkish ladies enjoyed the spectacle from the windows and tops of the houses that

surrounded the place of Elbecquier. The intent of this entertainment, it will readily be perceived, was, to impress the minds of the Egyptians with a sense of the power, art, and magnificence of the French nation, and of their respect for Musselmén, and good-will towards all the Egyptians. Nor was it by professions alone, that Buonaparte studied to gain the attachment and confidence of the people among whom, according to his own phrase, the French had come to dwell, but by actions. In order to please the people, and dispel their apprehensions of some unknown impending calamities; the opening of the canal of Cairo, was this year accompanied by even greater ceremony and pomp than usual. On this occasion the general distributed considerable sums, in alms, among the poor, and gave an entertainment to the notables of Cairo. In like manner he gave a considerable sum for defraying the expense of a magnificent feast, in honour of the birth-day of the prophet. Having, on that occasion, declared himself the protector of all religions, he received, from the Musselmén, the name of *Ali Buonaparte*. But the overt-act, by which he most signally displayed regard to the grand seignior, the head of Musselmén on earth, was his permitting all the Turkish vessels in Alexandria, as well as all neutral vessels, either to remain or set sail for their respective destinations, at their pleasure, and setting free and sending to Constantinople, on board those vessels, with a letter to the grand vizier, fraught with many professions of regard and even subordination to the Porte, the Turkish slaves, in number of three hundred, whom he had found at Malta.

Malta. He made presents to Turks, Greeks, and Arabs. He patronized strict justice between man and man: he gave free passage and protection to the pilgrims going to and from Mecca, and encouraged all kinds of commerce. On the fifth of August, when in pursuit of Ibrahim Bey, he had the good fortune to fall in with different parties of Arabs, who had taken a great part of a caravan, on its return from Mecca. He sent the pilgrims and merchants, under a proper escort, to Cairo.

He found a number of prædial slaves whom he encouraged, and endeavoured to raise, by hope, to industry, and the dignity of men, by giving them lands to be cultivated on their own account. He gave equal rights of inheritance to all the children of the same parents. He improved the condition of women, by giving them a certain portion of their husband's goods, at their decease, and the right of disposing of it. He encouraged marriages between his soldiers and the natives, and endeavoured to restrain polygamy. He established schools for the instruction of the young French, Copts, and Arabs, in French, Arabic, geography, and mathematics. He was a friend to shows, festivities, games, and other diversions; in all which he wished the French and the natives to mingle together. And he submitted, as a problem, to the institute by what instruments and airs, the minds of these last, might be the most readily and effectually impressed through the power of music.

By his orders, issued about the middle of September, a general assembly was to be held, on or before the twelfth of October, of all the nota-

bles throughout the fourteen provinces, into which Egypt is divided. Deputations from each of these provinces were to form a general council, or divan, for the government of the nation at the capital, Grand Cairo. Each deputation was to consist of three men of the law, three merchants, and three sheicks, or chiefs, of Arabs. The French generals, commanding the different provinces, had it in charge to choose the persons who should form the assemblies of notables, in the particular provinces, out of those persons who had most influence with the people, and were the most distinguished for their knowledge, their talents, and *the manner in which they had received the French*: They were charged to take special care not to name any persons for notables, who had declared against the French: but to take a note of their names, and transmit them to the general-in-chief. A register-office was established for titles to estates, and other deeds that might be produced as evidence. The members of the divan allowed liberal salaries, and every measure was taken that might tend to reconcile the Egyptians to the government of their new masters.

In pursuance of the orders of the general, deputies from all the provinces of Egypt, assembled at Cairo, on the eight of October, and held their first sitting under the title of the general divan. In this assembly Mongé and Bartholet performed the functions of commissaries on the part of the French. The beauty of the Turkish dress, the gravity of the persons who wore them, and the numerous domestics in their train, conspired to shed on the general divan an air of majesty. The Arabian

Arabian chief, Abdalla Kezkaori, was chosen president. The only business transacted in the divan was the passing into laws, or the giving consent to the decrees of the general.

But this shew of freedom could scarcely be expected to impose on the weakest minds. Besides the presence of the French commissioners, and the manner of the appointment of the notables, there were other circumstances which brought the subjection of the Musselmén still more forcibly to their recollection. Orders had been given, that the whole of the inhabitants of Egypt should wear the three-coloured cockade; that all the Egyptian vessels (called *germes*) navigating the Nile, should hoist the three-coloured flag. And this flag was flying from the great pyramid, the pillar of Pompey, and the loftiest minaret of the castle of Cairo, and the highest minaret of all the places of note in the fourteen provinces. To the members of the divan alone it was permitted to wear, by way of distinction, if they chose it, three-coloured shawls on their shoulders. A government resembling, as near as circumstances would admit, the form of the French republic, was organized throughout Egypt. A land-tax was imposed on all the villages in all the provinces. And a tax on houses in Grand Cairo, and other cities.

Though it has been an easy matter to produce sudden effects on the minds of barbarians and semi-barbarians, it is extremely difficult, by any powers of reasoning or improvements, however beneficial, to produce any permanent change in their system of thinking; which, in proportion to the paucity of their ideas,

is inveterate and unchangeable. Neither the grand divan at Cairo, nor the subordinate councils, answered the sanguine expectations of Buonaparte. Murmurs of discontent were soon intermingled with the deliberations of the national assembly of Musselmén. Every innovation, it was generally agreed, though not at first resolutely expressed, was contrary to the Koran, which had foreseen and provided for all cases, worthy of consideration. These murmurs did not escape the vigilance of the French commander, who had his spies in every place, and was informed of every thing that passed. He endeavoured to preserve peace and good order, by measures of prevention. Out of the numbers of individuals who were followers, and employed in various services of the government and army; and all the Europeans, of whatever nation, residing at Cairo, he formed, about the beginning of October, ten companies of national guards, not to be employed as regulars, but to occupy and maintain certain appointed posts in the city, on any announced emergency.

It was not long before the insurrection apprehended burst forth. On the twenty-sixth of that month, immense crowds, armed with spears and sharp stones, assembled in and around the grand mosque, and every other mosque in Cairo. These were the fortresses in which they were to make their stand, and from which to make their attacks. A secret correspondence was established between the Mahometan priests and the Mammalukes; some of whom were concealed in different houses, in the garb of women. General Dupuy, at the head of a regiment of dragoons, repaired to the grand mosque,

mosque, to disperse the multitude that was every moment increasing. He was furiously attacked, and mortally wounded. Not a few of his men were killed. The rest carried back the general to his quarters, where he died in a few hours thereafter. The alarm being given, the whole of the French were immediately under arms. The general gave orders for a battalion to march against the grand mosque, where the Turks were assembled, to the number of eight or ten thousand. They were summoned, but decidedly refused to surrender. The citadel then fired on the city, particularly the grand mosque, into which there fell several bombs, exciting terror and despair. Other battalions were sent against the other mosques, in the avenues and approaches to which the Turks were attacked, and driven back into the mosques. The doors of these were forced by the French, who made a dreadful slaughter. But the Mulsims, though defeated, were not yet conquered. The place of the slain was supplied by new combatants, and the contest was prolonged. This was a terrible day, and scarcely was that which followed less bloody. Not a Turk who was armed with so much as a club, or a stone, escaped with life. The Turks, on their part, assassinated every individual, or small party of French, whom they found in the streets. They burst into the houses of the French, and plundered them; and, if any European domestics were found, they were put to the sword. Some traces of the insurrection remained till the twenty-third of October: towards the evening of which the city began to resume the appearance of tranquillity. The loss of the

VOL. XII.

insurgents was calculated, by the French, at five or six thousand men: that of the French themselves, in killed and wounded, was stated by them not to have exceed a hundred, in killed and wounded. And this loss, it was also stated, was owing to a shower of heavy stones thrown on the French, from the tops of houses. In this affair the Greeks, at Cairo, took a decided and active part on the side of the French. Some of them took up arms in their cause, while its issue was yet dubious: a greater number, after it was decided, were active in the discovery of fugitives. All the prisoners, whom they brought to the different military stations in Cairo, and who were found guilty on evidence, we may presume not very scrupulous, were put to death. The disguised Mammalukes, conformably to a former decree, underwent the same fate. Several parties of the insurgents retaining their arms, endeavoured to escape death by a precipitate flight; but these unfortunate men were assailed by double terrors. While they were pursued by general Danour, at the head of a body of cavalry, they were met in front by the Arabs of the desert, who are equally hostile to all strangers, Turks, Europeans, and Egyptians, and sometimes parties of their own nation; all strangers not of their own tribe. They are always on horseback, and live in the midst of the desert. Their ferocity is equal to the wretched life they lead, exposed for whole days to the burning heat of the sun, without a drop of water to drink. They are perfidious, and, maintaining a constant struggle for the maintenance of their own existence, are but little susceptible of humanity and compassion for others.

They present the most hideous picture of barbarians that can be conceived. The unhappy fugitives from Cairo, hemmed in between such enemies, and the avenging French, had no retreat. The fate of the whole was ruin, slavery, or death. Buonaparte, having inflicted severe, though in his circumstances perhaps not unnecessary, punishment, published an amnesty to all peaceable people, and held the same language of conciliation, and affected confidence, as usual.

While the insurrection was brewing at Cairo, the French arms were employed in the suppression of plots of less moment, and in subduing open resistance in other places. Scarce a day passed without some skirmishing between the French and Arabs. At Sombat, capital of a district of Gambia, the inhabitants assassinated a detachment of French, consisting of one half of a demi-brigade, and a part of a regiment of dragoons. On the thirteenth of September, the village, by orders of the generals Dugua and Verdier, was burned. About the same time there was an engagement at Mitcamar, between the Arabs and the troops under general Murat, in which the former were completely routed. On the night between the fifteenth and sixteenth of September, the French garrison of Damietta was attacked by a number of Arabs, joined by insurgents from several neighbouring provinces. The generals Vial and Andreossi attacked them in their turn, at their head-quarters in the village of Schouarra, situated within cannon shot of Damietta. The Arabs, to the number, as stated by the French, of about ten thousand, were ranged in one

line, extending from the Nile to the lake Menzales. The number of the French did not exceed five hundred. Fifteen hundred of the Arabs were killed or drowned, in the inundation of the river, and in the lake. The village Schouarra was taken, and committed to the flames. Columns of light troops scouring the country, between Damietta and Mansoura, punished the chiefs of the revolt. On the seventh of October the division of the French, under general Desaix, who, having driven the Mammalukes before, had passed some weeks in the neighbourhood of the cataracts, in search of the ruins of Thebes, defeated Mourad Bey, at Sediman, in Fayoum, a province of Upper Egypt. The French had been greatly harassed on their march by the troops of the bey, who endeavoured to straiten the quarters of the French, and cut off their provisions. At day break they found themselves in front of the army of the bey, five or six thousand strong, composed of nearly an equal number of Mammalukes and Arabs, and a corps of infantry, which guarded the entrenchments of Sediman; where there were placed four pieces of cannon; general Desaix formed his infantry into a square battalion, which he flanked with two small divisions of two hundred horsemen each. The Mammalukes and Arabs, after long hesitation, formed their resolution, and charged a small platoon on the right, commanded by captain Valette, with horrible cries, and the greatest valour; and, at the same time, the rear of the square. They were every where received by the French with the greatest coolness.

coolness. The chasseurs, composing the platoon, presented their bayonets, and reserved their fire till the enemy were within ten paces. The barbarian cavalry were no less intrepid. They advanced impetuously in front of the French ranks. After firing, and throwing their pistols and muskets at the heads of the French, they rushed on into close action with their spears and sabres. Some of them, whose horses were killed under them, crept along upon their bellies, in order to be under the bayonets, and cut the legs of their enemies. But all was in vain : they were obliged to fly. The French, notwithstanding the fire of the four pieces of cannon, which was the more to be dreaded, that their ranks were deep, advanced to Sediman ; and the entrench-

ment, cannon, and baggage were immediately in their possession. On the side of the united forces of the Mammalukes and Arabs, three beys were killed, two wounded, and four hundred of the flower of his troops killed on the spot. The loss of the French was, by them stated, to be thirty-six killed, and ninety-six wounded.

Here, as well as at the battle of the the Pyramids, the soldiers made a considerable booty. There was not a Mammaluke on whom they did not find from three to five hundred louis. Mourad Bey retreated to the gorges of the mountains of *Tajain-raff*, to take care of his wounded, and recruit his army. And thus Desfaix was left in possession of the best part of Upper Egypt.



## C H A P. II.

*The French keep their Ground in Egypt.—Yet many Causes remain of Alarm.—Means used by Buonaparte, for obviating or encountering these.—An Alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Turks and Russians.—Expedition of the French into Egypt.—Objects of this armed.—Or probable.—Preparations for the Expedition.—Disposition of the Troops.—And March.—Opposed by Mammalukes, Arabs, Samaritans, and other Syrian Tribes.—Battle of El-Arifsch.—El-Arifsch taken by the French.—Progress of the French Army to Gaza.—Of which it takes Possession without Resistance.—And of Jaffa (the ancient Joppa), after a desperate Resistance.—Importance of Jaffa.—Letter from Buonaparte to Ghezzar, Bashaw of St. John d'Acre.—Ghezzar's Answer.—March of the French Army along the Roots of Mount Carmel.—Towards St. John d'Acre.—Description and History of Acre.—French encamp before Acre.—And open Trenches against it.—Project, combined by the British and Turkish Governments, for a general Attack on Buonaparte, by Sea and Land.—A French Flotilla, with Battering-cannon, Ammunition, and Stores, taken by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith.—Breach effected in the Wall of Acre.—Repeated Assaults of the French, on Acre, repulsed.—Immense Multitudes assembled on the surrounding Hills, waiting for the Issue of the Contest, with a Determination to join the Victors.—Circular Letter from Sir Sidney Smith to the Princes and Chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon.—Their friendly Answer.—Sallies from the Garrison of Acre.—Account of Ghezzar Bashaw.—Discomfiture and Retreat of the French from Acre.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the destruction of the French fleet, and that all reasonable hopes of timely support from the squadrons at Genoa, Toulon, and Corfu, were cut off, by the irresistible power of the English in the Mediterranean, the French had now established themselves in Egypt. Their dominion might be lapped by pestilence and disease, or shaken and subverted by external aggression; and this the rather, that they were so completely humbled at sea; but, over the inhabitants of Egypt, their

sway was uncontroled, save by those desultory and predatory incursions of the Arabs, who often molest the best established governments. Buonaparte had strengthened his army by the wrecks of the navy, and by recruits of different nations in Egypt. All the important stations were occupied by the French. Taxes were imposed and collected. Horses and camels, as well as provisions for the army, were supplied in abundance. And new fortresses, rising in divers places, strengthened the hands of the

the invaders, by their genuine importance, and also by that air of sovereign power which they carried to the imaginations of the humbled Musselmén. Yet many circumstances of alarm continued to agitate the mind of Buonaparte.—The extension of the French arms extended also the sphere of hostility and resistance to their power. Ghezzar Oglou, the bashaw of St. John d'Acre, had assembled a great force, the destination of which, in the present circumstances, could not be doubtful. The bashaw of Damascus, too, was in motion. Multitudes of Arabs might be induced to join the enemies of the French. The appearance of a great force in Egypt, or on its confines, might awaken the courage, with the resentment of the inhabitants, and overturn an authority not yet confirmed by the lapse of time, the abatement of prejudices, and the change of habits. While these dangers were threatened in the east, farther attacks were to be apprehended, and new combinations, against the French in Europe.

Among the ships which lay in the harbour of Alexandria, at the arrival of the French, was a large vessel, belonging to the Turkish government, of that kind called caravals, sent to bring home the annual tribute. It was the time when the Turkish ships of commerce usually set sail from Egypt; and the caraval received orders from government to return, with the other vessels, to Constantinople. Buonaparte assured the captain of the vessel of the friendship of the French; desired that he would bear witness at home, that the Turkish, as well as the French flag, was flying at Alexandria; and, giv-

ing him a present, gave him in charge, as a passenger, citizen Beauchamp, with dispatches to the Porte, containing assurances of the sincere desire of the French nation to live with the Porte on the usual terms of friendship. At the same time he stated, in the letter, the grounds of complaint which he had against the bashaw, Ghezzar, who had given a cordial reception to Ibrahim Bey, with about a thousand Mammalukes, after he had been driven out of Egypt into Syria. Finally, he stated, that the punishment which he might find it necessary to inflict on that bashaw, ought not to give the Porte any uneasiness. Buonaparte, foreseeing every thing that would tend to give offence to the Porte, had already dispatched an officer to Ghezzar, by sea, with a letter, assuring him that the French nation was desirous to live at peace, and preserve friendship with the grand seignior. But he insisted that Ghezzar should dismiss Ibrahim, with his Mammalukes. Ghezzar, who, in his military preparations, had acted by orders from the Porte, made no answer to this letter from Buonaparte, but sent back the officer who carried it, and put the French at Acre into irons.

The spirit and substance of these dispatches, from Buonaparte, very emphatically mark the advanced decline and degradation of the Turkish empire. Such insolence and contempt, however, one would imagine, must have tended rather to provoke the resentment and revenge of the Turks, under all their political weakness, still retaining a proud and haughty spirit, than to conciliate even the appearance of acquiescence and connivance. Yet

Buonaparte, no doubt, knew how to estimate the spirit of the Porte, which, under the disadvantages of ignorance, anarchy, and the torpor of old age, would have, perhaps, come to some accommodation with the invaders of Egypt, rather than hazard an appeal to arms, if the divan had not been encouraged and spirited up, by the victory obtained over the French fleet, near Aboukir, to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the English and Russians.

Buonaparte, suspecting that such an alliance would be formed, and that, in this case, a combined operation would take place against Egypt (an attack on the side of Syria, and an attack by sea), resolved to march into Syria, chastise Ghezzar, and destroy the preparations made for an expedition against Egypt, rather than wait and receive the combined attack apprehended on the coasts of that country.

This plan of military operations, our readers may probably recollect, is exactly in the same spirit with the masterly and bold conduct of Buonaparte, during the blockade and siege of Mantua, in 1796, when he marched rapidly against an Austrian army, which had turned the lake of Garda, and was intended to form a junction with general Wurmser. If the French army, which covered the siege, had waited their approach, and given them battle near Mantua, a sortie from the garrison might have, probably, decided the action in favour of the Austrians; there-

fore, Buonaparte, with his covering army, advanced to a very considerable distance, northward, beat the Austrian army, and returned, and carried the siege of Mantua.

It was the intention of Buonaparte, if the Porte should still remain quiet, in the midst of all this invasion and interference in the Turkish dominion and government, after he had driven Ghezzar from his government of Acre, to have complimented the grand seignior with the nomination of a new bashaw: a determination, it may be observed, by the way, which leads to a very probable conjecture, that he entertained some ideas of extending the power and influence of the republic, under a shew of homage and respect for the sublime Porte, in the same manner that the English East-India company seized and kept possession of different territories, in the name of the mogul. In Asia, a few victories often lead to extensive dominion and empire. If success should attend his arms in Syria, the glory of his name, by attracting, as usual, numerous warlike, but barbarous tribes, to a victorious standard, might prepare the way for his march to Constantinople, and even Vienna. In the design, declared by Buonaparte, of anticipating a storm ready to fall on Egypt, there is nothing improbable; and it appears to be pretty certain, that the end in view was not limited, as was supposed by Sir Sidney Smith,\* to the treasures amassed by Ghezzar Bashaw.

Buonaparte having, by a proper disposition of his troops, and other

\* In his letter to rear-admiral Blanket, commanding the British squadron in the Red Sea; and to John Wilson, esq. appointed, by the governor and council of Bombay, agent to the East-India company.

precautions of a political nature, provided for the internal quiet of Egypt, as well as security against incursions by the Arabs of the desert, towards the end of January, 1798, gave orders to general Almeyrus to embark provisions and stores, for the army of Syria, to be conveyed, by the lake of Menzales, to the port of Tinch, and from thence to be carried, by land, to the village of Cathich. The artillery, that had been employed in the siege of Aléxandria, was put on board three frigates, which were to cruize off Jaffa, and to maintain a communication with the army. Camels and mules were provided with extraordinary expedition, at Cairo, for carrying the light artillery, ammunition, and provisions, of which, the most bulky, as well as the most necessary article, was water. The army was parted into four divisions: one under general Kleber, one under general Regnier, one under general Bon, and one under general Lannes. The cavalry was commanded by general Mourat, the artillery by general Dommartin, and the engineers by general Caffarelli.\* A junction was formed, on the fourth of February, 1799, between the divisions of Kleber, and the advanced guard of

Regnier, under the command of general Grange, at Cathich; from whence they proceeded to Larissa, otherwise called El-Arifsch, a village pleasantly situated on the river Peneus, and the seat of a Greek archbishop, as well as of mosques for the votaries of the Mahomedan religion. El-Arifsch was carried, by general le Grand, with the bayonet. The barbarous Arnautes and Maugrabins, who defended it, took refuge in the fortress, but with such precipitation, that, in barricading the gates, they shut out two hundred men, who were put to the sword, or made prisoners.

Scarcely was the blockade of El-Arifsch begun, by Regnier's division, when a reinforcement of infantry and cavalry, escorting a convoy of provisions for the defenders of El-Arifsch, appeared in sight of that village, and encamped on a rising ground, covered by a very deep ravine. At that moment, general Kleber came up with the advanced guard of his division. General Regnier communicated to him the design he had formed, of turning the ravine, and surprising the camp of the Mammalukes in the night. Kleber entirely approved this project. The attack was made, and succeeded. The camp was carried, and the

\* The effective force of the army, destined for the Syrian expedition, is thus stated by general Berthier :

The division of Kleber . . . . .	2,349 men
Ditto of Bon . . . . .	2,449
Ditto of Lannes . . . . .	2,924
Ditto of Regnier . . . . .	2,160
Cavalry attached to the different divisions . . .	800
Engineers . . . . .	340
Artillery . . . . .	1,335
Guides, on foot and on horseback . . . . .	400
Dromedaries . . . . .	88
	<hr/>
	12,945

corps of Mammaluke cavalry cut in pieces, or taken. A number of horses, camels, stores, and provisions, and the whole of the convoy, fell into the hands of the French. Two boys were killed on the field of battle. The two other divisions of the army, with the artillery, formed their junction a few days thereafter. Buonaparte, himself, with his *etat-major*, and a strong guard, who had set out from Cairo on the tenth, arrived at El-Arisch on the seventeenth of February. In his march across the desert, he lost several men and a number of horses, through bad provisions, and the want of water, as well as by the attacks of the Arabs, who never ceased to harass him.

The main army, thus assembled, took a position before El-Arisch, on the eighteenth of February. Buonaparte ordered one of the towers of the castle to be cannonaded, and, a breach being soon made, he summoned the place to surrender. The garrison was composed of Arnauts and Maugrabins, all rude barbarians, without leaders, uninformed in any of the principles of war acknowledged by civilized nations. Their answer was, that they were willing to come out of the fort, with their arms and baggage, as it was their wish to go to Acre. Buonaparte, anxious to spare the effusion of his soldiers' blood, delayed the assault. But at length, on the twentieth of February, the garrison surrendered, on condition of being permitted to retire to Baydat, by the desert. A number of the Maugrabins entered into the French service.

On the twenty-fourth of February, the head-quarters of the army marched to Kap-jouneis, the first

village of Palestine, as they got out of the desert, and from whence they discovered the cultivated plains of Gaza.

The French army had now succeeded in traversing eighty leagues of the most dry and barren part of the desert: for, the inhabitants of El-Arisch, as well as those of Cathich, enjoy only a few spots of cultured ground, and a few palm-trees near their wells: all around is a dry and burning sand. The aspect of the plains of Gaza was the more pleasing and recreating to the sight, that they appeared bordered by mountains, which rendered the prospect similar to that of European countries, without having the tiresome monotony of Egyptian plains, and of those parching sands which uniformly fill the air with an annoying, insufferable dust.

Abdallah Bashaw, with a thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand Naplousians, lay encamped in the heights of Korfum. After harassing the French army, attempting to take it in flank, and to entangle it in the mountains, he was beat back, forced to raise his camp, during the night of the twenty-fourth, and fell back upon Gaza; against which place the French proceeded to march on the twenty-fifth of February. The fortress of Gaza being evacuated by the enemy, was taken possession of by the French, without resistance. In Gaza, they found a very seasonable supply of provisions and military stores. The inhabitants having gone out, to meet Buonaparte, the city was treated in a friendly manner.

On the twenty-ninth of February, the main army began to move towards Jaffa (the ancient Joppa), a sea-port on the coast of Palestine, between

between which and Damietta, along the sea-coast, the whole is desert and wild. Here, pilgrims pay for permission to visit the Holy Land.

This city is surrounded by a wall, without a ditch, and defended by strong towers, provided with cannon. Trenches were opened, batteries were erected, and a practical breach was made in the wall. Notwithstanding two desperate sorties, and every exertion on the part of the garrison, about four thousand strong, the principal tower was taken, and the greater part of the brave garrison was put to the sword: with a view, no doubt, of sinking terror into other parts of Palestine, and wherever Buonaparte might direct his march.—About three hundred Egyptians, who escaped from the assault, were sent back into Egypt, and relorted to their families. The French found, in the towers of Joppa, ten pieces of cannon, and about twenty indifferent siege-pieces, either iron or brass.

Buonaparte, having made himself master of the towers of Joppa, ordered the inhabitants to be spared. About fifteen small trading vessels were found in the harbour. The conquest of Jaffa, according to the report of sir Sidney Smith, cost the French above one thousand men. Buonaparte then formed a divan, composed of the principal Turks of the town. He also gave orders for taking every necessary measure for the defence of the place. Jaffa proved a situation of the highest importance to the army: it became the post, and the *entrepôt*, of every thing that was to come from Damietta and Alexandria. From Jaffa, Buonaparte wrote the following

letter to Ghezzar Basha, dated the ninth of March:

“ Since my arrival in Egypt, I several times informed you, that I had no design to make war against you; and that my only object was to expel the Mammalukes. You returned no answer to the overture which I made you. I announced, that I desired that you would drive Ibrahim Bey from the frontiers of Egypt; but, instead of that, you sent troops to Gaza: you formed there large magazines, and gave out, that you intended to march against Egypt. You, indeed, began to put this plan in execution; and you threw two thousand of your troops into the fortress Arish, which is only six miles from the frontiers of Egypt. I was obliged, then, to depart from Cairo, to direct, in person, the war which you seemed to invite. The districts of Gaza, Ramley, and Jaffa, are already in my power. I have treated with generosity such of your troops as surrendered at discretion, but I have been severe towards those who violated the rights of war. In a few days, I shall march against Acre. But why should I go; to deprive an old man, with whom I am not acquainted, of the few remaining years of his life! What are a few miles more of territory, in comparison of those which I have already conquered! And, as God grants me victory, I will, like him, be element and merciful, not only towards the people, but towards the great. You have no solid reason for being my enemy, since you were that of the Mammalukes. Your government is separated from that of Egypt by the districts of Gaza, Ramley, and impassable marches.

marches. Become my friend, be the enemy of the Mammalukes and the English, and I will do you as much good as I have done you hurt; and I can still do you more. Send me a short answer, by some person invested with full powers, that I may know your views. He needs only to present himself to my advanced guard, with a white flag; and I have given orders, to my staff, to send you a pass of safety, which you will find here annexed. On the twenty-first of March, I shall march against Acre; I must, therefore, have an answer before that day."

The verbal answer of Ghezzar was, "I have not written to you, because I am resolved to hold no communication with you. You may march against Acre when you please. I shall be prepared for you, and will bury myself in the ruins of the place, rather than let it fall into your hands."

The army marched to Zetta, under the tower of which it passed the night. On the sixteenth, they encamped at Sabarieu, after extricating themselves from the narrow passes of mount Carmel, on the plains of Acre. A division of the army, under general Kleber, marched against Caiffa, which the enemy abandoned at their approach. On the seventeenth, late in the evening, they arrived at the mouth of the little river of Acre, which is at the distance of about fifteen hundred fathoms from the fortrefs. The night was employed in constructing a bridge, over which the whole army passed, at break of day, on the eighteenth.

The city of Acre (anciently called Accho by the Hebrews and

Phœnicians, and afterwards Ptolemais by the Greeks) was, by the French, called St. Jean d'Acre, on account of its being the residence of the knights of Jerusalem, which they defended against the Saracens. It is the last and most southern city on the Phœnician coast. It was a considerable place, so early as the Israelitish judges, since we find that the tribe of Asher could not drive out its inhabitants. After being in the possession of the emperor Claudius, it fell into the hands of the Turks and Arabs, who kept it till the holy war, when it was retaken by the Christians, in the year 1104. The Turks took it a second time, under Saladin. It was wrested from them a second time, in 1191, by Guy, king of Jerusalem, Richard I. king of England, and Philip, king of France. It was then given to the knights of St. John, who held it, about one hundred years, with great bravery. But a dispute, concerning the possession of it, among the Christians themselves, gave an opportunity to sultan Melech Seraf, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, to reduce it again under the Ottoman yoke, in the year 1291. The greater part of the inhabitants fled, for refuge, to the island of Cyprus. Acre was immediately entered and plundered by the Turks, who made a horrible slaughter of those who remained in the city, rased its fortifications to the ground, and destroyed all its noble edifices, as if they could never take sufficient revenge upon it, for all the blood it had cost them, or sufficiently prevent such slaughters for the future. It was in this city that our Edward I. then a prince, received

received a wound with a poisoned arrow.

Acre, by its excellent situation, seems to enjoy all the advantages to be derived from sea and land, being encompassed, on the north and east side, by a spacious and fertile plain, on the west by the Mediterranean, and on the south by a large bay, extending itself from that city to mount Carmel. These advantages pointed it out as a fit *entrepôt* for commerce, to Faccardino (not improperly called the great), chief of the Druses, who, towards the end of the fifteenth century, threw off the Turkish yoke, fortified Acre with additional towers, and, also, that it might be inaccessible to the Turkish galleys, deposited large masses of stones in the deepest parts of the entrance into the harbour. Without the harbour, in the bay, there were roads where vessels lay at anchor, and to and from which the commerce with Acre was carried, in lighters, or boats. The Druses,\* like the Arabs, maintain an independence, almost total, on the Ottomans. Their submission to the Porte is rather nominal than real. Tribute, very irregularly paid, is the only proof or symbol of subjection. The Marconites, a sect of Christians anciently distinguished by the appellation of Nestorians (a term well known in ecclesiastical history), live among, and, indeed, form a part of the Druses. The Marconite Christians have, in the present day, a college, even in the Vatican, in Rome,

where there is a society for propagating and cherishing all sects of Christians acknowledging the Roman-catholic religion. The Marconites, in external matters and ceremonies, are the same with the ancient Syrian church; in articles of belief, or speculation, the same with the Romish. In the times of Faccardino (who carried on a correspondence and commerce with India, as well as the Grecian islands and Italy), the most opulent and commercial, and, indeed, the most accomplished, noble-minded, and princely family in Europe, was the Medici, who gradually arose, through the usual gradations in democracy, to the sovereignty of Florence, and the dependent districts, under the names of the great dukes of Tuscany. Faccardino paid a visit to Cosmo de Medici, at Florence: he was received, at the court of Cosmo, with the most elegant hospitality, and returned to Syria, and St. John d'Acre, accompanied by all manner of artists from Italy.—Bridges, high-ways, palaces begun (though, unfortunately, not finished), improvements in navigation and fortification, and agriculture and commerce, as well as some approaches towards literature and science, in Syria, were the effects of the visit, paid by Faccardino the great, to Cosmo de Medici.—Soon after the death of Faccardino, Acre fell again under the dominion of the Turks.

On the eighteenth of March, the French army, having crossed the

\* The Druses inhabiting the woody, as well as mountainous parts of Syria, Libanus (or Lebanon), and Antilibanus, &c. claim their descent from the crusaders that went to conquer the Saracens, and take Jerusalem. They profess themselves Christians, are enemies of the Turks, and have their particular princes, called emirs. Faccardino was the chief of the Druses, or emir.



little river of Acre, encamped upon an insulated eminence, that was near to, and parallel with the sea. On the twentieth, the trenches were opened, at about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the fortress.

A project for a general attack on Buonaparte, by sea and land, had been concerted between the British and Turkish governments. A descent was to be made, by the bashaw Ghezzar, on the frontiers of Egypt, on the side of the desert of Syria. Ghezzar was to be supported by an army, which was to march across *Asia minor*, from Damascus; and the combined operation of these armies, from Syria, was to be favoured by a diversion, towards the mouth of the Nile, by Mourad Bey, who, though forced to retreat before the advances of the French, was yet in considerable strength, and would be joined by bodies of Arabs. It was to direct the execution of this plan, and to contribute towards its execution, by maritime co-operation, that sir Sidney Smith had left Portsmouth in the preceding autumn, on board the *Tigre*, of eighty-four guns, and sailed for the Levant, where he endeavoured to hasten the preparations for this campaign in Egypt. Commodore Hood continued to block up the port of Alexandria, and the mouths of the Nile. He had experienced the impracticability of burning and destroying the fleet of transports, and French frigates, without a debarkation of troops considerable enough to attack Alexandria. Sir Sidney, informed of the first movements of Buonaparte, endeavoured to detain him, by making attempts on Alexandria, which he bombarded, with-

out farther injury to the French than sinking two transports.

In the mean time, Ghezzar sent timely notice, of the approach of Buonaparte, to sir Sidney Smith, on whom the command of the British naval force, in the Archipelago, had devolved, after the departure of commodore Trowbridge.

Sir Sidney, on the 7th of March, 1799, proceeded towards the coast of Syria, and, on the eleventh, arrived before Caiffa. On the fifteenth, he steered for St. John d'Acre, to concert measures with Ghezzar, having got the start of the enemy by two days, which he employed in making preparations for the defence of the place.

On the sixteenth, about eight in the evening, after a chase of three hours, the commodore, sir Sidney, took, off the cape of Carmel, the whole French flotilla, under the command of Eydoun, chief of division, laden with heavy cannon, ammunition, platforms, and other articles, necessary for Buonaparte's army to undertake the siege. This artillery, consisting of forty-four pieces, was immediately mounted on the ramparts of Acre, against the lines and batteries of the enemy, as well as on gun-vessels. The latter were employed with the greatest success, against the enemy's fire. The nature of the ground, however, permitted the French to carry their trenches within half a musket-shot of the ditch of the place.

The French, on the thirtieth of March, having effected a breach in the wall, on the north-east part of the town, endeavoured to take it by assault, but were vigorously repulsed by the garrison, with considerable

derable loss. The ditch was filled with dead bodies. The troops of Ghezzar afterwards made three successful sorties. The object of the last was to destroy a mine, which the enemy had constructed under the covered way, to the northward, in order to fill up the ditch, near the breach. The English took charge of this enterprize; and, while two thousand Turks took charge of the sortie, they jumped into the mine, and, finding that the works were not quite finished, tore down the supports, and destroyed the whole construction. After this, an uninterrupted fire was kept up, from the fortress of Acre; the artillery being served by English and Turkish artillerymen, who had set out for Acre, from Constantinople, on the fifth of March. These men were placed under the immediate command of colonel Phelippeaux, the chief engineer in the place, to whose councils, plans, and unwearied exertions, the safety of Acre, and the important consequences that followed, were, by the most intelligent part of the Anglo-Turkish garrison, principally attributed. As the town of Acre stands on a rectangular point of land, in the form of a square, of which two sides are washed by the sea, the British ships, in the bay of Acre, were enabled to contribute the protection of their guns, to the garrison, and to the working parties, detached from those ships, who were employed in throwing up two ra-

velines, or half-moons. These, taking the enemy's nearest approaches (advanced within stone's cast, in flank), considerably impeded his operations. The enemy having nearly made a lodgement on the crown of the glacis, and mined the tower forming the inward angle of the town-wall, which is composed of curtains and square towers, after the manner of the twelfth century, Buonaparte, who had transported the cannon he found at Jaffa, and effected a breach on the fourteenth day of the siege, attempted to storm, but was repelled. Repeated assaults were equally unsuccessful.

It was judged to be the best mode of defence, by the garrison, to make frequent sorties, in order to keep the enemy on the defensive, and to impede the progress of their covering-works.

Agreeably to the plan of operation already mentioned, and in the execution of which Ghezzar was very active,\* a number of Mamelukes, who had followed Ibrahim into Syria, the janissaries of Damascus, troops from Aleppo, Mangrabins, and others, advanced with an intention of joining the Arabs and Naplousians (inhabiting the ancient Samaria), and attacking the French army at Acre, on one side, while the troops of Ghezzar, supported by the fire of the British ships, should attack them on the other. Neither a detachment of Kleber's division, under general Junot, which had taken post at Na-

\* Ghezzar had sent emissaries to Aleppo, Damascus, Sayd in Egypt, and the Naplousians, not without supplies of money, for the purpose of exciting all Musselmans (as he said in his manifestoes) to take up arms against the infidels. He gave out, that the French were only a handful of men, and without artillery; that he was supported by a formidable force from England; and that, in order to exterminate the Polytheists, they had only to make their appearance.

zareth and Saffat, in order to watch and oppose the progress of the enemy, and cover the siege of Acre, nor the remainder of that division, under Kleber himself, sent for his support, were found adequate to that object. General Junot, surrounded and attacked by nearly three thousand cavalry, was forced to fall back upon Caffcana. Kleber had, on the eleventh of April, reached Sed-jarra, within four miles of Cana, when four thousand Turkish and Arabian cavalry, supported by four or five hundred foot, coming down from the hills, surrounded the French, and were preparing to charge them. Kleber attacked the village of Sed-jarra, and routed the Turkish cavalry, which fled across the Jordan. But by this time, or within a day or two thereafter, the whole Syrian army, having passed the Jordan, in different divisions, at the bridge of Jacob, and at that of El-mecana, encamped on the plains of Fouli (the ancient Esdrelon), where they formed a junction with the Samaritans, or Naplousians. The united army amounted from fifteen thousand to eighteen thousand men, and (as was computed by the French generals), together with the armed inhabitants of the country, by whom, as is usual in Asia, they had been joined in their march, and after their arrival in the plains of Fouli, to above forty thousand. At the same time, Simon, the commandant of the party of French at Saffat, had been obliged to retire within the fort, where he was attacked by the enemy, who attempted to carry the place, by scaling it. They were repulsed, with great loss, but the French still held it in a state of blockade, with very little of either am-

munition or provisions. Buonaparte, informed of these circumstances, by general Kleber, who, at the same time, intimated his intention of making an attempt to get behind, and surprize the enemy), immediately determined to attack at all points, and come to a decisive engagement with a multitude, by whom he might be attacked and harassed, at their pleasure. He gave orders to Murat, general of brigade, to leave the encampment before Acre, with a thousand infantry and a regiment of cavalry, by forced marches, to seize possession of Jacob's bridge, to fall on the besiegers of Saffat, in rear, and, having raised the siege of that place, to join general Kleber. This general, retarded by the difficulty of the roads, and the defiles through which he had to pass, could not reach the Syrian camp till about two hours after sunrise. The enemy, warned of his approach, by their advanced parties, from the heights of mount Hermon, was quickly on horseback, and marched forward, as far as the village of Fouli, which they occupied with the Naplousian infantry, and two small pieces of cannon, carried on the backs of camels. Buonaparte, leaving only two divisions to keep the trenches, and carry on the siege of Acre, with what remained of his cavalry, after detaching general Murat to Jacob's bridge, the division of Bon, and eight pieces of artillery, hastened to the relief of Kleber. Having marched from Acre on the fifteenth of April, he reached and took post on the heights of Saffuria, in the evening of that day, and, on the next morning, at day-break, marched towards Fouli, along the Gorges of

of the Samaritan mountains. From the last eminence that he had to pass, he saw Esdrelon, or Fouli, and mount Tabor: and, at the foot of this mountain, general Kleber in close action with the enemy. The general had drawn up his men, in number two thousand, upon some ruins, where he had deposited his baggage, and where he maintained a resistance to twenty thousand cavalry, by whom he was nearly surrounded. Buonaparte formed his troops into three square bodies, of which one was cavalry, and made proper dispositions for turning the enemy, at a great distance, and cutting off their communication with their camp, as well as their retreat; and, with the assistance of general Murat, destroying or overthrowing them in the Jordan. The cavalry, with two field-pieces, were sent to take the enemy's camp; the infantry proceeded to turn their army. When it had advanced within the distance of half a league of Kleber, Buonaparte dispatched, for his support, the general Rampon, with a demi-brigade, and general Vial, with another, to cut off their retreat towards the mountains of Naplousia; while he himself ordered his foot-guides to lead him to the proper places, for intercepting their retreat to their magazines at Jenina. The enemy, then, for the first time, began to perceive, that the approaching forces were Frenchmen. Their great mass of cavalry was thrown into disorder. The discharge of an eight-pounder announced the arrival of the French to Kleber, who, thus assisted, charged the Turkish cavalry with the bayonet, and attacked and carried the village of Fouli. The enemy, perceiving that they were cut

off, both from their magazines and camp, were struck with consternation. They threw themselves behind mount Tabor, and, having gained, during the night, the bridge of Gizeh-mecana, retreated towards Damascus, in great disorder, and with great loss.

In the mean time, general Murat had surprized the son of the general of Damascus, at Jacob's bridge, had taken his camp, putting all who had not fled, to the sword, raised the siege of Saffat, and pursued and harassed the enemy's retreat for several leagues. Murat, having left a party to guard the post of Jacob's bridge, and thrown provisions into the castle of Saffat, on the seventeenth of April, took possession of the fort, situated on the lake of Tiberias, where he found a year's ammunition and provisions.

The column of cavalry, sent to attack the Syrian camp, under the command of the adjutant-general, le Turcq, had completely surprized it, taken five hundred camels, with tents, stores, and provisions, killed a great number of men, and made two hundred and fifty prisoners. Buonaparte gave orders, that all that was found in the villages of Noures, Jenina, and Fouli, should be destroyed by fire and sword. After reproaching his Naplousian prisoners, for having taken up arms against him, without provocation, he restrained his vengeance, and promised them his protection, on the condition, of their remaining quietly, in future, in their mountains. The loss of the enemy, according to their reports, on their return to Damascus, exceeded five thousand men. They could scarcely conceive, that, at the same juncture

of time, they had been beaten on a line of nine leagues. With military combinations, on plans of any extent, those barbarians are unacquainted: they are to be considered, indeed, not as warriors but as hordes of robbers.

General Kleber, with his division, posted in different stations, was left to guard the Jordan; Buonaparte, with the division under general Bon, and the cavalry under general Murat, returned to the camp at Acre.

New works were pushed with great vigour, on both sides. Fresh assaults were made by the besiegers and sorties by the besieged. The French, on the twenty-eight of April, were encouraged by the arrival of three pieces of battering-artillery, 24-pounders, brought to Jaffa by the frigates under the vice admiral Pernée, and six pieces of eighteen, sent from Damietta; and, on the seventh of May, the English, by the appearance, in the bay of Acre, of a fleet of corvettes and transports, under the command of Hassan Bey.

The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hope to get possession of the town, before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark. The gun-boats, being within grape distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musketry, did great execution: still, however, the enemy gained ground, made a lodgement on the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins of the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted. Day-light, on the morning of the eight of May, discovered the French

standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened, in comparison with that of the besiegers; and the flanking fire of the former, from the ravelines, was become of less effect, that the enemy had covered themselves in the lodgements before-mentioned; and the approach to it, by two traverses, were now seen, composed of sand-bags and the bodies of the dead built in with them, their bayonets only being visible above them: Hassan Bay's troops were in the boats, but as yet only half way on the shore. This was a most critical point of the contest; and an effort was necessary to preserve the place, for a short time, till their arrival. Sir Sidney, therefore, landed the boats at the Mole; and took the crews, armed with pikes, up to the breach. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at the sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, was not to be described. Many troops returned, with the very opportune reinforcement, to the breach, which was defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones: these, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as a breast-work for both. The muzzles of their muskets touched one another and the spear-head of the standards were locked together. Ghezzar, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads

heads of the enemy, and distributing musket-cartridges with his own hand. The energetic old man, coming behind, forcibly pulled them down, saying, if any harm happened to his English friends all was lost. This amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan's troops. It became necessary to combat the bashaw's repugnance to the admission of any troops, but his Albanians, into the garden of his seraglio, become a very important post, as occupying the terre-plein of the rampart. There were not above two hundred of the original thousand Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate: his objections were over-ruled. A regiment, called the Cliflick, was introduced, consisting of 100 men, armed with bayonets, and disciplined after the European method, under sultan Selim's own eye, and placed, by his orders, under sir Sidney's immediate command. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being, consequently, enough to defend the breach, sir Sidney proposed to the bashaw to get rid of the objects of his jealousy, by opening his gates to let them make a sally, and then to take the assailants in flank; a request with which he readily complied. Orders were given to the colonel to get possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench. The gates were opened; the Turks rushed out, but were driven back to the town with loss. The *sortie*, however, had this good effect. that it obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets; so that the flanking

fire of the besieged brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach: the small number, therefore, remaining in the lodgement, were killed or dispersed.

The groupe of generals and aids-de-camp, which shells, from sixty-eight pounders, had frequently dispersed, was now assembled on a mount, called Richard Cœur de Lion. Buonaparte was distinguished in the centre of a semi-circle: his gesticulations indicated an intention to renew the attack, and his dispatching an aid-de-camp to the camp shewed, that he waited only for a reinforcement. A little before sunset, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach, with a solemn step. The bashaw's idea was, not to defend the breach this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of warfare. The French column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the bashaw's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses; the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet. The rest retreated precipitately; and the officer commanding the column, who, as afterwards appeared, was general Lanne, while he was manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, was severely wounded. General Rambaud was killed.

During this contest, immense multitudes of spectators, on the surrounding hills, waited only, according to the manner of Asia, to see how it would end, to join the victors.

[D]

Sir

Sir Sidney Smith, conceiving the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistibility of the French, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with, in their operations before the town of Acre, wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of mount Lebanon, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. He sent them, at the same time, a copy of Buonaparte's impious proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments, accompanied with a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian knight, and that of an unprincipled renagado. This letter had all the effect that he could desire. They immediately sent him two ambassadors, professing not only friendship but obedience; assuring him that, in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp; and putting eighty prisoners of this description into his hands, and to be at his disposal. Buonaparte's career farther northward was thus effectually stopped by a warlike people, inhabiting an impenetrable country.

The Turkish Chifflick regiment made a fresh sally, the next night, the ninth of May, the lieutenant-colonel, Soliman Aga, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders he had received, to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel, which he did most effectually: but the impetuosity of

a few carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards; though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to waste its time and strength in recovering their trenches; in which, after a conflict of some hours, it succeeded.

A flag of truce was now sent into the town, by the hand of an Arabian dervise, with a letter to the bashaw, proposing a cessation of arms, for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which had become intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of the armies on both sides; many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, "to the eternal disgrace of the general" says Sir Sydney Smith, "who thus disloyally sacrificed them." Sir Sydney saved the life of the Arabian dervise, who had come with the flag of truce, from the effects of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off with himself to the Tigre, from whence he sent him back to the general with a message, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such merited reproof. It must have been extremely painful to Sir Sydney, whose humanity was equal to his extraordinary intrepidity and bravery, and who had exerted himself, with  
success,

success to soften the fate of the French prisoners at Constantinople, to behold the multiplied horrors which were committed under his inspection, and these under the united flags of the Sublime Porte and of Great Britain. The French wounded and prisoners were massacred by the Turks, in cold blood. As they have a savage satisfaction themselves in slaughtering their enemies, and even their women and children, they place no faith in capitulations, and think the only way to be secure against any future attacks from their prisoners of war is to put them to death. They bound two and two of them together, having first cut off their heads, in one sack, and threw them into the sea. It is uncertain, whether this invention was borrowed by the Turks from the French, in their war in La Vendée, or by the French from the Turks.

All hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a retreat, which was put in execution on the night between the twentieth and twenty-first of May, after a siege of sixty days. It has been already said, that the enemy's battering train of artillery, amounting to twenty-three pieces, fell into the hands of the English cruisers. Their howitzers, and the medium twelve-pounders, originally conveyed by land with great difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach at Acre, were embarked in the country-vessels, at Jaffa, to be conveyed

coast-wise, together with the worst among the wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be executed: sir Sidney Smith (the British commodore), therefore, took care to be between Jaffa and Damietta, before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea, without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they stercored straight to his majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity: in which they were not disappointed. He sent them on, to Damietta, where they would receive such farther aid as their situation required, but which it was out of his power to give to so many. Their expressions of gratitude (sir Sidney relates), to the English sailors, were mingled with execrations on the name of their general, who had, as they said, exposed them to peril, rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that the English commander, sir Sidney, had intentionally exposed the prisoners, he had formerly taken, to the infection of the plague.\*

The French army had not long begun to retreat, when it was harried in rear by the Arabs (a party of whom came down to the boats, and treated the English flag with every token of union and respect),

\* We cannot, notwithstanding all that has been advanced by one of the parties, but suspend our final judgement, respecting the real cause, or, perhaps, accidental circumstances, or mistake, that may have led to the renewal of hostilities against the English, while the messenger for a truce was yet in their hands, and before an answer was given. The narrative of Berthier, and a letter of Buonaparte's, ascribes the blame to the garison.



while the van column, in its march along the beach, was severely annoyed by rowing gun-boats.

Ishmael Bashaw, governor of Jerusalem, entered the town of Jaffa by land, at the same time that the English Squadron brought their guns to bear upon it by sea.\* The plunder and massacre of the helpless inhabitants, begun by the Naplousians, was stopped by the united efforts of Ishmael Bashaw and the English commodore. The English flag, re-hoisted on the consul's house, and under which the bashaw of Jerusalem met sir Sidney, served as an asylum for all religions, and for every description of the surviving inhabitants. Two thousand cavalry were dispatched, to harass the French rear. But this, after all the losses it had suffered, and disadvantages under which it laboured, returned, on its steps, from an un-

fortunate and disastrous expedition, to Grand Cairo, where the genius and good fortune of Buonaparte found early occasions of retrieving the disasters he suffered from Ghezzar Bashaw, † at St. John d'Acre, by new triumphs over internal commotion and foreign aggression. In the course of his retreat to Cairo, Buonaparte took signal vengeance on all the villages and towns in which assassinations had been committed on his troops, or where his convoys had been interrupted.—Many of them he ordered to be reduced to ashes, carrying away all their camels, cattle, or whatever provisions they possessed, for the use of his army. He visited all the forts on the Egyptian side of the desert (having previously demolished those on the side of Syria), directed new works to be constructed, and garrisoned the most important with troops.

\* These are the words of sir Sidney Smith. But we presume, that he meant to say only, that the ships were brought to a station from which the guns might be made to bear on it by sea. There was no resistance made by the inhabitants of Jaffa: and, as for the French, they had taken to flight, after having laid the town under a contribution of one hundred and fifty thousand livres, blowing up the fortifications, and throwing the artillery into the sea, and also punishing the villages which had harassed their convoy, during the siege of Acre.

† The following account of this bashaw is given under the authority of general Berthier's journal: and farther, we say, not for the credit to which it is entitled. Our readers will, perhaps, discern in it a characteristic trait of the French nations; a desire of degrading a powerful opponent, to facilitate conquest, and to elevate their own character in the same ratio in which the other sinks. "Achmet, surnamed Ghezzar (which signifies *butcher*), is a disgrace to human nature, and is regarded as a monster of ferocity, even among the most barbarous people of the east. This chieftain has filled his territories with monuments of cruelty, unheard of till his time. He has caused several of his wives to be slayed, on the most frivolous prettexts. He causes the men, he wishes to chastise, to be loaded with irons. He cuts off, with his own hands, the heads of his confidants. He cuts off nose, ears, hands, and feet, from the most trivial suspicions. He makes those, who displease him, rot alive, to the very head. He encourages the robbery and peculation of his officers, in order to seize and strangle them, for the wealth they have amassed. He had been appointed, by the grand seignior, bashaw of Egypt and Damascus, as well as of Acre."

## C H A P. III.

*Account of the Siege of Acre, by the English.—And by the French Commanders.—Demolition of Forts.—Contributions.—The French Army re-enters the Desert.—Camps of the Arabs burned.—Arrival of the French Army at Cairo.—Loss of the French Army in the Syrian Expedition.—Internal Dissatisfaction and Commotion in Egypt.—And new Attacks threatened on the Coast and Frontier.—Observations on the different Reports of Sir Sidney Smith and General Berthier.—Proceedings of Buonaparte, after his Return to Egypt.—The Mammalukes, surprized in their Camp, betake themselves to Flight.—A Turkish Army, supported by a Fleet, advances against Aboukir.—Position of the Turks at Aboukir.—And of the Squadron.—Disposition of the French Army, for an Attack on the Turks.—Battle of Aboukir.—Gained by the French.—Declarations by Buonaparte.—Buonaparte, amidst all his Proceedings, military and political, pays constant Attention to the Interests of Commerce, Arts, and Sciences.—A Detachment of the French Army occupies Suez.—Journey to Suez, by Buonaparte.*

**O**F the immediate circumstances or causes that induced Buonaparte, on the twenty-first of May, to abandon the siege of Acre, as well as the means and mode in which he effected his retreat, the account given has been no other than very general, though these points, particularly the last, excite a lively curiosity in all who are, in the least, acquainted with the nature of military operations. The reports of the English commandant at Acre, and the French general, on these subjects, are widely different. Sir Sidney Smith, in his dispatches to the British government, states, that all subordination among the French troops was at an end, and that the grenadiers refused any more to mount the breach, in the walls of Acre, over the putrid bo-

dies of their unburied companions, as well as those of their enemies. The utmost disorder, he says, was manifested in their retreat; and the whole track, between Acre and Gaza, strewed with the dead bodies of those who had sunk under fatigue, or the effect of wounds.—Buonaparte gave out to his army, and to the world, that he was unwilling to waste even a few days longer, in the siege of Acre, though, in that short space, the bassaw might have been taken in the midst of his palace. The brave men that he must have lost, were necessary for more important operations. He had accomplished his original design, of giving an effectual check to Ghezzar, and preventing an invasion of Egypt on the side of Syria. It had always been his in-

tention, he said, at the proper season, to return to Egypt, in order to oppose and defeat any operation that might be combined at sea, and which might probably take place early in July. With regard to the retreat, general Berthier, in his narrative, affirms, that the French army retreated, from Acre, in perfect order, after destroying an aqueduct of several leagues, which supplied Acre with fresh water, as well as burning all the magazines and harvests in it : of all the sick and wounded, the narrative states, not a Frenchman was left behind. A fire in Acre was kept up to the last. The troops moved off in perfect silence, with their baggage, in the best order. After the whole had passed, the bridges over the river of Acre were cut down. A body of troops, left to protect the workmen employed in that service, had orders not to leave the river, until two hours after the whole of the troops had passed over. The Turks and English continued to fire on the French lines, during the whole night of the twentieth and twenty-first of May. On this last day, the army arrived at Cantoura, where an immense quantity of artillery was thrown into the sea. Twenty pieces, with the sick and wounded, were sent by sea to Jaffa. On the twenty-second, it rested all night on the ruins of Cesarea, and, on the fifth, arrived off Jaffa, where it remained for three days following, and took vengeance on the neighbouring villages, that had shewn themselves hostile, carrying away all their grain and cattle. The fortifications of Jaffa were demolished, and all the artillery of the place, which was iron, thrown into the sea. The sick and wound-

ed were sent on to Egypt, part by sea, and part under proper convoys by land. A contribution was levied from the merchants, of one hundred and fifty thousand livres. On the thirtieth it reached, and on the thirty-first departed from Gaza. The fort of this place was blown up. Three of the principal and richest inhabitants, with whose conduct the French were dissatisfied, were fined in a hundred thousand livres. On the first of June, it came to Kan-Iouanessé, and, on the thirteenth, entered into the desert, followed by a considerable quantity of cattle taken from the enemy, and designed for the provision of El-Arisch. The desert, between this place and Kan-Iouanessé, a space of eleven leagues, was inhabited by Arabs, who had made frequent attacks on the French convoys. Several of their camps, by order of Buonaparte, were burned. The French carried off a considerable number of their cattle and camels, and set fire to what little harvest was here and there found in this barren desert. On the third of June, they halted at El-Arisch, where Buonaparte left a garrison. He raised new works, for the defence of the fort, which he furnished with ammunition and provisions. The army, in crossing the desert between El-Arisch and Cathich, a journey of twenty-two leagues, though in different and successive divisions, suffered greatly from thirst. From Cathich, where the army rested on the fourth of June, Buonaparte went to reconnoitre the port of Tinch, and the mouths of the Annufarraga. On the sixth, the division of Kleber marched to Tinch, there to embark for Damietta. The rest of the army pro-

proceeded from Cathich, by Saliich, to Cairo, where it arrived on the fourteenth of June.

The French army, in the expedition to Syria, lost about seven hundred men, who died of disease; five hundred killed; and about one thousand eight hundred wounded; of whom ninety-eight were obliged to undergo amputation: nearly the whole of the other wounded were healed and rejoined their respective companies. This is an abstract of Berthier's narrative.

If the French general wasted a greater part of his troops in the siege of Acre, and in crossing and re-crossing the desert, than has been published to the world by general Berthier, still the projected invasion of Egypt, on the side of Syria, was frustrated by the severe check in which the French army had kept Ghezzar Bashaw, and by the repulse of the army of Damascus.

But, while the enemy was held at bay within the walls of a town, or defeated in the field, in one quarter, they had collected different bodies, and indicated a disposition to make fresh attacks in others. A British Squadron cruized in the gulph of Suez: an Anglo-Russian Squadron, of about a hundred sail, with a large body of troops, he was informed, was on its way for the coast of Egypt. He was apprised, at the same time, by general Desaix, that the Mammalukes, in Upper Egypt, had divided their forces: the one party intending to join Ibrahim Bey, who had fallen back to Gaza; the other, under Murad Bey, to descend by the Fayoum, and gain the passes of the lakes of Natron. It was, probably, the intention of the latter to form a junction with a body of Arabs already assembled in

that quarter, with the design of protecting a descent either at the tower of the Anates or at Aboukir. Symptoms of revolt, which had for some time appeared in the Lower Egypt, had lately been heightened by a report of the death of Buonaparte, and the total defeat of his army; which alienated the minds of the chiefs, in whom the general had been induced to repose confidence. In a word, while internal dissatisfactions and commotions took place in Egypt, every thing on the frontiers and in the neighbouring countries indicated a great plan of attack on every part of it; while Ghezzar Bashaw occupied the army in Syria. The proper season, too, for re-crossing the desert, and re-embarking from Syria, was nearly expired; and, on the whole, the season of the year and the actual circumstances of affairs rendered it prudent, on the part of Buonaparte, to raise the siege of Acre, and return, on his steps for the protection of his infant colony, menaced equally by internal discord and foreign aggression.

The army engaged in the Syrian expedition amounted to one hundred and twenty-nine thousand four hundred and thirty-five men; of which, in four months, seven hundred died by disease, (the plague raging, at that time, in Syria); five hundred killed in battle; and about one thousand wounded, ninety of whom underwent amputation. The loss of the Turks and English he rates at seven thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; besides forty pieces of cannon and fifty stand of colours, taken in the course of the expedition into Syria.

Neither the losses of the French, during the siege of Acre, or on [D 4] their

their retreat and return to Egypt, according to this report of Berthier, given in the face of the army, can well be supposed to be extremely inaccurate and wide of truth. On the other hand, it may be observed, that the account which is given of the main design of the expedition, by general Berthier, was drawn up after his return to Egypt, and may not, improbably, have been warped, in some measure, and bent, in order to correspond with the course of events. But, even on this supposition, we must acknowledge the good generalship and address of Buonaparte. It was of great consequence, especially in a country where almost every thing depends upon the opinion that is entertained of the personal powers, fortune, and destiny, of the commander, that a report should go forth, and prevail, that nothing had happened but what Buonaparte had foreseen, and for which he had provided.

In weighing opposite testimonies, every reasonable and candid judge considers the means or opportunities possessed by the reporters, and also the motives they might probably have had, either to declare the truth, or to conceal or disguise it. The views of Buonaparte, both in forming and raising the siege of Acre, were, undoubtedly, better known to himself than to sir Sydney Smith; and, however he may have feigned or concealed his views in undertaking the siege, the real cause or circumstance that induced a necessity of raising it could not possibly have been concealed or glossed over, and far less wholly omitted; if that had been the real cause which is assigned by sir Sydney. It must have been notorious

and palpable, not only to every officer, commissioned and non-commissioned, but to every private in the whole French army. It is farther to be remarked, on this question, that sir Sydney had not, at that time, formed, by any means, a just estimate of the mind of Buonaparte; and, consequently, that he was apt to mistake his views, and the motives by which he was actuated. Instead of giving his illustrious antagonist credit for sound judgement and uncommon abilities, in a letter to admiral Nelson, he speaks of "Buonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which," he says, "led him to commit such palpable errors as even the common seamen could discern: he seemed to have no principle of action but that of pressing forward:" and he adds, "Two attempts to assassinate me, in the town, having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of honour and of war:" which, as already mentioned, was positively denied by the general-in-chief and the other French officers. There is something in the manner, in which our *Christian Knight* (a name in which sir Sydney justly glories) speaks of Buonaparte, contrary to the usual courtesy with which knights and gentlemen of the army are wont to treat one another: while he pretty plainly insinuates, in favour of himself, that the enemy had little hopes of success, as long as he was personally safe. It would, indeed, be invidious to mingle little foibles with the praise justly due to the amiable as well as heroic qualities and actions of sir Sydney Smith: if otherwise not necessary in balancing his ideas and reports with those of Buonaparte and general Berthier.

It

It will not escape observation, that the courage and persevering resolution of the besieged are greatly enhanced by the supposition, that the French grenadiers, after such a brilliant career of uninterrupted conquest, though animated by the presence of Buonaparte, were yet so much intimidated by the efforts of the garrison as to disobey the positive orders of their commander. Farther still, neither the conduct of the French soldiers, before nor after the siege of Acre, gives the least countenance to the allegations of sir Sydney Smith. The proceeding of Buonaparte, after his return from Syria, in Egypt, are, indeed, a complete refutation of the reports made by sir Sydney, of the most terrible losses and disasters suffered by the French army. Time, the grand critic and judge of historic evidence, will, no doubt, bring all these points, concerning which, some doubts may be entertained, for the present, to the clearest light. But, as it is painful, and indeed scarcely possible, for the human mind to persevere long in the equilibrium of perfect suspense, but must lean to one side on every subject, we have anticipated the decision of time by a few palpable observations and undeniable rules of criticism.

The various seeds of discontent, jealousy, and resentment, that prevailed among different tribes and classes of men in Egypt, during the absence of the commander-in-chief and flower of the French army, in Syria, threatened an eruption into open insurrection and re-

volt.\* Soon, however, after his return, all things were reduced to their former state of tranquillity.

But, ideas of reconquering Egypt, as Buonaparte had foreseen, were inspired into the councils of the divan, by the victory of lord Nelson, and the consequences naturally resulting from that event; and also, what Buonaparte probably did not foresee, the brave and successful defence of St. John d'Acre.

Immediately upon his return to Cairo, from the Syrian expedition, Buonaparte directed his attention to the formation of different corps. He soon put the army in a state to march to new combats. He had destroyed one part of the general plan of attack, combined between the Porte and England, and he every moment expected that he would have to attack the other parts.

He was informed by general Desfaix, as already mentioned, that the Mammalukes, in Upper Egypt, had divided their forces; that a part had proceeded to the passes of Sababier, with the intention of joining Ibrahim Bey, who had gone back to Gaza; and that Murad Bey descended, by the Fayoum, to gain the passes on the lakes of Natron. He was of opinion that it was the intention of the latter to form a junction with a body of Arabs already assembled in that quarter; but that general Desfaix would disperse them with the moveable column under his command.

General Le Grange, with a moveable column, left Cairo, on the tenth of July, and arrived at Sababier, where he surprized the

\* An emissary from Africa, calling himself the angel, El Madhi, announced in the Akoran, was one of the principal agents of sedition. He declared, that the muskets, bayonets, sabres, and cannons, of the French could have no effect on his followers.

Mammalukes in their camp. They had scarcely time to escape, and abandoned all their baggage, and seven hundred camels. Fifty of their horses were taken. The Mammalukes fled into the desert.

General Murat, with another moveable column, received orders to proceed to the lakes of Natron, disperse the Arabs collected there, second the operations of general Destaing, and cut off the retreat of Murad Bey. General Murat arrived at the lakes of Natron, took a Kiaschef and thirty Mammalukes, who were pursued, along with some Arabs, by general Destaing. Murad Bey, when near the lakes of Natron, learned that the French were there, and made a retrograde movement. On the thirteenth of July he rested near the pyramids of Gizeh, on the side of the desert. In the beginning of July, a Turkish army, under Mustapha Bashaw, supported by the Anglo-Russian and Turkish fleets, advanced against Aboukir, the bulwark of Alexandria and Egypt. The Turkish troops, under Mustapha, and those on board the united fleets, were computed from thirty to forty thousand men. On the eleventh of July, Seid Mustapha Bashaw anchored, with all his forces, in the road of Aboukir. On the sixteenth, they effected a landing, without opposition; and an attack was immediately made on the castle and redoubt. After a heavy cannonade, which was continued from ten in the morning till three in the afternoon, the redoubt ceased to fire, and offered to capitulate: but the

Turks, heated by the battle, would listen to no proposals: they scaled the redoubt and cut in pieces the whole garrison, amounting to seven hundred men. The French in the castle, four hundred in number, fearing a similar fate, surrendered prisoners of war.

Buonaparte, informed by a letter from Alexandria, that this Turkish fleet, of a hundred sail, had anchored at Aboukir and indicated hostile intentions against Alexandria, having made the proper dispositions for the defence and peace of Upper Egypt and Cairo, and also for keeping up the communication between Cairo and Alexandria, moved with the main army from Rhamanie, and, on the twenty-third of July took a position at Birket. The head-quarters were fixed at Alexandria. The miners were sent to Leda to dig wells: springs were discovered, and the wells formed and guarded. Three battalions of the garrison of Alexandria, under the command of general Destaing, were ordered to reconnoitre the enemy, take a position, and see wells cleared at midway between Alexandria and Aboukir.\* Buonaparte employed the morning of the twenty-fourth in viewing the fortifications of Alexandria, and in preparing every thing for attacking the enemy at Aboukir; where, according to the report of spies and reconnoitering parties, Mustapha Bashaw, commanding the Turkish army, landed with about fifteen thousand men, a great quantity of artillery, and a number of horses, and was engaged in erecting forti-

\* We have noticed, in this sketch, those attentions to wells; because this is as great a point in warfare, in hot countries, as the establishment of stores and magazines in other countries.

fications. In the afternoon, Buonaparte left Alexandria with the main army, advanced parties being sent to various posts, in different directions, and took a position between the wells of Alexandria and Aboukir. The army began to move forward toward Aboukir, at day-break, on the twenty-fifth of July. A brigadier-general, with two squadrons of infantry and a hundred dromedaries, was ordered to take a position between Alexandria and the army, in order to oppose the Arabs and Murad Bay, who were every moment expected to arrive, with the design of joining the Turkish army, and in order to preserve the communication with Alexandria. A division of the army, which had proceeded to Rosetta, was directed to take post, by day-break, at the extremity of the bar of Rosetta, at Aboukir, and near the entrance of the lake of Madie, in order to cannonade such of the vessels of the combined fleet as might be found on the lake, and to harass the enemy's left.

The first line of the Turks was posted about half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir. About a hundred men occupied a mount of sand, defended on its right, towards the sea, by entrenchments, and supported by a village at the distance of about three hundred toises,\* which was occupied by one thousand two hundred men and four pieces of cannon. The left was upon a detached sand-hill, to the left of the peninsula, and about six hundred toises in front of the first line. This position was very badly fortified; but the Turkish army occupied it in order to cover

the most plentiful wells of Aboukir. Some gun-boats were stationed so as to protect the space between this position and the second line; which was also occupied by two thousand men, provided with six pieces of cannon. Their second position was about three hundred toises in the rear of the first village; their centre, at the redoubt which they had taken from the French; their right, behind an entrenchment extending from the redoubt to the sea, a space of about a hundred toises; their left was posted between the redoubt and the sea, on some low sand-hills and the shore, commanded by the fire from the redoubts and the gun-boats. In this position, there were about seven hundred men and twenty-two pieces of cannon. About a hundred toises behind the redoubt lay the village and fort of Aboukir, occupied by nearly one thousand five hundred men. The train of the bashaw, who had the chief command, consisted of eighty horsemen. The squadron came to anchor in the road, about a league and a half from the shore. After a march of two hours, the advanced guard of the French came in sight of the Turks. These being attacked by the French with the bayonet, retreated towards the village. Two squadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides, on horseback, cut off their retreat, and killed or drove into the sea this body of two hundred men, of which not one escaped. The same division of the French army then marched upon the village, which formed the centre of their second line, and turned it, while another corps attacked it

\* A toise is a French measure of one fathom, or six feet.



in front: The whole second line, including the village, was carried. The French cavalry killed many with their sabres, and drove many into the sea. The rest made their escape to the redoubt, which formed the centre of the second position. This second position was very strong, the redoubt being flanked by a ditch of communication, which secured the peninsula on the right, as far as the sea. Another ditch of the like kind stretched along on the left, to a small distance from the redoubt. The remaining space was occupied by the enemy stationed on the sand-hills and in the batteries. In this position the enemy had from 8,000 to 9,000 men.

While the French troops halted to take breath, the general-in-chief ordered some pieces of artillery to be planted in the village, and along the shore, on the left. A fire was opened on the redoubt, and the right of the Turks. The French cavalry, on the right of their line attacked the enemy's left, which it repeatedly charged with great impetuosity, cutting down, or driving into the sea, all who came in their way. But they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being put between its fire and that of the gun-boats. Hurried by their bravery into this terrible defile, they fell back at each charge, and the Turks made a stand with fresh forces on the dead bodies of their companions. A reinforcement was sent of infantry. The Turks at this instant made a sally. The heads of the hostile columns fought body to body. The Turks endeavoured, by their superiority of bodily strength, to wrest the bayonets from the French; they slung their muskets behind them, and fought with their

sabres and pistols: for every Turk carries a musket, two pistols in his girdle, and a sabre. A French regiment at length reached the entrenchment: but the fire from the redoubt, which every where flanked the entrenchments, where the enemy again retired, checked the columns. The Turks, notwithstanding the dreadful fire from the village, darted from their entrenchments, to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might receive the rewards which the Turkish government bestows for the encouragement of this barbarous custom. Another corps of the French was sent to advance, for the support of their friends, on the Turks. They leaped on the parapet, and were soon within the redoubt. Another party of the French rushed forward upon the Turks at the charging step. General Murat, who commanded the advanced guard of the French, and who followed and supported every movement of his countrymen, and whose coolness on this day could be equalled only by his military talents and virtues, seized the moment when the redoubt was attacked, to order a corps of infantry to charge, and reverse all the Turkish positions, as far as the ditch of the fort of Aboukir. This movement was executed with so much impetuosity, and so opportunely, that, at the moment the redoubt was forced, this column had already reached its destination, and entirely cut off the retreat of the Turks to the fort of Aboukir. Confused and terrified, they now found every where only the bayonet and death. The cavalry cut them down with their sabres. They believed that they had now no resource left but to fly to

to the sea; into which six or seven thousand precipitated themselves in total despair. Mustapha Basha, commander-in-chief, as above mentioned, of the Turkish army, was taken, with about 200 Turks: 2000 men lay on the field of battle. All the tents, the equipage, and 20 pieces of cannon, (two of which were English, having been presented by the court of London to the grand seignior), fell into the hands of the French. The English gunboats saved themselves by flight. It was computed, that about 10,000 Turks were drowned. The fort of Aboukir ceased to fire: the garrison was struck with terror.

A flag of truce was soon followed by the surrender of the fort of Aboukir. Buonaparte, foreseeing the certainty of this, retired, even before it took place, to Alexandria.

At this place he issued the following declarations, which it may not be improper here to record: whether Buonaparte sincerely believed what he gave out, or meant, by affecting to believe it, to practise on the sentiments and passions of his adherents, and thereby render them more docile and passive instruments of his future schemes of operation and ambition. Scarcely any thing that is done or said by such a man, is unworthy of a place in the record of the times; and it would be wholly unworthy of a British chronicler, whose countrymen oppose, with so great success, such a front, to all that can possibly be opposed to them, to conceal or shade the egregious merit of so illustrious an adversary.

The first of these declarations is dated, *Army of the East*, general orders, July 27.

“ The general-in-chief, wishing to give a mark of his approbation to the brigade of cavalry of general Murat, which covered itself with glory at the battle of Aboukir, orders the commandant of artillery to send to the brigade the two English pieces of cannon, which had been sent by the court of London, as a present to Constantinople, and which were taken in that battle.

“ On each cannon there shall be engraven the names of the three regiments composing that brigade, as well as the name of general Murat, and that of adjutant-general Roire; there shall be written round the touch-hole ‘ Battle of Aboukir.’

The second declaration is dated, general orders, August 1st, Buonaparte, general-in-chief.

“ The name of Aboukir was fatal to all Frenchmen. The 25th of July has rendered it glorious. The victory which the army has gained accelerates its return to Europe.

“ We have conquered Mentz, and the limits of the Rhine, by invading a part of Germany. We have now reconquered our establishments in India, and those of our allies, by a single operation. We have put into the hands of government the power to force England, notwithstanding its maritime triumphs, to a peace glorious for the republic.

“ We have suffered much: we have had to fight enemies of every kind: we have them still to conquer: but, at length, the result will be worthy of you, and we shall merit the thanks of our country.”

The account we have given of the battle of Aboukir, and the march of the French to that place,

is extracted from the copious Journal of the Proceedings of Buonaparte, published in the name of Berthier, but drawn up, or for the most part we should suppose dictated, by Buonaparte himself; a supposition which derives additional probability from this circumstance, that we meet with many phrases and modes of expression, which appear prominent in the manifestoes and letters of Buonaparte. The very short abridgement or abstract we have given of that Journal, is calculated on such a scale as might be intelligible to ordinary readers, not much conversant with military tactics. We presume that the military reader will derive, from a perusal of that Journal, both amusement and instruction. Every movement is described with an exactness which, to most readers would be dry and tedious. But that Journal seems to have another object, besides that of recording and justifying the commander-in-chief. Every corps, every individual of every rank that eminently distinguished himself, is mentioned with warm applause; and thus the love of fame is inflamed by the certainty of justice being done to merit, by an accurate and faithful record.

In the midst of all Buonaparte's cares and efforts for establishing the military power and political authority of the French republic in Egypt, he was not inattentive, but kept a vigilant eye on the great interests of the republic of letters and science: to which universal republic, with a just taste of glory, he appears to have been equally anxious to approve his conduct on the whole, as either to the French nation, or the rulers of the French democracy.

While the French generals were busied in quelling tumults and insurrections, erecting fortifications, and preventing or repelling hostile invasions, Buonaparte formed a commercial company at Cairo, as well as a library and an institution, on the plan of France, for promoting arts, sciences, and philosophy. The learned men, whom he took with him to Egypt, were employed in determining latitudes, examining the state, and taking surveys of canals and lakes; in repairing canals; in examining and describing plants and animals; in mineralogic researches; and, what is nearly connected with these, chymical experiments; in making observations geological, nosological, and meteorological; in drawing plans of towns, edifices, and various monuments of antiquity; in improving agriculture; in erecting a chymical laboratory, founderies, wind-mills, and other useful works. Early in December, 1798, a detachment of 1,500 men, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of general Bon, took possession of Suez. Thither Buonaparte went himself, on the 22d of December, accompanied by several officers, and men of science and learning, and escorted by a corps of cavalry. Having forded the red-sea at low water, he visited the fountains of Moses, about ten leagues and a half from Suez, in Asia. Five sources contribute to form these fountains, which send up to the top little monticules of sand. The water is very good, but somewhat brackish; you discover in them the vestiges of a small modern aqueduct, which conducted the water to cisterns on the borders of the sea, from whence it was taken

to supply ships. These fountains are at the distance of three quarters of a league from the sea.

In the evening he returned to Suez, but the sea was high. His guide lost him in the marshes, from which he extricated himself with difficulty, being up to the middle in water.

Suez, if its magazines be considered, appears to have been the entrepot of a very considerable commerce. Barges only can come into the port; but a point of sand that runs out a league into the sea, and which is uncovered at low water, and near which frigates can lie at anchor, furnished every possible means for erection of a battery, that might protect the shipping at anchor, and defend the coast. At Suez, the Arabs of Top came and solicited the friendship of the French, and obtained it. Here also Buonaparte received a deputation of the monks of Mount Sinai. The pious Cenobites brought him the humble offering of the fruits of their mountain, and presented to him the charter of toleration given originally, and signed by Mahomet, requesting also the protection of the new conquerors; and Mahomet's charter was countersigned by Buonaparte.

He took a very detailed survey of the town and adjacent coasts, and ordered the construction of certain works for the defence of this important post. For the encouragement of commerce, he lowered the duties paid to the Bassaws and Mammelukes, and for carriage of goods established regular caravans from Suez to Cairo and Belbeis. During his stay of two days at Suez

there arrived four vessels. He then set out, and sailing along the coast to the north, he discovered, at the distance of two leagues and a half from Suez, the remains of the entrance of the canal of Suez; which he pursued the length of four leagues. In four days he arrived at Honareh, where the remains of the canal of Suez are discoverable at its entrance on the cultivated and watered lands of Egypt.

He pursued the line of the canal the length of several leagues, and ordered citizen Peyre, an engineer, to go to Suez, and to return with a sufficient escort, to take a geometrical survey of the course of the canal, by means of which operation was resolved the problem of the existence of one of the greatest and most useful works in the world.

It should not be omitted, under the head of Buonaparte's care for the republic of letters, to mention, that he established a newspaper at Cairo, of which Cossiaz was the editor, under the title of the *Courier of Egypt*. He also set several of his learned men and philosophers to work upon an almanack, containing five calendars, the republican calendar, and the calendars of the Romish, Greek, Copht, and Mahometan churches. In fine, it may be observed of Buonaparte, and it is, perhaps, what most happily distinguishes his character, that there never was any general, ancient or modern, if we ought not to except Alexander the Great, who so happily united the progress of arms with the advancement of science.

## C H A P. IV.

*Object of the French Expedition to Egypt.—Connection between France and the Sultaun of Mysore, in India.—Letter from Buonaparte to Tippoo Sultaun.—Hostilities against the British, in India, concerted between the French Government and Tippoo.—Embassy from Tippoo Sultaun to Zemaun Shah, King of Cabul.—The Kingdoms of Candahar and Cabul described.—Curious Instructions of Tippoo to his Ambassadors.—Plans for hostile Co-operation between Tippoo Sultaun and Zemaun Shah, against the English.—Letter from Tippoo to Zemaun.—Zemaun's Answer.—According with the Wishes of Tippoo.—The Invasion of India concerted between those two Princes, prevented by the Vigilance and political Address of the Government of Bombay.—British Army assembled on the Coast of Coromandel.—Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Lord Mornington.—Junction between the Nizami's Army and that of Madras.—This united Army marches against Seringapatam on one Hand.—While the Malabar Army advances towards it on the other.—Engagement between the Malabar Army and that of Tippoo Sultaun.—Junction between the Bombay or Malabar and the main Army.—Tippoo abandons the open Country, and takes Refuge in the Fortrefs of Seringapatam.—Seringapatam taken by Storm.—Tippoo slain.—Distinguishing Features of the House of Hyder.—Acquisitions obtained by the Arts of Peace, contrasted with the Conquests obtained by War.—Prosperity of the British Settlement on Prince of Wales's Island.—The Magnitude, and the Prospects presented by its natural Advantages.*

THE grand object of the expedition, from Toulon to Egypt, was no other than what was uniformly avowed and declared, to give a blow to the maritime greatness and commerce of England: and, among the various measures pursued or suggested for this end, none seemed more effectual to the French, for the execution of their plans, than the formation of alliances with the native powers of India. One of the most powerful princes of that peninsula, needed not any excitement, but an opportunity only of joining in any confederacy that should yield a hope of re-

covering the territories that had been torn from him, or wreaking his rankling and implacable vengeance against the English. That prince was Tippoo Sultaun, of whose proceedings against the British, and habits of connection with France, the readers of our former volumes want not to be informed.

The letter which was sent to Tippoo, by Buonaparte, after he had gained a footing in Egypt, and which has already been incidentally noticed, is as follows: "Buonaparte to the most magnificent Tippoo Sultaun, our greatest friend. You have

have learnt my arrival on the shores of the Red Sea, with a numerous and invincible army, wishing to deliver you from the yoke of the English. I take this opportunity to testify my desire for some news relating to your political situation, by the way of Muscatti and Morea. I wish you would send to Suez or to Cairo, an intelligent and confidential person with whom I might confer. The Most High increase your power and destroy your enemies."

This letter must have been highly gratifying to the Sultaun, who had already, in the end of 1797, dispatched two ambassadors to the French government in the Mauritius, or the Isle of France, with whom he had already maintained a secret correspondence. They embarked at Mangalore, and arrived in that island towards the close of January, 1798. They were received by the government with every circumstance of distinction and respect; and, during their continuance on the island, were entertained at the public expense. They proposed to levy men to any practicable extent, stating their powers to be unlimited, with respect to the number to be raised in the name of Tippoo Sultaun.

A proclamation was issued by the governor-general of the Isle of France, in February, stating that an embassy had arrived at the Isle of France, with letters from Tippoo Sultaun, addressed not only to the government of that island, but to the executive directory of France, proposing to conclude an offensive alliance with the French, to subsidize and to supply whatever troops the French might furnish to the sultaun, and to commence, against the British power in India, a war of

VOL. XLI.

aggression, for which the sultaun was declared to be fully prepared, waiting with anxiety the moment when the succour should enable him to satisfy his ardent desire of expelling the British nation from India. The proclamation concluded by offering encouragement to the subjects of France, to enter into the service of Tippoo Sultaun, on terms to be fixed by the ambassador then on the spot.

The ambassadors from Tippoo, on the seventh of March, embarked on board a French frigate, with a force raised in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, amounting to about 200 men, inclusive of several officers, and arrived at Mangalore on the twenty-sixth of April.

At the same time that Tippoo was careful to augment his own European establishment, he laboured by all means also to increase that of the Nizam of the Decan, although in confederacy with the Mahrattas and the English. A plot was concerted between the sultaun and certain French officers, for gradually raising the European force in the army of that prince, above his controul, and for bringing over to the side of the Mysoresans this force, together with as many of the native troops as might be induced, according to the manner of the Asiatics, to join the party prevailing at the moment. The natural indolence of eastern sovereigns, acting in every thing by delegation, and the mode of subsisting the army by allotments of land, and not by the disbursement of money from a treasury under their own inspection, co-operated to facilitate conspiracy; and above 10,000 Europeans, French and others, were incorporated, and began to take the lead, in the army

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of

of the Nizam, when this circumstance was discovered to lord Hobart, governor of Madras, by colonel Halcot, an officer commanding the military force in one of the company's establishments in the north-western parts of the presidency of Madras.

About the same time that the British government, in India, were informed of the correspondence between Tippoo and the French, and the plot carried on in the army of the Nizam; they learned also, that an embassy had been dispatched to Zemaun Shah, a very powerful prince of Tartarean origin, and the Mahometan faith, on the northern frontier of India, the sovereign of Cabul, the ancient Bactria and Candahar, the object of which embassy was, to encourage that prince in his long-threatened invasion of India.

The kingdoms of Candahar and Cabul are both extensive and populous. They comprize all the countries situated between the river Indus and the southern extremities of the Caspian Sea, and between the eastern confines of Persia, and great Bucharia, or the country of the Usbeck Tartars, besides Lahore, and the celebrated province of Cashimire. Ahmed Shah was the founder of that empire, for so it may justly be called, and of the illustrious family, or dynasty, of the Abdallahs. Zemaun Shah, the present king, emperor, or abdallah, was the lineal descendant of Ahmed.

The natives of Candahar have always been reckoned amongst the most hardy men of Asia. The exact population of Zemaun Shah's dominions has not been ascertained. But it is an undoubted fact, that he

can bring into the field at least 120,000 fighting men. Zemaun Shah, therefore, a Mahometan prince, naturally allied to Tippoo Sultaun, by religious opinions, habits, and that good-will which usually subsists between sovereign powers, divided by the dominions of a common neighbour, or which is the same thing in politics, enemy, was a natural and formidable foe to the British empire in India. A new barrier had, of late years, been added to that of the Mahrattas, by the rise and progress of the Seiks, a nation bound together by a common religious system, which prescribed every thing that was to be done in every eventual case, like the ancient Jews, or the lords of the congregation, on the breaking out of the reformation in Scotland. But the internal wars, incessantly carried on between the Seik chiefs, might disable them from making a successful resistance to the king of Candahar and Cabul, notwithstanding their implacable enmity. The cunning and fluctuating politics of the Mahrattas were not to be relied on. That nation, besides, as well as the Seiks, was torn to pieces by intestine commotions.

Zemaun Shah naturally occurred as a powerful ally, and one not difficult to be gained, to so inveterate and active an enemy to the English as Tippoo Sultaun. A secret correspondence between these Mahometan princes was accordingly found, after the destruction of the latter, in his palace of Seringapatam. This correspondence commenced before the war between Tippoo and the English, which terminated in 1792; and the same hostile and ambitious views marked it to its close. In a paper, dated

March

March, 1796, we find various instructions to the ambassadors sent by Tippoo to the king of Candahar, relating to their conduct and deportment in their mission: their suite, their expenses, the presents to be made to the chief officers of that prince, and the ceremonies to be observed at their audience, or reception. On these particulars Tippoo appears, according to Oriental ideas of the importance of old customs, to have laid great stress: "When the minister shall send for you, you will repair to Cabul, and take up your residence at the place which he may point out. At your interview with him, you will carry the letter and *khelant* (*honorary dress*) with you, and present them to him in trays; you will each present a *huzzur* of five *achmedies*, and, according to the custom of that government, you will pay the proper compliments, and, if it should be customary to sit down, after waiting a little, and receiving the commands of the vizier, you will do so; should it, however, be customary to stand up, you will remain standing; then, taking the letter and dress from the trays, you will place these at some distance in front of the vizier, and after the respects and compliments of the Sircar Khoodadaud, in the manner prescribed among the followers of the faith, you will make many professions of friendship; observing, that all true believers are brethren; but you will pay at the same time due attention to the respective ranks of the parties. After having conversed together, you will represent that "you are Syuds, the descendants of Fatimah;"\* that you have

repaired to the presence of his highness, and are ready to obey his commands; and that you entertain hopes, through his means, to be honoured with permission to pay your respects to his majesty.

"You will address yourselves to him in this manner, and having, through the vizier, obtained admission to the presence of his majesty, Zemaun Shah, you will place on the trays the letter, the dress, jewels, and the saddles, and then present them in the manner which the vizier may desire, and agreeably to the customs and etiquette of the court: you will also, according to the established forms of that court, offer the proper compliments, and stand up, with your hands folded together. When you shall receive an order to sit down, you will seat yourselves accordingly, or whatever may be the etiquette of the place, you will be careful to observe it.

"Having thus paid your court, through the vizier, in the manner which is proper for ambassadors, you will represent, that you, having come a distant journey from the exalted presence, have presented yourselves before his majesty; that many affairs of importance have been intrusted to you; which, at his leisure, you would represent to him."

In another paper there are two plans of co-operation between Tippoo Sultaun and Zemaun Shah, which the ambassadors of the former were instructed to propose to the latter. The first project was, that his majesty should remain in his capital, and send one of his noblemen, in whom he had confidence, to Delhi, with an army. That this

\* Fatimah was the daughter of Mahomet.



person, on his arrival there, should make the necessary arrangements, and, after deposing the infirm king, who had reduced the faith to the present state of weakness, select from among the family, some one properly qualified for the government. That this person should remain one year, for the purpose of settling the country, and, taking with him the chiefs of the country, who are Raja-poots, and others, direct his standard towards the Deccan; so that the Brachmans, and others on the road, might come forward, and present themselves to him: whilst Tippoo himself, from his quarter, with the aid of God, would raise the standard of holy war, and make the infidels bow down under the sword of the faith. After these should have been sacrificed to the sword, and no longer exist, the remaining infidels would be nothing. Afterwards, the settlement of the Deccan might be concluded in any manner that might be naturally agreed on.

The second plan or project, proposed by Tippoo Suldaun to Zemaun Shah, was,

That if none of his majesty's noblemen should be sufficiently in his confidence, or equal to the undertaking, and if his majesty should be entirely at his ease, with respect to his country and government, he should proceed in person, to Delhi, and, having made the necessary arrangements there, establish one of his confidential servants in the office of the vizier, or minister, and return to his own capital. The person, who might be selected for the office of vizier, should be a man of address and enterprise: that remaining a twelvemonth with his army at Delhi, he might be able to retain, under

subjection, the chiefs of the neighbouring country. The second year his majesty should send, also from his capital, a small army, as a reinforcement: so that the vizier, appointed by his majesty as above-mentioned, might proceed with the chiefs of Hindostan towards the Deccan. Should those infidel Brachmans direct their power to that quarter, the hands of the heroes of the faith, in that part of the world, should, by the grace of God, be raised for their chastisement. It would be proper to enjoin the vizier acting on his majesty's part, that, after their extirpation, a place should be fixed for rendezvous, where to meet with the Tippoo Suldaun, that the proper means might be adopted for the settlement of the country. The ambassadors of Tippoo were instructed to make proposals to Zemaun Shah to the above effect, and to request him to determine on whichever of the two plans he might prefer, and this being done, furnish them with a written engagement accordingly, under his majesty's hand and seal; if his majesty should be pleased to give both of them permission, and have the goodness to send a confidential person with them, they were to repair to the presence of their sovereign, and having also obtained from him an engagement in writing, corresponding to the instrument above alluded to, they were to return with the confidential person above-mentioned, to the presence of his majesty. But that, should his majesty desire one of them to remain with him, one of them should continue in attendance accordingly; and the other proceed with his majesty's confidential servant, to the Deccan, and return with

with the writing from thence to the presence of his majesty.

A letter was at the same time sent to Zemaun Shah, by the sultan himself. After invoking the Deity and Mahomet, as usual, in the correspondence of persons of their rank, he thanks God that he had the satisfaction to hear that his majesty, the ornament of the throne, the promoter of religion, and the destroyer of heretics and oppressors, employed his whole time, and exerted every faculty, in the support of the enlightened religion. The report of his majesty's piety, he said, had afforded him inexpressible satisfaction and joy. In return for this, near a hundred thousand followers of the faith, nay more, assembled every Friday (the sabbath of the Musselmén) in the mosques of the capital, and, after the particular forms of prayer, put up particular supplications that the Almighty would render his majesty, the defender of the faith, successful and victorious. Your majesty, Tippoo proceeds, must doubtless have been informed, that my exalted ambition has for its object a holy war. The fruit of this just design has been, that in the midst of this land of heretics, the Almighty protects this tract of Mahomedan dominion like the ark of Noah, and cuts short the extended arm of the abandoned heretic. The report of your majesty's zeal and piety render me, and all the followers of the faith, most anxious to open a personal and direct communication of sentiments with your majesty; but the obstacles to this are fully apparent to your majesty; and therefore upon the principle (as laid down in the law), that it is sufficient that two persons should have the honour to see the

new moon, in order to establish its actual appearance, the respected Meer Hubbeeb Oolla and Meer Mahomed Rezza, who are among the highest in rank in the Khoodaud Sircar, and are worthy of admission to the presence, are now sent as ambassadors to your majesty's Imperial court, with letters, which (according to the saying, "a letter is half a meeting,") may be considered as an invaluable substitute for personal communication. In order that I may be gratified, not only by obtaining accounts of your majesty's prosperity, success, and glory, but enjoy the pleasure of seeing your majesty, as it were, by substitution; and that the foundations of friendship and attachment, which are productive of benefits, both spiritual and temporal, may be strengthened and improved; and also, that the persons above-mentioned may have the honour to represent to your majesty my sentiments upon some important subjects, and the circumstances of the enfeebled condition of the faith in the regions of Hindostan, which I have intrusted to their verbal communication. But besides this, I would propose, if it meets with your majesty's approbation, that two persons of rank may constantly reside at your majesty's court, to be the channel of correspondence, and the means of improving mutual harmony and attachment.

Under the sacred exhortation, "Bestow presents among one another." I beg leave to send, by the persons above-mentioned, a few of the articles of this country, as is due among those who are connected by the ties of religion: I confidently trust, that your majesty will gratify me by accepting them, and

honour the ambassadors by admitting them to the presence, and by hearing what has been intrusted to their verbal communication, and that you will dispatch them back again to this quarter with the utmost expedition."

Tippoo also at this time wrote letters to the principal ministers of abdallah, full of compliments, and quotations from the Koran, recommending his cause to their good offices, and requesting that they would obtain admission for his ambassadors to the presence.

To Tippoo's letter Zemaun Shah replied, as follows: "Your letter, replete with sentiments of friendship and regard, expressing your solicitude for the propagation of the faith, and extirpation of the abandoned irreligious infidels; informing us, that in the mosques, after the conclusion of public worship, supplications are made at the throne of grace, for the increase of our dominion, and the success of our triumphant banners; referring us for a farther exposition of your sentiments to the verbal explanation of your ambassadors Syud Hubbeeb Oolla, and Syud Mahommed Rezza; signifying that you had sent a few presents by the ambassadors, requesting that two persons of your Sircar might reside at our court, and stating other particulars of friendship, arrived in a most auspicious season, and added new ardour to our mutual friendship.

"As the object of your well-directed mind is the destruction of the infidels, and the extension of the faith of the prophet, please God, we shall soon march with our conquering army, to wage war with the infidels and polytheists, and to free those regions from the conta-

mination of these shameless tribes, with the edge of the sword; so that the inhabitants of those regions may be restored to comfort and repose; be therefore perfectly satisfied in this respect.

"With regard to your request, for deputing two persons to reside at our court, with a view to strengthen the ties of friendship, we have to express our acquiescence.

"We have sent a few articles hereunder-mentioned, as a memorial of our regard, by your ambassadors, who have explained to us the message with which you had commissioned them.

"Continue to gratify us, by communicating to us, by letters, your situation and sentiments."

The British governor-general, in India, lord Mornington, in a letter of the eighth of November, 1798, pointed out to Tippoo, the "danger that would arise, from his connection with the French, to his authority, the tranquillity of his dominions, the prosperity of his government, and the *permanence of his religion*." Although it be evident, that this passage was applicable only to the views of the French, yet Tippoo, availing himself of even this shadow of a pretext, for rousing the resentment, and uniting the banners of Ismaelism, against the English, represented, that their hostile preparations against him, as flowing from a hatred to his religion, to the king of Cabul, the grand seignior, and other Mahometan chiefs and princes. In a second letter to Zemaun Shah, dated on the thirtieth of January, 1799, he stated, "That the English having received intimation of the arrival of his ambassadors at his highness's court, and of the firm connection between

between the two courts, had taken umbrage; and, in concert with the polytheists and turbulent taken up arms against him, and had written that they entertained a design to subvert the Mahometan religion.

This relation of the correspondence, between Tippoo Sultaun and Zemaun Shah, is, though not digressive from the present point, yet somewhat disproportioned to the scale of our compressed narrative. It may, however, be excused, on account of the curious views it exhibits of that refined politeness which prevails in the intercourse of the Asiatics, amidst great ignorance and bigotry; and it is of some importance, as tending to shew how strong a band of union and nerve of action the Mahometan religion may yet become in the hands of enterprize and ambition.

In addition to the considerations above-mentioned, it was recollected, by the British government, that the conclusion of peace on the continent of Europe, by the treaty of Leoben and Campo Formia, and the weak state of our allies in India, particularly of the Nizam, whose councils, as well as army, were, at that time, subjected to the influence of a powerful French faction, might appear to both Tippoo and France to offer a favourable crisis for the attack of the British possessions in India.

For these reasons, the governor-general and council of Bengal deemed it indispensably necessary to assemble the armies on the coast of Coromandel: and, on the twentieth of June, 1798, orders were issued for that purpose. Lord Mornington, in his dispatches to the court of directors at home, mentions the dispersed state and certain radical

defects in the establishment of the Madras-army, which, he perceived, would render the assembling of a force, equal to offensive movements against Tippoo, a much more difficult measure than he had apprehended.

"Some officers," says his lordship, "of approved military talents, experience, and integrity, at fort St. George, declared, that your army, in the Carnatic, could not be assembled, for offensive purposes, before the commencement of the year 1800; and that a period of six months would be required for its equipment, even for the purpose of defending the Carnatic against any sudden attack. The difficulty of assembling and moving your army, on the coast of Coromandel, furnished, indeed, an alarming proof of the defenceless and perilous state of the Carnatic, in that arduous conjuncture: but, in proportion to the pressure of that difficulty, the necessity of an instantaneous and active exertion became more urgent; for, whether the army, when assembled, was to anticipate or wait the attack of Tippoo, it appeared an equally indispensable measure of precaution to resume, without delay, the power of meeting that vindictive and restless prince in the field. I was not, therefore, discouraged, either by the suggestion to which I have referred, or by subsequent representations of a similar character and tendency, from insisting on the immediate execution of my orders for assembling the army; and, advertent to the fatal consequences which have formerly been experienced in the Carnatic, by neglecting to keep pace with the forwardness of hostile equipments in Mysore, I resolved to intrust the

protection of our possessions on the Coromandel coast to no other security than a complete and early state of preparation for war.

"At Bombay, my orders for assembling the army were executed with great promptitude and alacrity, unaccompanied by any symptoms of indisposition to those united and zealous efforts which the exigency of the crisis demanded from every branch of your civil and military service." The unavoidable delay, lord Mornington proceeds to relate, which obstructed the assembling of the army in the Carnatic, compelled him to relinquish his first intention, of striking an immediate blow against the power and the resources of Tippoo Sultaun. He applied himself, therefore, to the formation of so permanent a system of preparation and defence, as, while it tended to restore to the government of fort St. George, with all probable dispatch, the power of repelling any act of aggression on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, might ultimately enable him to demand both a just indemnification for the expense which the sultaun's violation of treaty had occasioned to the government of the East-India company, and a reasonable security against the consequences of his recent alliance with the enemy. With this view, while the army was assembling on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, his attention was directed to strengthen and improve the defensive alliance, concluded between the honourable company and their highnesses the nizam and pashwa, under former treaties, for the purpose of establishing a barrier against the ambition and power of Tippoo Sultaun.

Towards the commencement of

the month of August, 1798, the governor-general of British India learned the preparations making by the French in the Mediterranean. Various circumstances attending the equipment of that armament convinced him, that at least part of it might be destined for an expedition in India, according to the avowal of the French directory. Under these impressions, he directed the attention of rear-admiral Rainier to the defence of the coast of Malabar, which the admiral undertook with the utmost readiness, although his original intention had been to proceed, in the first instance, to the straits of Malacca. Having, on the eighteenth of October, received authentic information of the invasion of Egypt, by the French, and of the progress of their arms in that country, being sensible of the evident connection between the invasion of that country and of the united designs of the French and Tippoo Sultaun against the British power in India, of the necessity of either compelling the sultaun to detach himself from the interests of France, or of depriving him of the power of co-operating with the French, if they should be enabled to reach India; and, farther still, that no negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun could be successful, unless accompanied with such a disposition of our force as should alarm him for the safety of his capital; and, that no military operation could effect an adequate or speedy reduction of his power unless directed immediately to the siege of that city. The governor-general, weighing all these circumstances, on the twentieth of October, issued peremptory orders, to the government of Madras, for the equipment of

of their battering train, and for advancing it, with all practicable dispatch, to the most eligible station on the frontiers of the Carnatic, with a view of proceeding towards Seringapatam, at the earliest possible period, if such a movement into Mysore should become necessary. To the government of Bombay he issued farther orders, for the collection not only of their troops, but of the largest possible supplies on the coast of Malabar.

At Bombay, and throughout the presidency, besides a voluntary and patriotic contribution to a liberal amount, which was also made in the other presidencies, an armed association was formed, on a plan laid down by general Stuart, to be employed as might be deemed most expedient for the protection of the island. The patriotic and active zeal of Jonathan Duncan, esq. governor of Bombay, on this occasion, justly and warmly commended by lord Mornington, was no more than what was to be expected with confidence, from the whole tenour of his public conduct, in which it was his constant aim to combine the interests of the company with the well-being of the natives of India, and to improve the revenue of the former, by respecting the prejudices, by protecting and encouraging the latter. His invariable regard to the natural claims of the poor Hindoos, and his inflexible preference of the public, to any private interest, might perhaps have been condemned, by some of the company's servants, as too rigorous and severe, if, while he devoted himself to his public duty, he had been, in the intercourses of private life, deficient in humanity and goodness; or, if any individual

could have said of the governor, that he was less attentive to his private interest than to his own, and less indulgent to him than to himself. The virtues of the governor had, for their object, whole communities and races of men. The greatest blessing that can possibly be conferred on society is a strict and impartial administration of justice between man and man, and one order or rank of men and another. Mr. Duncan appeared in a light not less heroic than amiable; when, instead of indulging in any partial relaxation or concession to any individuals among his own countrymen, he stood forth the determined and zealous protector of the helpless natives that had fallen under our power, by a due execution of the laws: but, in all hard cases, tempering the rigour of the law, as much as possible, by every mitigation of humanity and mercy. As an additional security to the lives of the people, the judicial proceedings on the coast of Malabar, and which were held in the language of the country, were translated into English and transmitted, in that form, to the chief judge of the province: for the execution of which office, commissioners were appointed, in May, 1796, who confirmed, mitigated, commuted, or annulled, the sentence of the native judge, without having, in any case, the power to enhance it; or to forward the trial to the governor and council for the final determination of government, according as the particular nature of the case might be found to require.

While our government prepared for its own security, with vigilance, prudence, and vigour, two events happened, which contributed to encourage

courage the hope of a complete triumph over the confederacy between Tippoo and the French, against the British power in India. The dismissal of the French faction from the nizam's army had been happily accomplished at Hyderabad, a new subsidiary treaty had been ratified with that prince, and a decisive and glorious victory had been obtained by an English over a French fleet, on the coast of Egypt. The governor-general, therefore, on the eighth of November, sent a letter to Tippoo Sultaun, in which, after apprising him that he was acquainted with his intercourse with the French nation, he mentioned the success of his Britannic majesty's fleet against the French in Egypt, the revival of our alliance with the nizam, the destruction of the French influence in the Deccan, the declared disposition of the pashwa to fulfil his defensive engagement to the utmost extent in his power, the presence of his majesty's squadron on the coast of Malabar, re-inforced by such of his majesty's ships as had been equipped for the purpose; and, finally, the progress of the military preparations of the British on both coasts. It was hoped that the representation of all these particulars would have inclined the sultaun to a proposition made to him, by the governor-general, to receive major Doveton, on the part of the allies, for the purpose of proceeding to an amicable arrangement of all subsisting differences. With such expectations, lord Mornington proceeded to fort St. George, for the purpose of conducting the expected negotiation with the sultaun. On his arrival thither, he received a letter from the sultaun, in answer

to his own, of the eight of November, and one of another date to the same effect, glossing over his intercourse with the French, (with whom he had actually made a treaty offensive and defensive, under the strongest assurances that it would be ratified by the directory) and evading the proposition of opening a negotiation with the allies. From this letter, fraught with a strange mixture of politeness, religious hypocrisy, and barbarian cunning and dissimulation, it may not be improper, or unentertaining to our readers, to give the following extract:

"I have been made happy by the receipt of your lordship's two friendly letters, the contents of which I clearly comprehend. The particulars which your lordship has communicated to me, relative to the victory obtained by the English fleet over that of the French, near the shores of Egypt, have given me more pleasure than can possibly be conveyed by writing. Indeed, I possess the firmest hope, that the leaders of the English and the company Bahauder, who ever adhere to the paths of sincerity, friendship, and good faith, and are the well-wishers of mankind, will, at all times, be successful and victorious; and that the French, who are of a crooked disposition, faithless, and the enemies to mankind, may be ever depressed and ruined. Your lordship has written to me with the pen of friendship,—that it is impossible for me to suppose your lordship to be ignorant of the intercourse which subsists between me and the French, whom I know to be the inveterate enemies of the company, and to be now engaged in an unjust war with the British; and that I cannot imagine your lordship to be indifferent to the

the transactions which have passed between me and the enemies of the English." In this circar, (the gift of God) there is a mercantile tribe, who employ themselves in trading by sea and land. Their agents purchased a two-masted vessel, and, having loaded her with rice, departed with a view to trafic. It happened that she went to the Mauritius, from whence forty persons, French, and of a dark colour, of whom ten or twelve were artificers, and the rest servants, paying the hire of the ship, came here in search of employment. Such as chose to take service were entertained, and the remainder departed beyond the confines of the circar; and the French, who are full of vice and deceit, have, perhaps, taken advantage of the departure of the ship to put about reports, with a view to ruffle the minds of both circars.

"It is the wish of my heart, and my constant endeavour, to observe and maintain the articles of the agreement of peace and to perpetuate and strengthen the basis of friendship and union with the circar of the company Bahauder, and with the circar's Maha Raja Saheb, Sufe Munt, Pashwa Bahauder, and his highness the Nabob Asuph Jah Bahauder. And I am resident at home, at times taking the air, and at other times amusing myself with boating, at a spot which is used as a pleasure-ground.

"In this case, the allusion to war in your friendly letter, and the following passage, namely, 'that prudence required that both the company and their allies should adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence,' have given me great surprize.

"It was farther written by your friendly pen 'That as your lordship

is desirous of communicating to me, on behalf of the company and their allies, a plan calculated to promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties; your lordship proposes to depute to me, for this purpose, major Doveton, who formerly waited upon me, and who will explain to me, more fully and particularly, the sole means which appear to your lordship and the allies to be effectual for the salutary purpose of, removing all existing mistrust and suspicion, and of establishing peace and good understanding on the most durable foundations; and that, therefore, your lordship trusts I will let you know at what time and place it will be convenient to me to receive major Doveton.' It has been understood, by the blessing of the Almighty, at the conclusion of the peace, the treaties and engagements, entered into among the four circars, were so firmly established and confirmed as ever to remain fixed and durable, and be an example to the rulers of the age; nor are they, nor will they, ever be liable to interruption. I cannot imagine that means more effectual than these can be adopted, for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties."

To this letter from the sultaun the governor-general returned an answer on the ninth of January, in which he renewed the proposition for opening a negociation, and urged him not to delay his reply beyond the period of one day. The sultaun remained silent: at length, on the fifteenth of February, 1798, he intimated, by letter, to lord Morington, that, 'being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, he was, accordingly, proceeding upon



upon a hunting excursion, and desiring that he would dispatch major Doveton slightly attended. The advanced guard of the army was by this time ordered into the territory of Tippoo. To have delayed this, would have at once thrown the advantage, which the British then possessed, into the hands of Tippoo, and have rendered the siege of his capital impracticable, during the present season. Intimation was given to the allies, of an intention to proceed immediately to hostilities with Tippoo. The Nizam's army took the field, and took the proper steps for forming a junction with that of Madras. This army consisted of six thousand native troops, nearly an equal number of the company's troops, subsidized by his highness, and a great body of cavalry. It then joined that of Madras, under major-general Harris, about twenty-four thousand strong, which entered the Myfore country, on the fifth of March, with orders to proceed immediately to Seringapatam.

These orders were executed with an alacrity in perfect consonancy with the spirit by which they were dictated. No time was allowed for reflection, change of purpose, or negotiation. A great prize of the grasp of both the company and individuals. It might be lost through procrastination and parlies.

In the mean time, the Malabar army, equipped and put in motion, with equal promptitude and judgment, under general Stuart, had, on the first of February, marched from Cannanore, and ascended the Ghauts on the twenty-fifth. His army was divided into four different corps; and these moved successively into such situation as might enable him to form the earliest possible

junction with the principal army. With the same view he occupied a post at Seedaseer, near to which there is a high hill, that commands a view of the Myfore, almost to the environs of Seringapatam. From the summit of this mountain, a party of observation, on the morning of the fifth of March, discovered an encampment to be forming between Seedaseer and Seringapatam. Before the evening this encampment assumed a very formidable appearance, and covered a great extent of ground. From the hill of observation, the whole of the army of this encampment was seen to be in motion: but their movements were so well concealed by the woodiness of the country, and the haziness of the atmosphere, that it was impossible to ascertain their object; nor, in fact, was this discovered until they had penetrated a considerable way into the Jungles, and commenced an attack upon our line, which happened between the hours of nine and ten.

On the seventh, the enemy pierced through the Jungles with such secrecy and expedition, that they attacked the rear and the front of our line almost at the same instant. This dispatch prevented more than three of the Bombay corps being engaged, as the fourth, which was posted two miles and a half in the rear, was unable to form a junction, from the enemy having cut in between them and Seedaseer. The communication was effectually obstructed by a column which, according to the reports of prisoners, consisted of upwards of five thousand men, under the command of Bober Jung.

On the eighth, fortunately before the enemy had accomplished their purpose, major-general Hartley had time

time to apprise the commander-in-chief of their attack, and remained himself to give any assistance that might be necessary. The best position was assumed for repulsing the enemy; and in this alarming situation, the corps defended themselves with so much resolution, that the sultan's troops were unable to make any impression. The brigade was on every side completely surrounded, and had to contend against a vast disparity of numbers, besides other discouraging circumstances.

As soon as general Stuart received intelligence of the perilous situation of the right brigade, he marched to their assistance with the flank companies of his majesty's seventy-fifth regiment, and the whole of the seventy-seventh. He arrived at about half past two, at some of the divisions of the enemy, who had penetrated into the rear, and possessed themselves of the great road leading to Seedaseer. The engagement lasted nearly half an hour, when, after a smart fire of musquetry on both sides, the enemy were completely routed, and fled with precipitation through the Jungles, to regain their column, which still continued the attack in front. On arriving at lieutenant-colonel Montresor's post, the general found his men overcome with fatigue, and their ammunition almost exhausted. At twenty minutes past three, the enemy retreated in all directions.

A junction was formed between the Bombay and the main army. Tippoo Sultan, by the encampment at Periapattam, and by harassing the march of general Harris, had used all the means in his power for preventing this junction in vain. He destroyed the villages, and laid waste the country, in front of the

English army. But as he did not sufficiently spread the tracks of devastation, his purpose of defeating our army was defeated, as general Harris, by a slight deviation from the common road, reached his destination at the time he wished, and without any material interruption: Tippoo having abandoned the open country, and taken refuge in his capital and fortress of Seringapatam.

On the sixteenth, general Stuart, with the Bombay army, crossed the Caverry, and took up a position extending from its northern bank towards the Edgal: while general Floyd, with the left wing and cavalry, moved to the Delawayery, beyond Mysore, to cover a party sent out the preceding night to collect cattle and sheep, and to examine the new fort of Mysore. The party returned with considerable success on the evening of the sixteenth, and encamped near the line of general Harris. Measures were immediately taken by the general for erecting batteries, and preparing for the attacking of Seringapatam. The batteries being finished, they began to batter in breach on the thirtieth of April, and had, on the evening of the third of May, so much destroyed the walls against which they were directed, that the arrangement was made for assaulting the place next day, when the breach was reported practicable. The troops intended to be employed were stationed in the trenches early on the morning of the fourth, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the assault, which general Harris had determined should be made in the heat of the day, as the time best calculated to ensure success, for their troops would

would then be least prepared for making opposition. At one o'clock, the troops moved from the trenches, crossed the rocky bed of the Ca-very, under an extremely heavy fire, passed the glacis and ditch, and ascended the breaches in the *fausse-braye* and rampart of the fort, surmounting, in the most gallant manner, every obstacle in their way, and were completely successful.

Resistance continued to be made, from the palace of Tippoo, for some time after all firing had ceased from the works. Two of his sons were there, who, however, on the assurance of safety, surrendered to the troops surrounding them; and guards were placed, for the protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace.

It was soon after reported, that Tippoo Sultaun had fallen. Several other chiefs were also slain. Measures were immediately adopted, to stop the confusion, at first unavoidable, in a crowded city taken by assault. The princes were removed to camp. Immediately, search was made for the sultaun's body, which, after much difficulty, was found, late in the evening, at one of the gates, under a heap of slain, and soon after placed in the palace. The corpse was, the next day, recognized by his family, and interred, with all the honours due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father.

Thus, after a short, but brilliant career, fell the house, or dynasty, of Hyder. It was noble, in proportion to the lowness of its origin (for Hyder Naig was at first only a private in the Mysorean service), splendid in its progress, and not inglorious in its fall. It is emi-

nently distinguished from all the families, or dynasties, that have ever appeared, in such quick succession, in Hindostan, by a more extensive adoption, cultivation, and application, of European arts and arms, than had been known before in the dominions of any native power in Asia.

Those who are fond of parallels between illustrious characters, may find many points of resemblance between Tippoo, the son of Hyder, and Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar; both, at once subtle and false, yet brave; both, studious of the knowledge of their times; both trained up by their fathers in hostility to the first power of the age; both exciting the vengeance of all nations against that power; and, in this career, taking a wider range than that which usually bounded the views of even ambitious and conquering princes: Hannibal, extending his intrigues from the Pillars of Hercules to the Red Sea; Tippoo Saib, from the nations to the east of Caucasus, not only to Constantinople, and other seats of power on the Mediterranean, but even to Paris. It would seem that indignation and resentment, against overbearing power and ambition, is, in the loftiest minds, the liveliest passion. It was, probably, by such feelings, more than a calm consideration of the general welfare of the United Provinces, and of Europe, that the great king William III. was animated to such invincible and heroic opposition to the ambition of Louis XIV. of France. It is unnecessary to observe, that, notwithstanding all these resemblances, there was no comparison between the abilities of Tippoo; who was guided more by passion than sound judgement,

judgement, and the renowned Carthaginian.

On the reduction of Seringapatam, and the execution of Tippoo, Lord Mornington resolved to make such arrangements as might establish the British influence and authority in the subdued country.—Commissioners, appointed on the part of the company, and also in behalf of the nizam, on the twenty-fourth of June, promulgated a scheme of partition and settlement. The capital, with its fortress, and the island in which it is situated, with some extensive districts, including Mangalore, and a very considerable extent of sea-coast, were allotted to the English. A considerable portion was assigned to the nizam. And a separate territory was subjected to the sway of the Mississour Maha-Rajah Kishennai Wuddiar, a descendant of the ancient rajahs of Myfore, whose throne had been seized by Hyder-Ali. The elevation of this prince, to the musnud, took place in due form on the thirtieth of June, a day which the superstition of the brachmans had selected as the most auspicious for that purpose. The sons of Tippoo were taken into the protection, that is, the custody, as well as care of the English.

But the hostile designs and movements of Zemaun Shah, against our settlements in India, would not have been discontinued, in consequence of the fall of Tippoo Sultan, if they had not been repressed by formidable military preparations, which he did not choose to encounter. In 1796, he had advanced, with a large army, against our settlements, as far as Lahore, when he was called back, by a rebellion, headed by his brother, who, in the

absence of Zemaun, grasped at the reins of government.

The satisfaction which a native of Britain derives from a review of this prosperous state of our affairs in India, hostile combinations and designs confounded, territory extended, and revenue increased, is not, in the liberal and ingenious mind, altogether unminged with a painful recollection of the blood they cost, though that of an enemy, and of a princely family overthrown and reduced to a state of dependence on their enemies. Considerations of political expediency do not in every breast, and at all times, supersede moral sentiment. But if those considerations alone were of weight, still the resentment, jealousy, and new hostile combinations, which are so frequently excited by conquests, might, perhaps, be deemed worthy of calculation. As a pleasing contrast to advantages gained by force, we shall conclude our chapter, on British India, for 1799, by an account of prosperity arising from a plan conceived in a spirit of moderation, justice, patriotism, and, indeed, universal philanthropy.

The prince of Wales's island, in the entrance of the straits of Malacca, is happily situated for the facilitation and convenience of trade with China, and other places to the eastward of China. It is of no inconsiderable extent, being thirty miles in length, and, on an average, about ten or twelve in breadth. The climate is mild and salubrious; and both climate and soil fitted not only for the production of provisions, but also of pepper, nutmegs, and other spices. It is within ten days sailing of Madras: to which place, from Ceylon, a vessel

vessel cannot work up, against the north-east monsoon, in less than six or seven weeks.

The prince of Wales's island was acquired, by the government of Bengal, as Pennsylvania was by William Penn,\* in regular and voluntary cession from the king of Cudda, in 1785. The importance of this place, in our possession, has been illustrated, by the protection which it has afforded to the trade carried on by the merchants in all our different presidencies in India. From the commencement of the present war, few ships to China, from Bombay, Madras, or Bengal, but have touched at Prince of Wales's island, for intelligence; and several have been chased in by French privateers, into whose hands they must inevitably have fallen, if they had not been so near a British port. Malacca affords no protection whatever to trade, as all the merchant-ships lie nearly two miles off from the garrison, and are, consequently, exposed to be cut away from their anchors by the enemy's cruisers. On this account, prince of Wales's island has, since the commencement of the war, been the rendezvous for all the Bombay, Madras, and Bengal ships trading to China and the eastern islands, and also for the company's ships going from those islands to China. It is, unquestionably, the best harbour in India, for vessels of every kind, being, at all seasons of the year, safe, and easy of access. Since this port was first established,

a vessel has never yet been known to drive or drag her anchors. Here, also, the whole navy of England could be supplied with masts and spars of all sizes. Admiral Rainier, about two years ago, put three lower masts, of the wood of this island, in the Suffolk, the only seventy-four, it is presumed, in the British navy, that has lower masts of a single spar; and they have stood so well, for four monsoons, that all the men of war, in those quarters, come here to take them in. The island is also so favourably situated for a naval port, that a ship disabled in action, on any part of the coast, during the south-west monsoon, can run here with a fair wind, where she can easily be refitted; and still the same wind will enable her to cross the bay, and join the fleet or squadron, if stationed on any part of the coast to the north of Ceylon. And for winter-quarters, during the north-east monsoon, when the fleet cannot longer remain on the coast, this place holds out many advantages, which give it a decided preference above all others; the climate being extremely favourable to the sick, and the price of all kinds of provisions extremely reasonable. Here the principal part of what is understood by the Malay trade, now centres. Since the settlement formed on this island, the price of opium has risen, in Bengal, from two hundred and fifty rupees, per chest, to seven hundred and eight hundred; and at the sales in November, 1799,

\* Admiral Penn, who, in conjunction with Venables, had conquered the island of Jamaica, obtained a promised grant of Pennsylvania, after the expulsion of the Dutch and Swedes, from Charles II. On the admiral's death, his son, the celebrated quaker, after much solicitation at court, obtained the performance of it. But, instead of immediately taking advantage of his patent, he purchased the lands, conveyed in his grant, from the Indians; judging the original property and eldest right to be vested in them.

it sold as high as eight hundred and sixty rupees per chest. This is accounted for by the advanced prices which merchants can afford to give at this mart. The Malay traders, who were formerly supplied with opium from Bencoolen, Batavia, and a few ships fitted out from Bengal, come now to this place in their own vessels, which they navigate with speed and safety. At Prince of Wales's island, they not only buy their opium and piece-goods at a lower price, but find a ready market for all the different articles of traffic manufactured, or produced by the earth, in their own countries.

The pepper-plantations on this island, in the year 1799, produced nine thousand picoles. And there are now twenty thousand nutmeg-

trees on the island, belonging to the company, and to individuals, though by far the greater number to the latter. The plants look as healthy, and are as strong, as any at either Amboyna or Banda. From its position, and other natural advantages, it promises, in time, to be one of the chief emporiums of India, and to compensate to Great Britain for any cessions that may be made, in that country, for the invaluable blessing of peace, to France or Holland. On the whole, the settlement on Prince of Wales's island is a striking and pleasing proof, how much the prosperity of a maritime and commercial nation, by other means than those of war, may be happily improved and extended.

## C H A P. V.

*Determination of the Porte to repel the Invasion of Egypt.—Letter from the Grand Seignior to Tippoo Sultaun, on that Subject.—Tippoo's Answer.—A new Set of Islaumitish Socinians.—Account, by Tippoo Sultaun, of the Christian Domination in India.—Complaints against the English.—Confederacy for exterminating the Christian Infidels from India.—Reflections.—Hypocritical Conduct of the French towards the Turks. Resentment and spirited Conduct of the Porte.—Alliance between the Porte and Russia.—Change in the Turkish Ministry.—Memorial of the Porte to all foreign Ministers.—Turkish Manifesto, addressed to the British Minister at Constantinople.—Character of the Turks.—Military Preparations of the Porte. Councils and Views of the Russians.—Character and political Conduct of the Russian Emperor, Paul.—Treaty between Great Britain and Russia.—Russian Declaration of War against Spain.—The Emperor of Russia elected, by the dispersed Knights, Grand Master of Malta.—His Munificence to that Order.—New Establishment for its Maintenance, at St. Petersburg.—A combined Russian and Turkish Fleet sails through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean.—And reduces the Venetian Islands on the Western Coast of Turkey in Europe.—Humane and liberal Conduct of the Conquerors of these to their Prisoners of War.*

THE sympathies and antipathies of religion did not produce the same effects on the minds of the grand seignior and Turkish divan that they operated on that of the kings of Candahar and Cabul.—These, as is usual with other religionists, were modified and counteracted by considerations of policy. The dominion of the Osmanins appeared a nearer and dearer object than the interests, common to all Mussulmen, of the religion of the prophet. The power and prospects of heretics, infidels, and polytheists, the avowed enemies of the Khoo-dadaud-circar,\* in India, were less alarming than the new

republic. The grand seignior, instead of exciting the Mahometan princes against the enemies of Tippoo, endeavoured to unite them in opposition to the enemies of all sovereigns and religion.

The grand seignior, in a letter, dated the twenty-third of September, 1798, to Tippoo Sultaun, acquainted him of the invasion of the venerated land of Egypt, by the devoted French, notwithstanding the observance of long subsisting friendship on the part of the sublime Porte; the ambitious views of that irreligious and turbulent people in Hindostan; and the determination of the Porte to employ the

\* The dominion of Tippoo.

most vigorous measures for the purpose of repelling that rebellious race. The grand seignior requested that Tippoo would communicate to him whatever subject of complaint he might have against the English: when, by the aid of God and the grand seignior's good offices, those complaints should be removed, to his satisfaction, and the grounds of opposition and estrangement be exchanged for the desirable objects of harmony and union. To this letter, Tippoo, after the usual compliments to the grand seignior, and professions of reverence and devotion to the common faith of Islamism, replied, that, as "The French had made themselves enemies to his highness, they had made themselves so to all the followers of the faith. God (said he) is the protector and defender of the land of Hindostan; next to him, this suppliant, (meaning Tippoo himself) at the Almighty throne, does not and will not neglect the service of the people. I am fully confident that your highness will be disposed to afford assistance and support, in all matters, to us labourers. All Hindostan is over-run with infidels and polytheists, excepting the dominions of Khoo-dadaud-circar, which, like the ark of Noah, are safe under the protection and bounteous aid of God. It is my hope, from the supreme king of kings, that, as at the appearance of a second Adam, the religion of Islam will obtain exclusive prevalence over the whole country of Hindostan, and that all the sinful heretics will, with the utmost ease, become the prey of the swords of the combatants in the cause of religion. Be it known to those who stand at the foot of the imperial throne, that the

treachery, deceit, and supremacy, of the Christians, in the regions of Hindostan, are beyond the power of expression." Tippoo proceeds to deduce the history of the Christian dominion in India, from the time when the French and English, "each, with one of their detested ships, and a few Caffres" (infidels), on board, came to the coast, to that when the English had adopted a determined resolution to subdue the whole of Hindostan; and, in conjunction with the Nizam Ally Khan and the infidels of Poonah, to subvert the Mussulman religion. The whole energy of his mind, he said, was continually exerted to support the religion of Mahomet. As an instance of his zeal, he mentioned a design he had formed, of quelling, by an armed force, commanded by one of his approved sons, certain excessive commotions that had been excited, in the neighbourhood of Mecca, by the son of Abdool Wahaub. This Abdool was an enterprising Mahometan sceptic, who, some years since, established a new doctrine, the foundation of which is, the abjuration of the signal honours paid to Mahomet. His doctrine, a kind of *Islamic Socinianism*, did not extend to a denial of the prophet's mission, but it placed him in the condition merely of a messenger of the word of God, possessing, in himself, no title to the adoration of mankind. This man obtained very numerous proselytes, who traversed with him the countries of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, propagating their tenets by the sword. The power of the hierarchy, Abdool, spiritual and temporal, on his death, was transferred to his son. Tippoo had written to the supreme

minister



minister of the shereef of Mecca, desiring to be informed of the situation of affairs in that quarter. "For, (says he) the holy receptacle is an object of veneration to the followers of truth, and an object of the regard of the all-powerful; and to do services thereunto is productive of blessings both in this world and the world to come." Tippoo, in order to conciliate the friendship of the Porte towards himself, and to rouse its resentment against the English, stated, in his letter to the grand seignior, that, after he had granted peace, at the earnest and humble suit of English ambassadors, in 1734,\* they had excited and joined in a hostile confederacy against the Khoo-dadaud-circar, in consequence of the friendship that subsisted between the circar and the Sublime Porte. The English, he stated, being informed of the mission, the friendly reception, and the return of his ambassadors from Constantinople, "with hearts inflamed and conscious that they had given his highness (the grand seignior) proofs of their evil disposition," immediately conceived, that all the tribe of Ismaum were about to league together for their destruction. Confederated with the Nizam and the infidels of Poonah, they waged war against the Khoo-dadaud-circar, for four years. At length, near a hundred thousand followers of the faith had determined to slay their wives and families with their own hands, and, rushing on the infidels, drink the cup of martyrdom, and plunge the infidels into hell. The counsellors, the lords, and the respected sages of

Ismaumism, all agreed, that this attack upon the dominions of the Khoo-dadaud-circar was in consequence of the deputation of ambassadors, with letters to the Sublime Porte; and, therefore, that it was advisable, by any means, to accommodate matters for the present; to communicate to his highness all that had occurred; and, joined by his highness's aid, proceed to exterminate the infidels afterwards. He had approved, he said, the representation of his faithful servants, and surrendering three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, and half his country, which was all a dead loss to him, put an end to the contest. In conclusion, he prayed that the victorious banners of Ismaum might be ever prevalent, and every trace of heresy and infidels be wiped away.

A wish has often been expressed by men of learning, that some account of the Punic wars had been left by the Carthaginians as well as by the Romans; or some of their official papers, containing statements of the conduct of this great and victorious people. The Romans were at great pains to destroy every monument of Carthage. It was more liberal in the English to preserve the whole, and even to publish many of the papers that were found, after the fall of Tippoo Sultaun, in his palace of Seringapatam. It is probable, that if any of the Carthaginian documents had been preserved they would have exhibited somewhat of the character of those left by Tippoo. The conduct of the Romans would have appeared to be deeply tinctured

\* This matter is not greatly misrepresented by Tippoo.—See *Memoirs of the War in Affa*.

with artifice, injustice, violence, and rapine: but, with much truth, there would have been a mixture of falsehood, and semi-barbarian cunning. We sympathise with the sultaun, when he describes and deplores the ruin of the Mogul empire, "shaken to pieces by its own servants, wounded by the English, and, in its last stage, by the Mah-rattas, who seized on the few remaining wrecks of its ancient greatness and splendour;" and are deeply affected at the sad spectacle of "a poor sightless individual, of the royal family of Delhi, whose servants (under the Rohilla chief, Gholauin Caudir) had put out his eyes, seated in his house in a state the most abject, and the only resources of his maintenance the fruits of his garden!" But we revolt at the falsehood of the sultaun, in the midst of all his religious professions, and despise his mean and silly cunning, when we find him, in his letters to the French, ascribing the enmity of the British power to himself, to them: in his letters to Zemaun Shah, attributing it to his having deputed ambassadors to that prince: and, in his dispatches to the grand seignior, imputing it to his delegation of an embassy to the Sublime Porte.

While Tippoo Sultaun attempted to direct the whole sensibility and exertions of the Turks against the common enemies of Islamism, on the one hand, the French, on the other, endeavoured, by soft words and fair professions, to suspend and sink their indignation, at the invasion of Egypt, in the recollection of the ancient and natural alliance between the Porte and France, and in a jealousy of the Austrians, Russians, and English. Neither the

Turkish ambassador at Paris, nor the reis-ouffendi at Constantinople, were able, by repeated inquiries, to obtain any other information respecting the expedition, from Toulon, than that its only object was the conquest and the destruction of the order of the knights of Malta; an object that must be pleasing, and excite the gratitude of all Mussulmen. Bishop Talleyrand, the minister, of the French republic, for foreign relations, solemnly assured the Ottoman ambassador, at Paris, that there was no other end in view; and that it was the fixed and unalterable purpose of the French government, to preserve the ancient friendship which had so long subsisted between France and the Sublime Porte, and to cement and strengthen it more and more. But; in the mean time, while the French minister was making such protestations, in reply to the letters sent by the French chargé d'affaires at Constantinople, Ruffin, as well as by the Ottoman government, that envoy had received letters, of an old date, in which the directory had written to him, that it was, indeed; true that Buonaparte had orders to go to Egypt; but this was only in order to punish the beys, to procure certain commercial advantages for France, and to strike a blow against England; that it was the intention of the directory to send an ambassador to the Sublime Porte, for the purpose of arranging all those matters, and shewing various important advantages that would accrue to the Ottomans from that expedition: and that if the Porte should be so rash as to declare war against the French republic, on account of this affair of Egypt, it would be immediately attacked by

the imperial courts, which were its ancient and constant enemies.

It is probable that Talleyrand, when he gave the solemn assurances just mentioned, to Aly-Effendi, had, in the multiplicity of business in which he was engaged, forgotten the contents of his letter to Ruffin. From the discordancy between that letter and those assurances, it was manifest that his design was, in his conversation with the Turkish ambassador, to deceive and amuse the divan, until certain intelligence should be received of the fate of the expedition. But, after Buona-parte had landed, and made very considerable progress, though in a very short time, towards the establishment of the French colony in Egypt, the French envoy at Constantinople, the Spanish, and the Dutch, or, as he was called, the Batavian ambassador, represented, to the Turkish government, that the possession of that country, by the French, under the authority and accustomed tribute to the Porte, would be the very best thing that could happen, for the interest and preservation of the Ottoman empire; a partition of whose Turkish dominions was certainly in the contemplation of the Russians and Austrians, as the occupancy of the coasts of the Arabian Gulph, by the erection of forts, was in that of the English. The excitement that would be given to commerce, and the improvements that would be extended by the French in Egypt to other parts of the Turkish dominions, would ultimately redound to the wealth, power, and glory, of the sovereign Sublime Porte. Its French subjects, at the same time that they promoted the internal prosperity of the Ottoman

empire, would be a powerful defence against both internal revolt and external aggression. In a word, the grand seignior ought not to take umbrage at the appearance of the French in Egypt, since it was manifestly for his good.

The Turkish government was neither so much paralysed by internal weakness, nor so much overawed by a dread of the two imperial courts, as to bear such treatment and language, without expressing and giving proofs of their resentment. To the Spanish ambassador, the reis-effendi, with equal dignity, propriety, and severity, replied, "I am sorry to find the king of Spain become the tool of men who murdered his family, and shake a sabre over his own head!" An embargo was laid on the French ships at Constantinople, and in other Turkish ports. The French merchants, as well as consuls, were imprisoned, and their goods sequestered. The French envoy, Ruffin, with his domestics, was sent as a hostage to the Seven Towers, and the arms of the French republic torn down from the French ambassador's palace. The Spanish ambassador received an order to quit Constantinople within a few days. The Dutch ambassador was ordered away, likewise, but, on his representing that, in a few months, there might very probably be a change in his government, he was suffered to remain.

On the second day of September, the following memorial was delivered, by the Porte, to all the foreign ministers:

"The Porte, as all Europe knows, has long continued at peace with France, and on terms of the sincerest amity and good understanding:

ing; which good understanding it has done every thing in its power to maintain. With the utmost surprise, therefore, has it seen the Turkish territories abruptly, and in a most extraordinary manner, attacked by the French arms. A man of the name of Buonaparte, giving himself out to be a French general, has made war on the Turkish province of Egypt. It is impossible for the Porte to believe that such a proceeding, so contrary to the rights of all nations, can ever be countenanced, much less commanded, by the French executive directory. A considerable force, however, has been sent to Egypt, to stop the progress of the invaders. Some of the emissaries of Buonaparte have pretended to persuade the people of Egypt, that they have been sent by Mahomet to give them perfect liberty and happiness, and render their religion the sovereign religion on earth: but the people have answered, that Mahomet authorizes no injustice, and that they can place no faith in such promises, from those who have denied their God, and renounced their own prophet."

The dignified brevity and simplicity, and the plain and manly sense, of this little piece, was generally and justly admired. A manifesto, conceived also in the simple majesty of truth, was communicated, on the eleventh of September, 1793, by the Sublime Porte, "To their esteemed friend, the minister-plenipotentiary of the court of Great Britain, at Constantinople." In this piece, the duplicity, artifice, treachery, and injustice, of the French republic, are contrasted with the plain-dealing, the good faith, and

the pacific and just dispositions and principles, of the Porte. Though the divan had persevered in their system of neutrality, they were neither unacquainted with their political principles, nor unalarmed at their progress. After enumerating the extensive advantages which the French had reaped from the Sublime Porte's remaining neutral, during the course of the war, and that they, on their side, ought also to have been steady in preserving peace, the manifesto states, "That those among them, who found the means of assuming to themselves the reins of government, by favour of the revolution, began to devise various pretences, and under an illusive idea of liberty—a liberty so called in word, but which, in reality, knows no other laws than the subversion of every established government—(after the example of France), the abolishment of all religions, the destruction of every country, the plunder of property, and the dissolution of all human society—to occupy themselves in nothing but in misleading and imposing upon the ignorant, amongst the people, pretending to reduce mankind to the state of the brute creation, and render the government permanent in their own hands. Actuated by such principles, they made it their maxim to stir up and corrupt, indiscriminately, the subjects of every power, whether distant or near, either in peace or war, and to excite them to revolt against their natural sovereigns and government. Whilst, on one hand, their minister at Constantinople, pursuant to that system of duplicity and deceit which is their custom every where, made professions of friendship for the

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Ottoman

Ottoman empire, endeavouring to make 'the Sublime Porte the dupe of their insidious projects, and to forward their object of exciting her against other friendly powers; the commanders and generals of their army in Italy, on the other hand, were engaged in the heinous attempt of perverting the subjects of his majesty the grand seignior, by sending agents (persons notorious for their intriguing practices) into Anatolia, Morea, and the islands of the Archipelago; and by spreading manifestoes, of the most insidious tenour, among which, the one addressed by Buonaparte, to the people of Macrio, with several others, distributed by the same, are sufficiently known to the public.

"Upon the Sublime Porte's complaining, to the directory, of this conduct of their commanders and generals, their answer was, that all proceedings, on the part of their officers, contrary to friendship, were not with the consent of the directory, and the same should be prevented, and their officers warned against it, the wish of the French government being to strengthen, more and more, the ancient friendship subsisting with the Sublime Porte.

"In consequence of this answer, delivered officially on their part, it was expected that the said generals would have left off their seditious pursuits. But, nevertheless, no change appearing in their conduct, and their perseverance, in such insidious practices, being greater than ever, it became obvious, that the answers of the directory were only fictitious and deceitful; that the intriguing attempts of their agents could not but be dictated by the

instructions which were given them, and, consequently, that any farther complaint would be of no avail whatever.

"Notwithstanding these transactions, however, the Sublime Porte, in the hopes of the directory altering its system of conduct, and laying aside the senseless pursuit of wishing to overturn the universe; in expectation of seeing things in France, from the harassed situation of that country, at length take a different turn, by the people refusing to bear any longer those intolerable evils and disasters which have been brought upon them from the personal views of a few upstart individuals, since the commencement of the revolution; and with a view of preventing secret enmity from producing an open rupture; she did not alter her course, but preferred keeping silence.

"In the beginning of the war with the other powers, the French government had declared, that their intention was not to acquire new territory, but, on the contrary, to restore every such conquest as might have been made by their arms during the contest; contrary to which, they not only have kept possession of various extensive provinces,—snatched by them from the belligerent powers; but, not content with this, profiting of the changes which had prevailed among the allied courts, through their intrigues, have put off the mask intirely, and, developing their secret views, without reason or justice, have fallen upon several free and independent republics and states, who had held themselves neutral, like the Sublime Porte, invading their territories when least provided with the means  
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of defence, and subjecting them to their will by open force and hostility.

"Thus, no one being left to control them, they tore the veil of all decorum at once, and, unmindful of the obligations of treaties, and, to convince the world that friendship and enmity are the same thing, in their eyes, contrary to the right of nations, and in violation of the ties subsisting between the two courts, they came, in a manner altogether unprecedented, like a set of pirates, and made a sudden invasion in Egypt, the most precious among the provinces of the Ottoman Porte, of which they took forcible possession, at a time when they had experienced nothing from this court but demonstrations of friendship."

The manifesto, having recounted various instances of French duplicity and dissimulation, and, particularly, the positive declaration of Talleyrand, in answer to the categorical question put to him by Aly-Effendi, that Buonaparte's commission had no other object than the conquest of Malta, and the destruction of the order of its knights, inferred:

"That the directors of the French government, to second their own ambition and arrogance, had actually lost all recollection of those laws observed and maintained in every regular government; and that no faith, whatever, was to be placed in their words and professions. From the tenour of their arbitrary proceedings, and despotic conduct, as too well witnessed from first to last, it is clear and evident, that their project is no other but to banish every orderly institution from the face of the world; to overturn human society; and, by an alter-

nate play of secret intrigue or open hostility, as best suits their end, to derange the constitution of every established independent state, by creating (as they have done in Italy) a number of small republics, of which the French is to be the parent mother; and thus to sway, and to conduct every thing after their own will, every where.

"Now, Egypt being the portal of the two venerable cities (Mecca and Medina), and the present operations, in that quarter, being of a nature affecting all the Mahomedan sect at large, the Sublime Porte, consistently with her express declarations to the above French chargé d'affaires, and, through her ambassador, to the directory at Paris, is compelled, by every law, to resist the sudden and unprovoked aggression and hostilities, committed by the French, as above, and, with a full confidence in the assistance of the Omnipotent God, to set about repelling and destroying the enemy, by sea and land. Thus, to wage war against France, is become a precept of religion incumbent on all Mussulmen.

"In consequence whereof, the aforesaid chargé d'affaires, together with the officers of that mission, have been sent to the Seven Towers, to be detained there, as hostages, until such time as Aly-Effendi, before named, and those of his retinue, be arrived from Paris; and the consuls, merchants, and French properties, in Constantinople, and in other parts of the Ottoman empire, shall also be kept in deposit, and as security, until the merchants, dependents of the Sublime Porte, with their shipping, and properties, as also the public ships, with their equipage, detained in the

the province of Egypt, (prisoners of war excepted) be set at liberty. To repel the perfidy of those usurpers who have raised the standard of rebellion and trouble in France, is a measure, in which not the safety and tranquillity of the Sublime Porte alone, but also that of all the powers in Europe, is concerned: wherefore, the best hopes are entertained of the cordial co-operation of all friendly courts, as well as of their disposition to fulfil, by every means in their power, their duties of friendship and of assistance in the present cause."

Though the native energy of the mind, in Turkey in Europe, be repressed by despotism, it is observed to recover, on trying occasions, not a little of that quickness of perception which formerly distinguished the natives of that happy region and climate. The Turks, though sunk in sloth, are not, by nature, a slow or stupid race. A review of the conduct of France by this nation, forced to speak out by the irresistible impulse of truth and facts, and rendered hostile to their ancient ally only by insufferable aggression, deserves to be recorded among the most memorable events and features of the passing years. But, neither the rebellion of Pashwan Oglou, who maintained his independence and power in Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria, and threatened to carry his arms into Macedonia and Romania, and even to Constantinople; the revolutionary spirit, excited and fostered by the French, in the Morea; nor, finally, perhaps, the invasion of Egypt, would have sufficed to rouse

the Porte to the exertions which the times and the occasion demanded, if the naval victory of Aboukir had not exhibited a striking and encouraging proof, that the power and fortune of the French republic were not irresistible. It had been constantly represented by the English minister at the Porte, whose public conduct, as well as his polite and friendly attentions to his countrymen abroad, merit much praise, that the revolutionary spirit of France threatened all monarchical thrones with subversion. The Porte, at last, at once alarmed at the invasion of Egypt, and emboldened by the victory of the Nile, listened seriously to his arguments. He became the principal counsellor and consent of the reis-essendi, or secretary of state; and it was very much owing to his influence and address that an alliance, offensive and defensive, was formed between Russia and the Porte, under the reciprocal guarantee of the emperor of Germany and of Great Britain.

It was found now, that the supreme vizier, Izzad Mahomed Bashaw, had attended to nothing but his own interest: so that, "In the dark himself, with respect to the evil designs of those swinish infidels, the French, from not procuring proper intelligence, he did not apprize the inhabitants of Egypt thereof in good time," he was therefore deposed from the office of grand vizier, and Joseph, bashaw-governor of Euzerum,\* appointed in his stead: until whose arrival at the sublime gate, Mustapha Bashaw,

\* This is the same Joseph who had been ambassador, for some years, from the Porte, at the court of London.

to whom the imperial decree,\* announcing those changes, was addressed, was to act as deputy-vizier, or *Raimakam*. Military preparations were made, plans of action were formed, and troops were in motion, in both Turkey in Asia and Turkey in Europe. Of the operations in the former, some account has already been given. Before we proceed to take a view of those in the latter, it will be proper to advert to the counsels and movements of the Russians, with which those of the Turks, in the present strange convulsion of the world, were, to all appearance, amicably blended.

At the commencement of the war, the late empress of Russia, jealous of an union between Austria and Prussia, and not displeased to see these preponderating powers of Germany exhaust their strength in a conflict with France, acceded, at first, to the confederacy of kings, only in name. But she afterwards,

on the secession of Prussia, became, in earnest, and had determined to send a great force to the aid of the allies, as before related. Her successor, on the Russian throne, inherited, from his illustrious ancestors, a passion for the farther aggrandizement of the empire, and from them too, as well as his own situation, a disposition to quash popular innovation, and to maintain the common cause of sovereigns. The latter of these principles appears to have been that which originally moved Paul I. in 1798, to take an active part with the coalition; though the latter was more and more developed by the progress of events, and seems even to have absorbed the original motive of action. He was unhackneyed in the intrigues and duplicity of courts: he avowed and moved straight forward to his object; which was the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France.† It was in the same spirit of hostility to French innova-

\* From this decree, promulgated at the Porte, on the first of September, the following, as serving to give an idea of the Turks and Turkish government, is extracted:—  
“Now, it being incumbent upon all true believers to combat those faithless brutes, the French, and it being become a positive duty for our imperial person to deliver the blessed territories from their accursed hands, and to revenge the insult which they have offered to Mussulmen, no delay whatever is to take place for the arrival of the new vizier; but the most vigorous measures must be pursued to attack them by sea and land.

“Wherefore, by a deliberation with the illustrious lawyers, ministers, and chieftains, our subjects, you must (with a full confidence in God and his prophet) fix upon the effectual means of freeing the province of Egypt from the presence of such wretches. You will acquaint all the true believers, in the respective quarters, that we are at war with the French; and, turning night into day, will apply your utmost efforts to take revenge of them.

“You will adopt the most vigilant conduct towards defending the other Mahometan provinces and our imperial frontiers, from the plots and malice of the enemy, by the due reinforcement of every port and place with troops and military stores.

“You will likewise direct your zealous attention towards the due supply of daily provisions to the inhabitants of this our imperial residence; and will watch over the affairs of all persons in general, until the supreme vizier do arrive.

“We shall observe your exertions, and may the omnipotent God obtain his divine favour to attend our undertakings, and render us successful in the vindication of our cause.”

† See the declaration made by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to the members of the German empire, in the second part of this volume.

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tions that he laboured, by certain domestic regulations relating to dress, equipage, and the ceremonial, of society, to preserve a due gradation of ranks, and the supremacy of the court over the whole. Certain reverences were exacted from passengers on the streets, not only to the imperial family but the principal officers of state. No one below a certain rank was allowed to put more than a certain number of horses to his carriage. Ukases, or royal edicts, were published, for wearing cocked hats and directing all persons to appear in buckles, both in their shoes and at their knees, in waistcoats with flaps, coats without capes, and stocks instead of neckcloths or handkerchiefs, without any kind of bolster or stuffing. No person was to wear boots with tops, or half-boots. For disobedience to these orders some persons were punished with a short imprisonment. These regulations were generally considered as trifling and unworthy of a great sovereign. They wore, indeed, an air of levity and ludicrousness: yet, the attention paid by Peter the Great to the regulation of dress has not been condemned as either frivolous or unimportant. Peter was at pains to introduce new fashions; Paul to preserve the old. It may be even doubted, whether the policy of Paul was not, in this respect, the wisest, as being most consonant with the spirit of an absolute government. If Peter the Great had lived to our day, he would have perceived what, perhaps, he did not, in his ardour to civilize and refine his people, foresee or think of, that a spirit of improvement in the arts and sciences, and the concomitant sentiments of the dignity

of human nature, and of innovation in modes and manners of life, is not very consistent with the stability of absolute power; unless, indeed, he should have conceived or ventured to execute a design of anticipating political fermentation and revolution, by gradual changes and progressive improvement in the form of government.

With the soul and life of the confederation against the French republic, the king of Great Britain; he entered into a close alliance, by a provisional treaty, done at St. Petersburg, on the eighteenth of December, 1798. In the name of the most holy and indivisible trinity, his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in consequence of the alliance and friendship already subsisting between them, being desirous to enter into a concert of measures, such as might contribute, in the most efficacious manner, to oppose the successes of the French arms, and the extension of the principles of anarchy, and to bring about a solid peace, together with the re-establishment of the balance of Europe, judged it to be worthy of their most serious consideration and earnest solicitude to endeavour, if possible, to reduce France within its proper limits, as they subsisted before the revolution. With the intention of inducing the king of Prussia to take an active part in the war against the common enemy, they proposed to employ all their endeavours to obtain that end. His imperial majesty was ready to afford him a succour of land-forces, and he destined, for that purpose, forty-five thousand men, infantry and cavalry, with the necessary artillery.

With

With regard to the direction of this corps, and its combined operations with the Prussian troops, the emperor of Russia was to arrange these with the king of Prussia, and the arrangement to be made was to be communicated to his Britannic majesty, in order that, by such a concert between the high allies, the military operations against the enemy might be made with the greater success, and that the object proposed might be the more easily ascertained. His Britannic majesty, on his part, engaged to furnish pecuniary succours: 225,000*l.* sterling, for the first and most urgent expenses; of which 75,000*l.* was to be paid as soon as the troops should have passed the Russian frontier; and that the other two moieties, of a like sum each, should be paid at the expiration of two successive periods, of three months each, thereafter. He agreed also to furnish to the Russian emperor a subsidy of 75,000*l.* per month, to be computed from the day on which the corps of troops, above-mentioned, should pass the Russian frontiers. This subsidy was to be paid at the commencement of each month, and, being destined for the appointments and maintenance of the troops, it was to be continued during the space of twelve months, unless peace should be made sooner. Within that space of time, the contracting parties were to come to an understanding, whether, in case the war should not be terminated, the subsidy above-mentioned should be continued. The contracting parties engaged not to make either peace or armistice without including each other: but if, through any unforeseen events, his Britannic majesty could be under the necessity of

terminating the war, and thereby of discontinuing the subsidy, before the expiration of the twelve months above stipulated, he engaged, in that case, to pay three months advance of the subsidy agreed on, reckoning from the day on which the information should be received by the general commanding the Russian troops. In like manner, if any aggression on Russia should take place, by which the emperor should be obliged to recall his army into his own dominions, the subsidy should, in such case, be paid up only to the day on which the army should re-enter the territory of Russia. This treaty was to be considered as provisional and its execution not to take place until the king of Prussia should be determined to turn his forces against the common enemy. But, in case of his not doing so, the contracting parties reserved to themselves the right and the power to take, for the good of their affairs, and the success of the salutary end they *might* have in view, other measures analogous to the times and circumstances, and to agree then on those which, in such a case, they should judge to be most necessary. The emperor of all the Russias, nevertheless, in order to give a still more striking proof of his sincere dispositions, and of his desire to be, as much as possible, useful to his allies, promised, even during the course of the negotiation with his Prussian majesty and before its termination, to put the corps of forty-five thousand men on such a footing that they might be immediately employed wherever, according to a previous concert amongst the allies, the utility of the common cause might require.

The zeal of the emperor Paul, in the common cause of crowned heads, was also manifested in a declaration of war against Spain, in a manifesto, dated the fifteenth of July, 1799; in which, as well as in the manifesto to the German empire, the mind and views of the emperor, at that time, appear to be displayed unequivocally and with sincerity. "Among the small number of European powers (said he) who, in external appearance, seemed to be attached to the French monarchy, but who, in reality, are only repressed by the dread of those rulers whom God hath abandoned, none has more evidently betrayed that dread, or that pusillanimous submission, than Spain: not, indeed, by affording them, hitherto, any effectual succours or co-operation, but by the actual preparations which she is now making. Fruitless have been all our efforts, and they were as forcible as it was possible to make, to reconduct that power into the true path of honour and glory, and to unite with us. We declare war against the king of Spain; and we consequently give orders for seizing and confiscating all the Spanish merchant-ships which are at present in our ports; and we likewise charge all our commanders, both by sea and land, to treat as enemies the subjects of his Spanish majesty, wherever they may meet with them." His imperial majesty, in the same temper and tone, laid an embargo on the Hamburg ships in the Russian ports; and, in a menacing attitude, attempted to draw off not only that small, yet important, republic, but Sweden, Denmark, and even Prussia, from their system of neutrality to the side of coalition.

While his Russian majesty exerted his whole authority and influence to rouse a general attack on the French republic, he received into his friendship and protection those who had suffered from its tyranny and oppression. To Lewis XVIII. as he was called by his adherents and his court, he gave an asylum in the capital of Courland. He received a number of emigrant French nobles into his military service: and, above all, he extended his protection and munificent patronage to the dispersed and ejected knights of Malta. The grand bailiff, the grand cross, and other distinguished members of his order, assembled at St. Petersburg, in October, 1798, elected the emperor grand master of their order. His majesty, who is said to have solicited, accepted this dignity, and exercised its prerogatives, in conferring, with great pomp and solemnity, the order itself, as well as its different degrees, titles, and offices, on various persons of distinction. Count Litta, envoy-extraordinary from the pope, and the prince Serra Capriola, envoy from Naples, were honoured with the grand cross. A new institution, under the name of a grand priory, was established at Petersburg, in favour of the knights of Malta, and endowed with an annual revenue of 216,000 rubles. This was to serve as a residence and rallying place for all the knights. The motives, assigned by his imperial majesty for this act of munificence, were a regard to the common cause of Christianity and Christendom, to which the illustrious knights of Malta had been so eminently subservient, to preserve that order, and to enable them to recover the possessions

sections that had been ravished from them by injustice and violence; and to add a new incitement to the loyalty and bravery of the Russian nobles, by the hope of being admitted, in consequence of signalized merit, into the illustrious fraternity of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. But, from this order no person of noble descent, and otherwise properly qualified, according to the rules of the order, of any country in Christendom, was to be interdicted. To the ancient and standing laws of the order, his majesty added a number of regulations respecting his own new foundation.

The ukase for this establishment was accompanied by a proclamation, declaring that any gentleman, of any Christian country, duly qualified, might be received as a knight of St. John, in the imperial residence of St. Petersburg, and reside there in that character, and enjoy the emperor's particular favour and protection.

"We flatter ourselves (says his majesty) that, having through Divine Providence and hereditary right come to the imperial throne of our ancestors, we have it in our power to protect, maintain, and even increase and extend, the splendour of an order so ancient and renowned among the orders of chivalry, convinced that, by such a conduct, we shall render an important service to the universe! The laws and regulations of this order inspire a love of virtue, form good morals, strengthen the bonds of subordination, and present a powerful remedy against the present *mania* for innovation, and the unbridled licentiousness of thinking. In fine, this order is an engine for aug-

menting the power, security, and glory, of states."

The emperor, in February, 1799, sent a note to all the foreign ministers resident at Petersburg, requesting them to make known, to their respective courts, that he had accepted the title of "Grand master of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem," of which St. Petersburg was henceforth to be the seat and chief residence. Orders were also issued to the ministers of Russia, not to receive any letters, addressed to his imperial majesty, in which the title of "Grand master of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem" should be omitted.

On this new institution, for the preservation of an ancient order, though its patron and head was neither unmarried nor a catholic, the aged, infirm, and unfortunate pope, Pius VI. in the monastery of Cassin, near Florence, bestowed his approbation, sanction, and paternal and apostolical benediction, on the fifth of November, 1798. This account of the new grand priory at St. Petersburg, would have been altogether disproportionate to the scale of this narrative, if subsequent events and pretensions, recently brought forth, had not given them much importance.

The emperor of Russia, with the dispositions, and under the engagements, above mentioned, made war on France by sea and land. A Russian Squadron, of twelve sail of the line, was sent to co-operate with the British fleets, in the German Ocean, off the coast of Britain; and another, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1799, appeared in the canal of Constantinople, where it was joined by a Turkish Squadron. The combined fleet, consisting of  
twelve

twelve ships of the line and sixteen frigates, besides galleys, gun-boats, and transports, with twelve thousand men, sailed through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean. Their first operation was an attack on the newly-created French departments in the *Ægean* and *Adriatic* Seas. *Cerigo*, the ancient *Cythæra*, an island belonging to the Venetians, but ceded to the French by the treaty of *Campo-Formio*, was taken, after a slight resistance, on the twelfth of October. *Zante* and *Cephalonia* were abandoned by the French on the nineteenth of that month. And from thence, on the fifth of November, they proceeded to blockade the canal of the island of *Corfu*; in the town and fortresses of which island, the works of which; constructed by the celebrated general *Schulenberg*, had been kept in excellent order by the Venetians, and lately strengthened by the French, there was a considerable garrison, and ample stores and provisions. This place was taken, by the united Turkish and Russian forces, on the first of March. The town and forts of *Corfu*, with the artillery, ammunition, stores, provisions, and all other public effects, were given up to the allied troops. The French garrison were to be conveyed to *Toulon*, in vessels furnished by the combined squadron, and at the expense of the said squadron, on their word of honour, not to bear arms, for eighteen months, against his majesty the grand seignior, his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, or against their allies, the king of England, the king of the two Sicilies, and the present allies of the two empires. The French general, with the principal officers, and their fa-

milies, had it in their option, to go either to *Toulon* or to *Ancona*. The commanders of the allied squadron declared, that every individual, of whatever religion or nation, as well as all the inhabitants of the town and island of *Corfu*, should be respected in their persons and property; that they should not be prosecuted, molested, or pursued, on account of the political opinions which they might have held, or for their actions, or for the employments which they might have filled under the French government, up to the date of the capitulation. If any of them chose to depart with all their property, they might do so. The sick, who could not accompany the garrison, were to be treated in the same manner as the Turks and Russians, at the expense of the said powers, and, also, when cured, to be sent to *Toulon*. The French general was permitted to leave, at *Corfu*, an officer, with a sum of six thousand livres, to be expended for the comfort and benefit of his countrymen; and also the necessary number of officers of health, to prepare drugs, and take care of the sick. The garrison, the officers, and those employed in a civil or military capacity, were to receive, as well on shore as on board the vessels, the same number of rations that were allowed to them, according to their rank, in conformity to the French laws, until their debarkation at *Toulon* or *Ancona*. The ships of war and transports, which should be employed in conveying the French either to *Toulon* or *Ancona*, were not to make any prizes, either in going or returning; and the commissary-general engaged, in the name of the French government, to cause the said vessels to be respected

respected by the French ships and vessels, and to guarantee their return to Corfu, in like manner as the Turkish and Russian admirals respectively promised, in the name of their courts, to cause all the French, comprised in the present capitulation, to be conveyed to the destination agreed on. The French general and his staff were to have a Russian guard of honour, until their embarkation. The French garrison marched out of all the posts which they had occupied, with all military honours, at the time and place agreed on, the officers, civil and military, retaining their arms: on which the town and fortress of Corfu passed, of course, into the possession of the allied forces.

In this capitulation, there was nothing of that Asiatic barbarity which the friends of the French revolution affected to apprehend, from the accession to the coalition of Turks and Russians. It is not possible that any convention could have been made on fairer terms, with greater regard to justice, humanity, and the nicest sense of honour. In perusing this capitulation, we entertain a momentary wonder, that the horrors of mutual war should at all exist between nations capable of thinking and acting so generously as well as justly: undoubtedly, they would much seldom take place, were princes and politicians governed in their councils by similar sentiments. The wisdom of the capitulation was equal to its humanity. Its moderation and justice stood in direct opposition and contrast with the domineering and rapacious passions of the republic, which obliged the conquered states to pass under the

VOL. XL.

yoke and to wear the chains imposed by the conquerors.

The union of Russia with Turkey increased the power of the latter, not only by an accession of force, but much more by re-animating the courage, and infusing new energy into the Ottoman councils and nation. The appearance of the combined Turkish and Russian fleet and land-forces, on the western coast of Turkey in Europe, gave force and effect to strict orders, from Constantinople, to all the agents of the Turkish government in that quarter, to use the most vigorous means for quashing the intrigues of the French, and repressing all tendency to rebellion. The bashaw of Janina, who had shewn some symptoms of disregard to the firmans of the Porte, on sundry occasions, and who had begun, as was believed, to listen to certain overtures from the French, took a decided and active part on the side of that government, which it was his duty to support. With the perfidious cunning of a barbarian, he drew the French generals, Rosa and Salcette (though the former, it is said, had taken for a wife one of his daughters), into a conference with some of his emissaries, who pretended a disposition, on the part of the bashaw, to go over to the French; during which, they were arrested, with certain other inferior officers who attended them, and kept in confinement. The French, in the different posts formerly held by the Venetians, which they occupied on the coast of Dalmatia, were either killed, in cases of the least resistance, or taken prisoners. This was a more important advantage than the reduction of the islands;

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islands; for, in those posts, the French had many facilities for disseminating their doctrines throughout Epinus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, and exciting a general insurrection among the Greeks, for the revival, as they said, of the Greek republic, and for combining with the formidable and fortunate bashaw of Widdin, Passowan Oglou, who had penetrated into Wallachia and Bulgaria, and threatened still farther and rapid progress. That chief, being informed of the treaty and junction of the Turks with the Russians, and that, while the power of these allies prevailed on the Albanian coast, a body of Russian troops had begun to march against him towards Moldavia and Wallachia, was alarmed. He had, for some time, been held in balance, between the offers of grace from the Porte, and the charms of independent power. He now deemed it prudent, not, indeed, entirely to give up the latter, which so few have been inclined or dared to relinquish, but to come to a compromise with the grand seignior. Passowan Oglou ceased all inroads and hostilities against any of the Turkish provinces, on the condition of his being continued in his government, and an exemption from certain tribute, which he claimed according to a written deed of the Sublime Porte, in consequence of the distinguished merit of his ancestors. It was the exaction of this tribute, from the lands belonging to Passowan Oglou, as well as from others, that was the original cause,

or, at least, the original pretext, for his taking up arms against the sultan of Constantinople, whom he boldly accused, as well as his agents and most of his Turkish subjects, of repeated violations of the laws of Islamism.

When the islands of Cerigo, Zante, Cephalonia, and St. Mauro, were taken by the combined fleet, a part of the French, who had garrisoned them, were sent prisoners of war to Albania; and other French prisoners were made, at the posts they held on the coast of that province. The fate of those unfortunate men was very different from that of such of their countrymen who fell into the hands of the allies, at Corfu.\* The French officers, above mentioned, were sent by Ali, bashaw of Janina, to Constantinople, where they arrived on the eleventh of January, and were sent to the prison of the Seven Towers. From four to five other prisoners, of inferior rank, including sixteen women, arrived on the twelfth; with sixty heads, of their unhappy companions, who had perished from fatigue, cold, and, perhaps, from the brutal treatment of the Turkish soldiers. The men were sent to the Bagnio, the women to the quarters of the French ambassador. By this time, another party of French prisoners, to the number of forty-six, had also arrived at Constantinople, and had been also lodged in the same prison. They were on their voyage from Alexandria to Corfu, when they fell into the hands of the English fleet, under

\* It is to be observed, that, before the contest in the Ægean Sea was decided, by the reduction of Corfu, which stood a siege of three months, no part of the combined naval force could be spared, for sending them to France.

admiral Nelson. Being driven, by stress of weather, into the port of Syphanto, they were taken hold on by the natives of that isle, and sent to Constantinople. It was in behalf of these unfortunate men, that sir Sidney Smith made that generous and humane intercession, which has been already alluded to in our second chapter.

A Turkish ship of war, of eighty guns, was launched at Constantinople, on the fourteenth of January. At this operation, performed with much ceremony, the sultaun, Selim himself, on board a vessel of one hundred and twenty guns, was present. Sir Sidney, after the launching of the new ship, with some of his officers, was admitted to a direct audience of the sultaun. After presenting to his highness divers objects of equal curiosity and utility, such as a model of the Royal George, he was honoured with a long and familiar conference on the subject of his mission to the sublime Porte. On this occasion, he represented to the grand seignior, that the captives from Syphanto had been taken by admiral Nelson, and the claims which they made, of being considered as his prisoners. He interceded in their behalf with all the zeal compatible with the respect due to the sultaun, and implored some mitigation of their fate, as a favour done to himself and his nation. The sultaun granted his petition: the forty-six French prisoners, under an escort of marines from sir Sidney's own ship, the *Tigre*, were sent from the *Bagnio*, a very rigorous prison, to the old palace of the French ambassadors, where they were allowed the same rations, for their subsistence,

as the English soldiers, until they should be sent home to France, on their parole of honour.

The grand seignior, it may well be supposed, was happy in this opportunity of testifying his gratitude and respect for the British government and nation. Of these he had already given testimonies, in the presents of a rich aigrette of diamonds (called, in Turkish, *chelengk*, or a feather of triumph), and a superb pelisse, to admiral Nelson; and still more, in the gracious expressions by which those marks of esteem were accompanied. The following note was transmitted from the seraglio to sir Sidney Smith, on the second of September:

"The sublime Porte has already, in a note written some days ago, expressed its satisfaction at the first intelligence of the defeat of the French, by an English squadron in the White Sea, on the coast of Egypt. As this happy event imposes on this empire an indispensable duty of acknowledgement, and as the service performed on this occasion, by our esteemed friend, admiral Nelson, is of a nature that demands a public mark of gratitude, his imperial majesty, the most powerful, formidable, and magnificent grand seignior, in his imperial name, has destined, as a present, to the said admiral, an aigrette of diamonds, and a pelisse with large sleeves; and also two thousand sequins, to be distributed among the wounded seamen. And as the English minister displays the most uniform zeal, for cementing and strengthening the friendship between the two courts, it is hoped that he will not fail to make known this circumstance to his court, and



to solicit the permission, of the most august and powerful king of England, for the said admiral to wear the aigrette and pelisse."

On the part of his Britannic majesty, a number of common field-pieces were presented by sir Sidney Smith. The English, Russian, and Neapolitan, ambassadors were admitted to the most important councils of the Turkish ministers: and the most perfect unanimity and

concord prevailed among all those allies. But the satisfaction of the Turks, at this harmonious combination, at the present moment, in the intervals of profound reflection on the past, and anticipation of what was likely to come, must, no doubt, have been painfully interrupted by the consideration, that Turkey stood now in the same relation to Russia, that Spain did to France.

## C H A P. VI.

*Vicissitudes of Colonization, Commerce, and Arts.—Re-action of the Expedition to Egypt, on the Affairs of Europe.—Internal Policy of France.—Violation of the Freedom of Elections.—Civil Dissentions.—Finances.—Suppression of Newspapers.—Execution of the Laws against Ecclesiastics and Emigrants.—Escape and Return of banished Deputies, from Guiana to Europe.—Law for confiscating the Property of Exiles, in case of their avoiding or quitting the Place of their Banishment.—Debates in both Councils on this Subject.—Military Commissions, Trials, and Executions.—Law for inquiring into all the Attacks that had been made on Persons and Property, from Motives of Enmity to the Public and its Friends.—Dreadful Effects of this Law.—Plunder, Profusion, Venality, and Corruption.*

**A**RTS and sciences, colonization and commerce, had proceeded from east to west, for fix thousand years: but they now seemed to take an opposite course, and to give a degree of probability to the theory of monsieur Baillie, concerning their progress from west to east. It would seem, that when civilization and refinement have dwelt for a certain period in one quarter of the globe, they leave it as exhausted land, in pursuit of fresh soil, but return to it again, after it has rested for a certain time, and recovered its original wildness, and capability of new cultivation. It was among the avowed objects of the French expedition to Egypt, to carry back the arts and sciences to Africa and Asia, their native countries. Having already noticed the consequences of that expedition, in the

east, and in the European countries nearest to these, Naples,\* Turkey, and Russia, we now proceed to give some account of its re-action on France, in which it originated. But, in order to do this, it will be necessary to take a view of the state of politics and parties in the French nation, from the middle of April, 1798.

When the expedition to Egypt was finally agreed on by the directory, the mind of Buonaparte (not, perhaps, the last object of consideration with the directory) was wholly employed in planning and preparing for the execution of that daring enterprize. Before that period, Buonaparte, who uniformly opposed violent measures, formed, to a certain extent, a counterpoise to the power of the directory.—Though deeply connected with them, he retained, and with spirit

\* In our last volume.

asserted, his independence. This was not the case with the two councils. The subserviency of these to the directory and their agents had considerably lowered them in the estimation of the public. Many of their transactions were obviously dictated by the executive power, which, since the affair of Fructidor, had become more formidable than ever. The treatment of the councils, at that time, had intimidated them to such a degree, that they did not, in general, dare, at once, to become refractory.

The objects of internal policy and regulation, which occupied the minds of the directory, in 1798, were principally the five following: the annual election of a third of the legislature; the finances: the freedom assumed by the different publications issuing from the press; the execution of former and contrivance of new decrees against emigrants and ecclesiastics; and a research into all the attacks that had been made on persons and property, public or private, from motives of enmity to the republic and its friends: all of which objects had a connection and reference, more or less remote, with the stability of their own power and of the government established by the events of Fructidor.

As these were reprobated by numbers, the directory dreaded that a great part of the nation, in the next elections, which were to be held in April, would throw out the candidates, on their side, and choose their opponents. Various expedients were proposed in order to obviate what, they asserted, would prove a fatal blow to liberty and the republic. No less daring an expedient was brought forward

than an imitation of what the English government had done, a little time after the accession of the family of Hanover to the throne. Parliament, perceiving the general disaffection of the people to this family, and apprehending that a new election would fill the house with members similarly disposed, took upon itself to prevent the revolution that must, in such case, infallibly ensue, by voting its existence septennial. This was a manifest encroachment upon the rights of the nation; but, having an army to support it, and a powerful party loudly approving it, as necessary for the preservation of tranquillity and the freedom of the constitution, it was submitted to, and gradually acquiesced in by those who felt the necessity of abiding by the principles of the revolution in 1688.

The case, it was maintained, was parallel between England, at that time; and France, at the present. Were the multitude to exercise its elective rights, during the ferment that now agitated the public, the number and activity of the emissaries employed against the republic was such, that it was much to be feared that the people would be seduced to vote for its enemies: the consequence of which must prove its immediate destruction. The prevention of so great an evil would, therefore, authorize any measure taken against it, and silence every argument alleged in favour of the ordinary rules of proceeding; as these would indisputably endanger the safety of the nation, which was the first of all laws.

The propriety of this proceeding was the more insisted on, that it had been adopted in a country then the freest upon earth, and by a legislature,

gislature, of which the wisdom stood in the highest degree of repute in all Europe. But this measure was combated by numbers of the warmest republicans, as overturning the very foundations of public liberty. The nation, they asserted, was full of the most determined friends to the constitutional freedom now established, and it was not to be doubted, but they would exert themselves in its protection against all domestic machination, the authors of which were well known and would not dare to shew themselves, when once they found that the friends to the constitution were in readiness to oppose them. It was owing to their want of celerity in coming forwards that its enemies had been able to gain any advantages. There were ample methods to frustrate the attempts of these, without recurring to such odious measures as were industriously recommended. The best models to be copied from, in assembling the people, would be those that took place after the tenth of August, 1792. Therein not a royalist had ventured to shew himself: here, the constituted authorities cleared from treasonable intruders, and the laws against emigrants and recusant priests put in force, none but republicans would appear at elections. The constitution having ordained annual renovations of a third of the legislature, to omit them would be to violate it in the most essential point; but it had also, for its own preservation, empowered the legislative body to judge of the lawfulness of elections. This was not a matter of difficulty: the conditions of admissibility, to the primary assemblies, were so perspicuous, that they could not be mistaken;

and, while they were duly observed, royalists could be excluded from them with all facility. Such were the reasonings of numerous republicans.

Incessant and indefatigable were the opponents to the directory, in striving to counteract their endeavours to secure a majority in the approaching elections. What principally embarrassed the ruling party, the third to be replaced consisted of the last members remaining of the convention that had preceded the present legislature and framed the existing constitution. These members were undoubted republicans and firmly attached to the directory, who, notwithstanding their irregular stretches of power, were no less warm in that cause and had committed those very irregularities to support it.

A committee was, in the mean time, appointed to consider of the means to prevent the approaching elections from falling into improper hands, and to guard the constitution against those enemies who were endeavouring, by secret practices, to undermine it. Under this denomination were classed, it seems, several meetings, held, about this time, at Paris, and in some of the cities of principal note in the republic. These became so suspicious to the ruling powers that they were every where, on divers pretences, shut up. They had assumed the name of constitutional circles, and some of them were composed of individuals of the first consideration. The friends to these circles condemned their enemies with unqualified asperity, and represented them as men resolved to engross, exclusively, the power of the state, and who stigmatized, as foes to the

republic,

republic, all those who refused to submit implicitly to their measures.

In this manner, France was now become a scene of civil dissention, that threatened to involve it in fresh disorders and to renew the calamities from which it had, with such difficulty, been so lately extricated. It cannot be denied, that a strong party existed, decidedly averse to the government and the constitution. The disturbance and confusion that accompanied the elections, in many places, induced the council of five hundred to request a circumstantial account of them from the directory. The message, sent in answer, contained a clear and particularized detail of numerous irregularities and violations of the laws and the constitution, visibly aiming at its subversion and to re-establish the system of 1793.

On this ground, it was determined, by the directory and its partisans in the two councils, who constituted an incomparable majority, to annul the whole of the elections made in seven departments, and to declare those of a considerable number of individuals illegal.

This decision was violently opposed by several of the most conspicuous members of the legislature. That which affected particular individuals was reputed the most dangerous, as tending to place the choice of members entirely in the option of the party that predominated in the council. Such a method of proceeding would be clearly destructive of the sovereignty of the people, and transfer it from the constituents to the constituted, which was inverting the order of things of a state that called itself a republic. It was alleged, at the

same time, that several of these individuals were of irreproachable character, and notably devoted to the constitution.

The general reply to these allegations was, that the exclusion, decreed against individuals, was founded on irregularities in their election. Irregularities also required the annulment of all the elective proceedings in the several departments, with this difference, however, that the latter were of a more flagitious nature, and the persons chosen notorious enemies to the constitution and obnoxious in many other respects. It was, therefore, upon the maturest consideration, indispensably necessary, for the safety of the republic, totally to reject the nomination of such people, and to abrogate whatever had been done in their favour, as being evidently the effect of factious violence.

This resolution did not pass without an acrimonious altercation: but the plurality in both councils were, nevertheless, convinced that, though it might deviate from the strict letter of the law, yet the spirit of the constitution would exculpate the directors and the republican party, for having recourse to it, as the only expedient to prevent the declared adversaries of the established order of things from introducing fresh confusion and disturbances.

Thus terminated the business of the eighteenth Floreal, (seventh of May) eight months precisely, after the still more famous one of Fructidor, which it perfectly resembled in the principle that brought it about, and in the effects that followed it. The public in general, though duly sensible that it contradicted the genuine maxims of liberty, did not deny its expediency

ency in the actual circumstances of affairs. The dread of terrorism, of which the rejected elections menaced a renewal, seemed to reconcile every body to the propriety of their rejection. The whole of the business, indeed, was of such importance, that it had unintermittingly occupied the attention of men ever since that of Fructidor.

Meanwhile, scarcely a week passed without some message from the directory, respecting the exhausted state of the finances. Having rid themselves of the popular party, by the eighteenth of Fructidor, they now laid many evils to the charge of that party, during their ascendancy, for which it was necessary for them to provide remedies. But, among all these evils, that which demanded the speediest remedy was the revenue. For the service of the year, from September, (the commencement of the French year) 1797, to September, 1798, a sum was voted of six millions of livres tournois, or 25,666,660*l.* sterling. Of this sum, two hundred and twenty-eight millions were to be cleared by the territorial impost; the rest by an augmentation of taxes on collateral successions; farming the posts and suppressing the privilege of franking, re-establishing the national lottery, erecting turnpikes, a farther duty on stamps, a duty on paper, and, above all, by a mobilization of the national debt; by which the real stock was reduced to one-third, payable in money, and the other two in bonds to be taken in payment for national lands. The funds allotted for the supplies were not all of them near so productive as had been expected. New taxes were, therefore, from

time to time, proposed, for making up deficiencies and for meeting new exigencies: some of these were adopted and others rejected. The grand resource, on all emergencies, was, not any regular and equal mode of taxation, but confiscation of the property of individuals, for which, if prettexts could not be found in old laws, new ones were invented.

Of the numerous daily and evening newspapers, published in Paris, twelve were suppressed, not only on account of the matter they contained offensive to government, but also, it may be presumed, for a terror to others. The preamble to the decree for this suppression stated, that they cast reproach and contempt on the institutions and laws of the republic: that they uniformly supported a systematic plan for the disorganization of the constitution; some of them, under the livery of royalty, others under that of anarchy. That two of them, whose chief design, as they professed, was to report the debates and decisions of the French councils, set the laws of the church in opposition to those of the state, and religious ceremonies to republican institutions: that they endeavoured to extend the reign of fanaticism and superstition, to pervert the public mind, and to extinguish a love of the country: that they abused the liberty of religious opinion, in order to preach up religious and political intolerance; and, that, in fine, they tended to sow the seeds of jealousy and hatred among the citizens of the different departments, by the partial discussion of local and personal interests. For these reasons, the directory, with the

the approbation of the two councils, thought that they could not be too careful in checking faction and enlightening the people, with regard to the artifices of royalty, anarchy, and fanaticism.

A bookseller, of the name of Cochin, was arrested, for having published, in a preliminary discourse to a new dictionary of the French language, some sentiments that were considered as reflections on the revolution.

A number of the deputies, who had been banished, in September, 1797, to Guiana, among whom was general Pichegru, Barthelemy, Willot, Lanue, and Ossonville, made their escape from that pestiferous region, and arrived in London, and other parts of Europe, in September, 1798. At the time of their banishment, a resolution was proposed and talked of in the council of five hundred, that if any one should evade or escape from the destined place of exile, his estate, goods, and chattels, should be forfeited to the republic: but it was not then carried into a law. The return of the exiles coinciding, in point of time, with an insurrection that had burst forth with great violence in Belgium, this last was, by many, ascribed to the intrigues of priests who had escaped and returned from banishment. A project, as the French speak, or, as we English would say, a bill, was introduced, on the third of November, 1798, by Dempoor, one of the deputies from Belgium, to the following effect:

“That the goods of individuals who, having been banished by the laws of the nineteenth and twenty-second of Fructidor, year five,

should be found to have quitted the place of their exile, should be confiscated, for the benefit of the republic: that such individuals should be banished again, to such places as the executive directory should think fit, and condemned to perpetual exile: the goods of such returned exiles, in like manner to be confiscated, if, within the space of two months, from the publication of the present decree, they should not present themselves before the magistrates of Rochefort, to receive orders from them, concerning the particular prisons in which they were to be lodged, until the time when it should be convenient for the executive directory to ship them off again, either to their old, or some other new quarters by them appointed. The successions, or reversions, of the confiscated estates, to be held and enjoyed by the republic during the natural life of its last possessor, now ejected and in exile; and during the life, also, of his next heir and successor, until he should reach the seventieth year of his age. Out of the sequestered or confiscated estates, certain allowances to be made, for the subsistence of the wives and children of the exiles, on principles, and in proportions, to be fixed by the legislative assemblies.”

The debate that ensued, on this interesting subject, was distinguished by the animated, eloquent, and resolute, though single, opposition of a member, whose name deserves to be recorded, elevated above the frowns of numbers, and the dread of violence, by the consciousness of inward rectitude, and an indignation against injustice and inhuman tyranny.

Imme-

Immediately on the reading of the bill, a number of voices demanded that the question should be put to the vote, as, in a case so urgent, there was neither room for delay nor debate. But Rouchon, the member for Ardeche, inveighed with great and even violent emotion against the injustice and inhumanity of reviving a proposal which, when it was made, a year before, had been rejected, as unjust and inhuman. "Without inquiring, said he, into the causes or origin of that concealed power, which secretly directs all our discussions, I shall confine myself to the refutation of those frivolous pretexts, on which the bill proposed is founded, and demonstrate its impropriety and injustice, as it is a system of constraint, confiscation, and permanence of operation. In point of constraint, there is no one, if he chooses to be contumacious, who can be constrained to come to any place, otherwise than by physical necessity, in order to undergo any punishment to which he may be condemned. Would it not be monstrous and atrocious, to say to a man condemned to the guillotine, if you do not come on your own feet to the scaffold, you shall be either broke on the wheel, or drawn and quartered? Is it fit to imitate those Indian kings, who order their subjects to the frontiers, and then give them up to be pursued by savage beasts? I know that the grand seignior frequently sends a string to his bashaws, but I never heard that he ordered them to come and fetch it, under the denunciation of a severer punishment. The measure of

confiscation he considered as unjust, ruinous, and inconsistent with all public faith. It was also, he observed, contrary to the constitution. In civilized states, transgressions of a political nature were never punished by other than temporary punishments. The citizens would have every thing to dread, if, in the assemblies of their representatives, *revolutionary measures were every thing, and the constitution nothing*. Read history, and you will find that there was never any measure, for cruelty, equal to what is now proposed to you, adopted by Nero or Heliogabalus. [Here he was interrupted by a cry of, *to the Abbey with him,\* to the Abbey!*] Rouchon continued. — This bill, when duly considered in its connection, and the influence which it is calculated to produce on the legislative power, is more destructive to you than to the transported deputies. Yes, I repeat it, this bill subverts the very foundations of representative government. In order to the existence of a regular government, it is necessary that there should be certain fixed principles, from which there should be no receding every day, on pretence of saving the country. It is high time to give over the ridiculous practice of treating the constitution like one of those precious pieces of furniture that are sometimes laid aside, by notable housewives, for fear of wearing them out by common use. By your proceedings of Fructidor, you removed, to a great distance, a number of men, whom you considered as *dangerous*: but you cannot dispossess them of their pro-

\* One of the principal prisons, where the unfortunate royalists were confined, until the massacres of September, 1792.



perty, under the idea of their being *criminal*: in as much as they have not undergone any legal trial. It is monstrous, to make use of the words justice and humanity, in the same breath with confiscations and proscriptions, without trial or judgement. This is the ironical laugh of a man who poignards his victim. [Here, again, Rouchon was interrupted by many expressions of disapprobation.] I call on my colleague, Chabert, to answer this argument. In no state, subjected to laws, is any one held to be a criminal, and out of their protection, without previous and legal trial, and conviction. But the deputies were banished, by the nineteenth of Fructidor, without previous trial and conviction. Therefore, they were either banished, in violation of the constitution, or, there was no constitution to be violated. I demand the previous question. I have not had time to arrange my sentiments on the present subject: but, at the sight of the bill before you, the hairs of my head stand on end! I demand, at least, that, if you do not adopt the previous question, you will send a message to the directory, for further instructions. I have yet one farther observation to make, and then I have done. The bill is so conceived and worded, that it puts the power of making the law into the hands of the directory, who might, according to their pleasure, banish the Bourbons to Spain, for example, and the deputies, to the burning deserts of Surinam, there to perish of thirst and hunger."

This smart *fortie*, this unexpected sally of honest indignation, excited a general murmur and agitation throughout the whole assembly,

which rendered the present sitting one of the most boisterous that had taken place for a twelvemonth.—The subject was exceedingly interesting: and, though there was only one member in opposition to several hundreds, he was animated and supported by reason and moral sentiment, and long maintained the unequal contest with overwhelming numbers and unconquerable prejudices, teased and tortured into many expressions of impatience and blind passion and resentment. For this reason, we have judged it probable, that we should do a pleasure to our readers, to embrace the present occasion to lay before them a specimen of the debates in the French parliament.

Rouchon, throughout the whole of his speech, was interrupted with cries from individuals in different parts of the hall, besides the general and universal bursts, already mentioned; of, *to order, down with him, have done, to the Abbey with him, to Guiana, and so on.* He, alone, and unsupported by a single countenance or voice, maintained the cause of justice and humanity, in the midst of reproaches, menaces, and the constant calls of the president to order. Sometimes he forced his way, in the debates which followed his first speech, into the tribune, and spoke from thence, and sometimes standing up in his place in the hall. In the debates in the French assemblies, there is a degree of gesticulation and contortion of countenance, that, to an Englishman, and all the northern nations, except, perhaps, the Russians, would certainly appear in the highest degree extravagant and ridiculous. Gesture and action are a kind of mute modes of interchanging

ing sentiments, which the French, in their public meetings, have improved into a kind of language, very well understood to one another, in all its modifications, though not a little various. In this species of language, Rouchon was not a whit behind his most violent opponents. When his voice was drowned by the consentient clamours of hundreds, he still expressed his sentiments by gestures, looks, and irritating smiles of contempt, glanced in the faces of his bitterest adversaries. These were, Genissieux, Boulay-Paty, Lecointe-Puiraveaux, Cibrert, Crochon, and Poulaine-Grandpré.

The following is a short abridgement of the greater part of the speeches that were made from the tribune, in answer to that of Rouchon.

Genissieux.—I would ask of Rouchon, when did he ever set his face against any of those evils that threatened the country before the eighteenth of Fructidor? Did he mount the tribune, when the infamous Dumoulard demanded a trial of the hero who had conquered Italy? Did any one hear his voice, when the proscribed republicans had not where to lay their heads? They talk of a violation of the constitution! Are you the defenders of the constitution, ye abominable faction! ye, who, with the word constitution in your mouths, are going about every where to organize tribunals, for murdering the friends of liberty! [Here Rouchon testified strong dissent and disapprobation: on which several of those near him frowned at him, and cried, *to the Abbey*]. Yes, continued Genissieux, at the very time when the tribunals, sold to Blankenbourg,

acquitted, for example, a woman who had avowed that it was her wish to exterminate all the republicans! Aye, cried a great number of the deputies, and which acquitted, also, a number of agents in the cause of royalty! Genissieux, after this exordium, said, that he could refute all the principles on which Rouchon had opposed the bill: if, indeed, there were, in that hall, such a number of deputies capable of approving his principles as to make a refutation of them at all necessary. [At these words, almost the whole of the members, rising as by one accord from their seats, cried out, No, no, it is not necessary: *Vive la république!*]

Boulay-Paty.—You have heard, to-day, the last squeak of the infamous faction of Clichy. It is the arrival, in London, of Pichegru, Willot, Barthelemy, and other conspirators, that had this day sent to this tribune the scum of Clichy.

Lecointe-Puiraveaux inveighed against the continued machinations of royalism. Thanks and praise, cried he, to the genius of the republic! which has forced the conspirators to throw off the mask. The friends of the republic will unite closely together, and the conspirators will again hide their heads!

Rouchon, overpowered by an incessant cry of *Vive la république!* quitted the hall: on which all the members rose, and, amidst an universal shout of exultation, waved their hats in the air.

The resolutions moved in the bill were then read over, one by one, and all of them agreed to.

On the fifth of November, the same subject was recalled to the consideration of the five hundred, by

by Chabert, who observed, that the unexpected speech of Rouchon had prevented the members of the council from reflecting maturely on the bill before them. Half measures were out of season. It was necessary to give the finishing blow to the conspirators: he, therefore, moved, that all those who should withdraw themselves from the places of their exile, should be treated as emigrants.

This motion was immediately agreed to, and a committee appointed to draw up a new set of resolutions, or, in other words, a new bill conformably to the same. Thus the generous efforts of Rouchon, in favour of those unfortunate men, whom the council called conspirators, had no other effect than to provoke greater severity and cruelty against them. The opposition of Rouchon awakened, in the legislators of Fructidor, an irritation that was vented in expressions of animosity, more and more violent, in proportion as the arguments urged against the bill were teasing, and unanswerable by any other mode than that of numbers united by the sympathy of common prejudice and passion.

Chabert. — The agitation into which you were thrown, at your last sitting, by the discourse of Rouchon, did not permit you to bestow, on the bill before you, all the perfection of which it is susceptible. Be assured that the propositions then stated were not the effects of mere inconsideration, but the fruits of deep design; and the petty councils still held in secret, by the agents of royalism. Yes, representatives of the French people, a conspiracy is still on foot against liberty! Rouchon proposes to revise the law of

the nineteenth of Fructidor. It is a wonder he did not propose to revise the law for the abolition of royalty! A party of those men, who were condemned to exile, endeavours to revive criminal machinations here: others of them, having fled to England, conspire with the foreign enemy. Rouchon talks of forbearance and indulgence — What! is it a time to talk of indulgence, to those men, when the Rhone and the Seine are still tinged with the blood of their unhappy victims! Representatives, there is not now room for half measures. I demand, that all the laws, that have been enacted against emigrants, shall be applicable to those who shall have withdrawn themselves from deportation.

Rouchon — I demand to be heard in opposition to that proposal.

A very great number of voices: *to order, to order!*

Crochon. — When an audacious orator, from this tribune, undertakes the defence of the conspirators of the eighteenth of Fructidor; when he dares to presume the innocence of agents of royalty; when, doing honour to himself, by adopting the language of a name dear to the friends of liberty (Condorcet), he maintains that the punishments, inflicted on political delinquencies, ought to be only temporary; the royalists will, no doubt, smile for a moment. But let them know, that, if a treacherous deputy has the impudence —

Rouchon. — You are an ass!

A great number of voices: *to the Abbey with him, to the Abbey!*

Crochon continued: — When a man has the impudence to make stipulations for the interests of royalty,

ally, we will make stipulations for those of the republic. The royalists have cause to tremble: their accomplices, too, dread, lest they should drive us to the necessity of taking extraordinary measures. Yes, those men, who were vomited from the legislature, persevere in their conspirations still! An insurrection, as terrible as it is unexpected, attests the result of their plots.

What is the expedient proposed to you at such a crisis? To send the conspirators out of the country? No: but that they shall be treated as emigrants. What is our legislative power good for, if a criminal, condemned to exile, shall be suffered contumaciously to refuse certificates of his residence! I vote for the amendment proposed by Chabert. [A great number of voices joined in a general consent and acclamation.]

Rouchon.—I have not demanded a hearing, for the purpose of replying to personalities. I am wearied of making such replies. I only mean to propose a new clause to the bill. There is no article in the bill, for fixing the condition and civil situation of the wives and children of persons giving themselves up to deportation. Many, of those condemned to exile, will voluntarily yield to their fate, rather than to devote their unhappy families to misery and ruin. I demand, that their generous sacrifice of health and life shall not be lost to their wives and children, but that, from the moment they surrender themselves prisoners, the sequestrations shall be taken off from their estates. In the bill before you, it is proposed, indeed, that some relief should be granted to the families of exiles, at the ex-

pense of the legislature: but, before you be generous, you ought to be just: and, if you are so, you will not withhold from wives what they could claim, nor from innocent and helpless children their natural inheritance. With regard to the accusations brought against me, of being a conspirator, I declare that nothing shall prevent me from obeying the dictates of my conscience. But I will answer my accusers. What do I gain; by standing up for the unfortunate and wretched? While I discharge a sacred duty to others, do I stipulate any thing for my own private interests? Will my appearances for those unhappy men contribute to the improvement of my own fortune? Will they bestow on me embassies, consulships, or any place under government? No! I demand only liberty, which implies justice: and this is the amount of my conspiracy!

Poulaine-Grandpré answered to Rouchon, that, of the two cases, he had supposed the one was already provided for by a law already passed, and that the other was to be provided for by a subsequent law. He therefore proposed, that the council should pass from the present conversation to the order of the day.

Chat-Zot Latour invoked the justice of the council in favour of the wives and children of exiles, and seconded the motion that had been made by Rouchon. Several members having demanded that the resolution, moved by Chabert, should be put to the vote, it was put accordingly and carried, and a committee appointed for digesting it into a proper form. On the day thereafter, the sixth of November, the

the bill, newly modelled by the resolution of Chabert, for treating refractory exiles, in every respect, as emigrants, passed the council of five hundred, and, on the eighth, was sent up to the council of ancients, where it was taken into consideration, on the ninth of November.

Maillant was astonished that, after a committee had formerly been appointed by the council for revising and reconsidering the proceeding of the eighteenth of Fructidor, there should be any objection or hesitation of appointing one for the same purpose, now, in circumstances less urgent. If the council should not agree to the appointment of a committee, he desired permission to deliver his sentiments on the general subject.

Dentzel. Speak, speak, we shall see!

Goupil called to mind, as Maillant had done, that, on the occasion of the eighteenth of Fructidor, a committee of the whole house had been appointed, and a discussion taken place on the business of that day: in the course of which, two of their colleagues, he said, had made efforts, ineffectual indeed, but which had not lessened them in the public esteem. We appoint committees, said he, for examining the proceedings of the smallest primary assemblies, and shall we not appoint one for the examination of a resolution that has cost a discussion of five days in the council of five hundred, and since there can be no danger from leisurely deliberation? The discussion wished for is the more desirable, that it may produce a satisfactory explanation of past transactions.

Moreau, (one of the members

for Yonne). What! do you talk of a committee, at the moment when your country points out the men who are her murderers, and this hall still re-echoes the transactions of the abominable assassins employed by royalty? They come for the purpose of seconding the designs of the perfidious Albion, for the destruction of the republic. The debates that have taken place, in the council of five hundred, have rendered all farther discussion on the present resolution, in this place, unnecessary. The eyes of Europe are upon us; and the safety of the *Great Nation* imperiously demands the measure before you. I demand that the bill may be passed immediately.

Lecoulteux approved the proposal for referring the bill to a committee. It might produce explanations that might be followed by a more entire acquiescence and submission to the law proposed. One article in the bill mentions a future and ulterior destination for exiles. If, from any fair construction of these words, it should appear, that there were any grounds for hope that they were to be sent elsewhere than to Guiana, where, it seemed, that there was at present, dreadful mortality, he doubted not but they would submit to the law.

Gouthier said, that, if Guiana was really fatal to the exiles, it was to be presumed that the humanity of the directory would change their destination.

Dubuisson observed, that there was no occasion for an adjournment, as Maillant was ready to speak to the general question.

Maillant opposed the bill. The measure proposed was not urged by any necessity; for as much as there were

were none of the exiles who, since the eighteenth of Fructidor, had claimed either their estates or their liberty. That it was a gross act of injustice; as those who had returned from transportation were not more culpable than they had been before the eighteenth of Fructidor. Further, that it was unreasonable that men should be punished twice for the same crime; both by transportation and by sequestration of their fortunes. The measure proposed, he observed, was impolitic. Repeated strokes of vengeance tended to loosen confidence in governments. Never, even under the revolutionary tyranny, had persons, escaping from prison, been forced to undergo the punishment of death. Both Barrere and Drouet had escaped from prison before receiving judgement. No one ever dreamt of putting their names on the list of emigrants, as was proposed to be done with the returned exiles; who should not present themselves for receiving their destined punishment. Maillani finally conjured the council to abstain from the exercise of a rigour that was not necessary, and that might subject them to the imputation of persecution—which never made proselytes.

At the demand of Perrin the bill was read a second time and passed into a law, with only seven or eight dissentient voices.

The attacks that were made on the proceedings of Fructidor either endeared them more than ever to the French legislature, or induced a suspicion that it might be necessary to vindicate them from reproach; by outward and permanent marks of approbation. A monument, in remembrance of the happy events of the eighteenth of  
Vol. XII.

Fructidor, ann. 5, was erected in the hall of the council of five hundred; and a law was passed, for celebrating the anniversary of that day as a festival.

By a decree, passed on the eleventh of November, former laws against priests were enforced; and it was farther enacted, that, if they did not, within a month after the date of the decree, present themselves to the central administration of the department where they sojourned, they should be judged and punished as emigrants, if found on the territory of the republic. If they had been banished by the eighteenth of Fructidor, or should be banished by any subsequent law, two months were allowed to them for making their appearance. Infirm priests and all who had passed their sixtieth year were exempted from deportation, but to be confined together in a habitation to be destined, in each department, for the purpose, and on no account to be permitted to go at large in their respective communes or municipalities. Those who were without the means of support were to be maintained at the expense of the republic. Persons, giving an asylum, in their houses, to priests returned from deportation, were to be punished by confiscation of the house that had offered the asylum, if it were the property of the person who lent it for that purpose; or, if only a tenant, by a pecuniary fine equal to its value. They were, besides, to undergo not less than six months and not more than two years imprisonment.

Meanwhile, military commissioners, appointed after the revolution of Fructidor, in the different departments, were employed in ar-  
[ 11 ] resting,

resting, condemning, and executing, lurking priests and emigrants, and other persons convicted, or there is too much reason to believe, as was loudly asserted, only suspected of the new crime of royalism. The commissioners for Paris, being accused, by the common exaggerations of fame, of great severity, exculpated themselves by the publication of a list of no more than twenty persons, in all, that had been tried, in the space of ten months; whereof twelve only were condemned to death, five acquitted, one sent to the directory, one to the central department, and one banished. That even twelve persons should have suffered death, in Paris, for a dutiful attachment to the church and the king, was matter of deep and just concern. But what was a more dreadful engine of tyranny and oppression, in the hands of the

directory, than even the laws against emigrants and ecclesiastics, was that which was passed for inquiring into all the attacks that had been made against persons and property, public and private, from motives of enmity to the public and its friends. This opened so wide a door for the gratification of revenge or avarice, that there was scarcely any person of note who might not be harassed by charges of this kind; which, if they should not be substantiated or followed by punishment, might yet prove extremely vexatious and troublesome. Exemptions from such suits were frequently purchased by bribes to the agents of government, in all its various departments. On a survey of the internal government of France, at this time, we are struck, on every subject, with a spirit of profusion, plunder, profligacy, venality, and corruption.

## C H A P. VII.

*Covetousness and Rapacity of the Directors of France, displayed in their foreign Transactions.—Treaty between the Directory and Portugal.—Not ratified by the Court of Lisbon.—Geneva becomes a Department of France.—Conduct of the French towards different Nations.—Their continued Menaces against England.—Calumnies.—And malicious Accusations.—These refuted, and retorted by the Publication of General Hoche's Instructions to Colonel Tate, for carrying on a War, in England, of Plunder and Destruction.—Reflections thereon.—Parties in France.—Policy of the Directory.—Boastings, and vain-glorious Predictions.—Observations on Colonies, and the most proper Places for their Establishment.—Messengers from the Directory, to the Council of Five Hundred, relating to the Toulon Expedition.—Apologies for invading Egypt without a previous Declaration of War.—Joy and Exultation at the Landing of the French in Egypt.—And confident Predictions of great Glory, to be from thence derived, to the French Nation.—And Benefits to all the World.—Intelligence received in France of the Naval Victory of Aboukir.—Effects of this on the French Nation.—This Victory vilified by the French.—New Requisitions of Men and Money.—The Light in which the Directory appeared, throughout France, before the News from Aboukir.—Covetousness and Rapacity of the Directory.—Manner in which they made their Fortune.—The Destruction of the French Fleet, at Aboukir, a new Support, and a new Source of Power, to the Directory.—The Manner in which the Government of France received the Declaration of War by the Turks.—A French Ambassador sent to Constantinople.—French Answer to the Manifesto of the Porte.—Refutation of this, by intercepted Letters of Buonaparte's.—Submissiveness of the French Legislative Councils to the Directory, and Indifference about the Constitution.—The same Requisitions of Men and Money, that were made in France, enforced in the conquered States.—Insurrection in Belgium.—Its Rapidity and Extent.—Subdued.*

AS the rulers in France, from the directory down to the lowest municipal officer, every where, and on most occasions, displayed a spirit of seditious combination, a profligate contempt of laws, as well as of material justice, profusion, and plunder, in the management of the internal affairs of the

nation, so, in their external relations, they were governed by the same spirit of profligate rapacity, still more than by the arrogance and ambition, common to their nation at all times, of extending the sway of their principles and modes, as well as arms, over the world.

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We



We have already, in our last volume, seen their attempts to levy a contribution from the American states. About the same time, they attempted to play the same game, though not more successfully, with Portugal. The Portuguese ministry, intimidated by the uninterrupted successes of the French, and dreading an invasion from Spain, now become their ally, and through which a French army was to march against Portugal, had sent an ambassador to Paris, with offers to relinquish the coalition. A treaty of peace had, accordingly, been concluded with Portugal, towards the end of 1797, by the directory, on the condition of their receiving a sum for their own pockets, besides a large pecuniary contribution for the public service of France. This treaty was to be ratified in two months. But, in that interval, the court of Lisbon, hesitating about this measure, and being averse to forsake England, its ancient and faithful ally, the directory, as soon as that space was expired, without the arrival of a ratification, annulled the treaty, and dismissed don d'Aranjo, the Portuguese ambassador. As he delayed his departure, in hope of reviving the negotiation, and obtaining more favourable terms, he was arrested, and imprisoned in the Temple, though it was well known that he had been imposed upon, and made to believe that the directory was willing to listen to his proposals. As he had not voted against the state, this was certainly against the laws of nations, and was considered, as such, in all Europe. D'Aranjo was duped by a sharper, who had defrauded him of immense sums, by persuading him that they had been

paid, to certain members of the directory, for the purpose of procuring more favourable terms of peace for his government.

The same designs that the directory laboured to accomplish in America and Portugal, in the end of 1797 and the beginning of 1798, they pursued, throughout the whole of this last-mentioned year, in Germany; as we shall have occasion to relate, in the next chapter. There were no earthly bounds to their rapacity and ambition. If a small or weak state lay contiguous to France, they snapped it up, and either incorporated it with the French republic, always taking care to avail themselves, in their personal or private capacities, of the accessions that were made by such incorporations to the resources of the republic; or, if such a state did not lie conveniently for being incorporated, as one or more departments of France, they drew it into the vortex of the republic by assimilation, and, as they called it, affiliation. If a state, kingdom, or empire, was placed beyond their immediate controul, by political power, or remoteness of situation, they attempted to spring revolutionary mines, by various intrigues, and proper lodgements of the combustibles of liberty and equality.

To the small state of Geneva, that had long enjoyed its political independence, by the precarious tenure of suzerainty on the part of its powerful neighbours, assurances had been given, by the agents of the French republic, and also by the convention, that no attempt should be made against it: and the arbitrary dispositions, announced by the executive government, in the summer of 1796, had been checked by

by a spirit apparently more generous and equitable in the legislative authorities. But the project, though seemingly abandoned, was deferred only to a more favourable conjuncture; and such a conjuncture was presented, in the invasion of Switzerland. The intercourse which had taken place between France and Geneva, from the date of the conquest of Savoy, had given a considerable ascendancy to French principles of government. Though the mass of the Genevese remained attached to the ideas of territorial independence, a considerable number of them began to look with indifference on the form by which they held their liberties, whether as part of the sovereign people of Geneva, or as a portion of the sovereign and more powerful people of the French republic. The agents of the French government had fostered this fraternizing spirit, and made considerable progress in proselytism, by representing the benefits which would accrue from a more intimate alliance between the two nations. "Geneva, relieved from a cumbrous and stormy independence, would become, as the capital of a province or department, the most flourishing place of the frontiers. Its inhabitants would find more easy outlets for the produce of their industry. As a portion of a powerful state, their city would have nothing to fear, hereafter, from the ambition of neighbouring states; nor be placed under the disagreeable necessity of asking assistance from enervating allies.

They would lose nothing of their former liberty, but, on the contrary, enjoy a greater portion of it, in peace and tranquillity. From the moment of their union with France, the various parties, which often distracted their little state, would cease. And, as Geneva had of late been the theatre of contending passions, of discord, hatred, and persecution, so it would still continue to be, till the acrid but chimerical independence, for which it contended,\* should be diluted in the wide-spreading ocean of French freedom."

Whatever influence these representations might have had, the partisans of its territorial independence were not less animated in rejecting the proffered fraternity. They asserted, that "The interests of both republics, as well as the morality of both nations, were in uniform opposition to this measure. The republican simplicity and severity, manifested by the Genevese, for ages, ought to be respected, by a nation which had consecrated the great principle of the sovereignty of the people. Geneva, in a state of independence, was an open and never-failing source, to France, of both wealth and knowledge. Every class, whether merchants, manufacturers, artists, or men of letters, had at all times made the French nation the depository of their information and their commerce. On the other hand, Geneva, becoming a frontier town, fortified and garrisoned, subjected to requisitions, and besieged two or three times

\* The present emperor of Russia, Paul, passed some time in Geneva, in the turbulent year of 1789, in his way to Turin, where he staid for six months. Being asked, by the English minister, at the court of his Sardinian majesty, what he thought of the present disputes in Geneva, Paul, then archduke of Russia, replied, that "They suggested the idea of a storm in a bottle."



in a century, would lose its industry and commerce. The wars in which France might be engaged, would shut up exportation, probably on all sides : whilst, as a neutral state, the passages to it were every where open. Geneva, independent, was a monument of glory to the *great nation*, from the respect it shewed to property, and the protection it gave to weakness. If France persisted to press the acquisition, no resistance would be made : but walls and beggars would be the only fruits of the conquest."

The partisans for the incorporation, however, formed a vast majority. Out of three thousand one hundred and ninety-seven voters, two thousand two hundred and four gave their suffrages for the union : and Geneva was accordingly declared, by the supreme council, to be incorporated with the French republic, on the twenty-seventh of April, 1798. The treaty of union, on the seventeenth of May, was ratified by the French government. The principal articles of the treaty were these : The Genevese, whether in France or other countries, were declared Frenchmen born : those who were absent, might, at any future period, return to France, and enjoy all the rights annexed to the quality of French citizens, agreeably to the constitution, with the exception of only those persons who had committed hostilities, by their pens, against the French republic. To such of the Genevese as were unwilling to remain French citizens, permission of residence was granted for three years, for the settlement of their affairs. The inhabitants of Geneva were exempted from all real and personal requisition, during the present war,

and till the general peace, and dispensed from the lodging of troops, in case of cantonment, or passage, except for a thousand men, in the public barracks. The public estates were to remain the property of the Genevese, except the town-house, the library, the archives, and two large buildings for the lodging of troops, all which were declared inalienable. Those estates were to be disposed of as the Genevese should think proper : but, in return, they were to be responsible for all debts contracted by the republic. The arsenals, artillery, and military stores, were to be given up to the Genevese, in homage to the French republic. Estates belonging to companies, or corporations, were left to the disposal of their respective members. All public and private acts, of every kind, anterior to the union, were to remain in full force, according to the laws of Geneva. And the export of merchandize then at Geneva, except such as was English, was to have free circulation in France, without being subject to new duties. Tribunals, civil, criminal, and commercial, were to be established. One other article of the treaty, between the Genevese republic and that of France, it may be worth while to mention, as it shews the opinion entertained by the French of that noted class of men, the Genevese lawyers, to whose interference, in public affairs, the petty broils of Geneva had been, on sundry occasions, chiefly ascribed. The vast number of public notaries, for so small a state, or, as they were called, advocates, by the gradual deaths of the incumbents, was to be reduced to eight. On the other hand, the republic of

Geneva

Geneva renounced all its alliances with foreign powers, and melted down all its particular privileges and public rights into the mass of the French nation. The city of Geneva was soon after formed into the capital of a department, under the classical name (affected on this, as on all other occasions), of the department of the Lake of Lemanus. Sufficient territory was taken, from the adjoining cantons, to give Lake Lemanus its share of respectability, with respect to magnitude, amongst the other departments of the republic.

Felix Desportes, the commissioner of the French government, after the treaty of union was voted by the patriots, placed within the walls of Geneva, at the express demand of the Genevese, an armed force, of about twelve hundred men, under the command of general Gerrard, which, he wrote to the directory, "was sufficient to repress the fury of the brigands, who threatened to destroy the friends of the French. It is upon the promise of my keeping among them the conquerors of the Rhine (says Desportes), that the friends of France have mounted the tricoloured flag. I will not speak to you, citizens directors, of the enthusiasm with which our brave defenders were received by their new fellow-citizens: all their wants were anticipated: there was a general emulation to afford them every species of accommodation:—nothing was heard, on any side, but songs, which sounded the praises of the French heroes: every heart seemed to be united in the bonds of fraternity! So flattering a reception, so real an attachment, should prove to you, citizens directors, how much

the twig of Geneva figures in the fasces of the great republic."

The states that received the French with open arms, or made but feeble resistance, they treated at first with a great shew of complaisance and cordiality; though rapine, in all, sooner or later, betrayed the wolf in sheep's clothing! Towards the British nation, that had resisted equally their cajolery, their menaces, and their arms, their language and deportment was barbarous, outrageous, and vindictive. Though the expedition of England had for the present, they said, been suspended, it was not finally abandoned. The facility with which a small body of French had effected a landing, and made no small progress, in the north of Ireland, and who would have been effectually supported, but for the unforeseen and uncontrollable accidents of winds and waves, was a convincing proof that a descent on the British coasts was neither impracticable nor difficult. They inveighed, throughout France, and by means of their consuls, commissaries, and other agents in foreign countries, against the domineering spirit and avarice of the English, who had begun to assume a dictatorial tone, since the times of Cromwell, when a republic had raised their spirits from a tone of submission to a haughty boldness, and had long been driving at universal and exclusive commerce. There was nothing, in the real character or fortune of the English nation, that gave them a title to hold their heads so high among the nations. For the interests of humanity, they must and would be pulled down: and this was a glory reserved for the *great French nation*. The British nation they not only

only represented as a selfish, sordid, and pitiful race of shopkeepers, who knew no other glory or gain than that of money, but as savage monsters, of the most brutish inhumanity. The directory, on some vague reports from Nantes and other sea-ports, sent repeated messages to the councils, in the course of May and June, respecting the deplorable and dreadful situation of twenty-two thousand French citizens, prisoners in the dungeons of England, pining under close and rigorous confinement, under the malign influence of corrupt and pestilential air, without clothing, and only with such an allowance of food as might conceal, from common observation, the intention of the English ministry to cut them off, gradually, by every privation. They demanded a supply, for the relief of their unfortunate countrymen.

The falsehood and malice of those complaints was exposed to the eyes of all Europe, by an official inquiry, on the part of the British government and legislature, which proved, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, that those prisoners had invariably experienced all the kindness and indulgence of which their condition was susceptible. It was demonstrated, on the other hand, by the most unobjectionable evidence, that the treatment of the English prisoners in France had been, in many instances, unfeeling and severe in the last degree. But nothing could afford a stronger argument, of the atrocious dispositions and intentions of the French government towards the English nation, than the instructions of general Hoche to colonel Tate, which were very properly published about

this time, the spring of 1798, in order to undeceive those weak-minded persons in England, whose absurd and silly enthusiasm, in favour of the French republicans, had led them to approve and extol all their measures, even those that aimed at a subjugation of this country. When Tate was dispatched to England, at the head of a body of fifteen hundred desperadoes, his orders were literally to wage a war of plunder and destruction, little differing from the barbarous and bloody incursions of the Tartars, in former days, into Poland. He was instructed not to remain long, after his debarkation, on the coast, but, having set fire, in the dead of the night, to Bristol, with the dock and shipping, to advance rapidly into Cheshire, and either to destroy Chester or Liverpool, or, at least, to cut off all communication between these cities and the adjacent country. At these places he was to be joined by two or three more French columns. The object of the expedition was three-fold: first, to excite, if possible, a general insurrection throughout the country; secondly, to interrupt, harass, and annoy, commerce; and, thirdly, to prepare the way and facilitate a descent on the coasts of England, by dividing and distracting the attention of the English government. The people were to be excited to revolt by a proper distribution of money and of liquor; by declamations against government, as the authors of all public calamity; and by inviting the populace to a participation in the wealth of the affluent; to poor people a natural object of envy. To the populace, colonel Tate was directed to give up, as their share, hamlets, farm-houses, wood,

wood, cattle, and grain. Predatory excursions were to be made, in different parties, and these widely dispersed, in detachments of two or three hundred men each. Colonel Tate was directed to avail himself of every circumstance that might render the French cause popular among the lowest and most numerous class of the people, by sparing and even protecting the poor, the old and infirm, widows and orphans, and laying the whole burden of the war, as much as possible, only on the "opulent and great, the grand authors of all misery."

The people of England, general Hoche observed, however depraved their morals, even in the moments of insurrection, still retained a degree of respect for the laws, and for men in offices of civil magistracy. It would, therefore, be prudent, as much as possible, to spare the property of judges, justices of the peace, and other civil officers, and even of all the country gentlemen. Contributions were to be levied chiefly from peers of parliament, and other persons of distinguished rank and fortune; the rich clergy, generally odious, on account of tithes, non-residence, and inattention to their duty; the officers of the navy and army, and, above all, the principal officers of the militia. It would be good policy to draw together artisans, manufacturers, and labourers out of employment, idle vagabonds, and even condemned criminals; not to be incorporated into the French legions, but to be formed into several distinct companies, commanded by French officers. And, in order that the people of the country might be kept in the dark, with regard to the force of the French and their

party, those companies were to be kept totally separate from one another, and as ignorant of all military details as circumstances would admit. It was these new companies that would prove the grand organ of insurrection. For the purpose of destroying the internal commerce of the country, it would be expedient to burn all ships and boats on rivers and canals; to set fire to dockyards, magazines of coals or firewood, rope-yards, and all manufactories; to throw down bridges, demolish canals, and break up roads; which would also be essentially necessary for the security of the army. By these means, a great number of handicraftsmen would be thrown out of work, and consequently be led to adopt any project that might furnish them with the means of subsistence, and making booty, besides, without the fatigue of working. Militia corps were to be disarmed, and their arms given to insurgents. Arsenal and harbours were to be destroyed, the mails stopped, and desertion from the English regiments encouraged. In order to strike as general a panic as possible, the legion, after the appointment of a place of rendezvous, which was to take place every five or six days, was to be divided into different columns. The inhabitants were to be forced to serve as guides; and such as should refuse their service, instantly to be shot. In this kind of service magistrates, or persons belonging to them, were to be employed in preference to others, that such magistrates might not be left to avenge, or punish others. All informations against those who should join the legion, to be punished with death. All informations given to the English

glish of the approach of an enemy, by the sound of bells, or otherwise, to be given up, without mercy, to fire and sword. All engagements with regular troops was, as much as possible, to be avoided. The French were to fall on the English only when they could come upon them in separate parties, surprize their quarters, or cut off their outposts. Nothing could be opposed to the columns of the French legion, but moving columns of the enemy. If these columns should be but weak, the columns of the French, united in one body, might pass them. If strong, the French might disperse, and commit all manner of hostilities in a hundred different places at the same time. The great towns thrown into consternation by these proceedings would call in the troops, composing the English columns, for their protection, against the dispersed parties of the French: who would thus be left masters of the open country, and have it in their power to cut off both the inhabitants of those towns, and their protectors. The French legion were to carry nothing along with them but arms, ammunition, and bread: they would every where find clothes, linen, and shoes. "The inhabitants," says general Hoche, "will supply all your wants, and the best houses in the country will be your magazines." If the French army should be obliged to quit its post, either by the exhausted state of the country, or by the approach of a strong force sent against them, they were to set off for another with all possible expedition, by forced marches, and these performed chiefly in the night. During the day, they were to rest in woods and mountains. If, in the course of their march,

they should be obliged to halt, in order to procure provisions, they were to make choice of some strong position, from whence they might send out detachments, for the purpose of procuring necessaries, to the nearest villages. If it should become necessary for them to force their way through the enemies line, they should not receive, but make an attack, and that always in the night. About eleven o'clock, or at midnight, they should detach two or three patrols of four or six men each, with orders to set fire to a dozen of houses in their rear, in different places. The enemy thinking they had taken to flight, would, in all probability, pursue them. In this case, they would have it in their power, either to avoid them, or to lay an ambuscade, or to attack the rear of one of the enemy's columns; which, in the obscurity of the night, and the confusion of a sudden onset, they might easily cut off. If the enemy should run to stop the fire, the French would have the same advantages: they might either avoid them, or, what would be better, fall on them, and put a number to the sword. If the English should, in such a case, rest on their arms, and only send out patrols for reconnoitring them, the French were directed to seize them, and cut their throats, without drawing a trigger. If they should find any position in the country, on the Irish channel, untenable, they were to hasten across the midland region, into the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland, where they would be joined by parties of French. In this event colonel Tate was directed to send an officer, in disguise, to general Hoche, in Ireland: which might be done, either by a fishing boat,

boat, from the coast of Wales, or by the way of Scotland. The instructions from general Hoche to colonel Tate, are a curious specimen of that combination of revolutionary principles with stratagems of war, by which the French government, but particularly by the former, confidently hoped to subdue the world.

The directory, it may be presumed, were not untouched by the predominant passion of the French nation: but what is at least equally certain, they seized the genius of their countrymen, and availed themselves of every circumstance, for the purpose of diverting their inquiries and ardent imaginations, from their own conduct, which could to ill bear too close investigation, and absorbed all censorious observation in the general passion for military glory. There was a party, and that not the least numerous, in France, consisting of people wearied and sick of revolution and war, and that breathed evidently after the return of order and peace. But there is no nation, of any extent, in which public affairs are conducted, in general, by a plurality of voices, and least of all in times of tumult and change, when the most active and daring boldly assuming the reins of government, give the law to the unresisting multitude, and make them the instruments of their authority. The rulers of France drawing half the nation into the vortex of their power, by employments, hopes, and fears, perpetuated the system of domineering, at once, over their own nation, and their neighbours, by feeding the flame of revolution with the hope of plunder. The guillotine was laid aside: but con-

fiscations were continued at home and abroad; the last of power and spoliation trampling on the rights of individuals, and those of nations. The directory, elated with the accomplishment of their designs on Savoy, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, conceived others of still greater magnitude, and made little doubt but exploits and conquests would be achieved before the close of 1798, by the fleets and armies of France, which would exceed those of the foregoing years, and place it in a situation to exact an unresisting submission to all the conditions which it should think proper to prescribe. If the attempts that had been made on the coasts of the British isles, had, through the perfidy, as the French said, of the ocean, failed of success, the ground had been reconnoitred, and these precursory expeditions would, by and by, be followed by others, on a different scale. Meanwhile the French ships and soldiers were not idle. On the whole, the genius of the modern Rome was gaining an ascendancy, by rapid advances over that of the modern Carthage, tottering now on the brink of ruin, and which would soon receive a deep wound in one of her most vital parts.

On the twelfth of April, 1798, when the men of letters and science, that were to accompany Buonaparte in the expedition from Toulon, took their leave of the directory, the elder Eschafferaux, chairman of the committee that had been appointed to consider and make a report on a scheme, projected by citizen Wadsworth, for establishments in Sierra Leone and Boulama, on the coast of Africa, read a discourse on that project, and colonization



lization in general, Egypt was so clearly pointed out as a conquest worthy of the sublimest views of the republic, that there were few but considered that country as the object of the Toulon expedition. No doubt but settlements at the two places above-mentioned, though subjected to many disadvantages and exposed to many dangers, might be of use to the French republic, in some respects. But, it was by a general view and combination of all possible advantages, that the founder of a colony ought to be directed; and it was chiefly by the circumstance of its local situation, that the French should be guided in its deliberations on the subject, whether and how far it might co-operate for its establishment and support. The orator, having pointed out the principal circumstances, by which a state should be determined in the choice of a site for a colony, proceeded to describe the unrivalled prerogatives of the grand isthmus of Egypt,\*—without, however, admitting any other right to take exclusive possession of any country, for colonization, or to assume any other predominancy than what was the natural result of superior genius and industry, to the promotion of which, the French nation, whether as speculators for themselves or the public, ought to bend all their efforts; and, following the progressive course of opportunities, means, and national power, to seize and proclaim the moment when it would be proper for the French republic to lay the foundations of a new colony.

This discourse exhibits a very just specimen of the ridiculous and, it would seem, unnecessary impudence with which the French philosophers, pretending still to do homage to natural law and the rights of nations, lay claim to a right of dictating to other nations in consequence of superior abilities. It is, indeed, a mockery of all morality.

When the news arrived of the reduction of Malta, the directory, considering Egypt as already in their grasp, began, more directly, to avow, in their most confidential circles, the truth, to the communication of which to the public the discourse of Eschasseraux was a prelude, at the same time that Talleyrand was amusing the Turkish ambassador, as before observed, with declarations, that the expedition of Buonaparte had no other object than that island. In the newspapers, in their pay, there were daily observations on the importance of Malta, considered, in itself, as the means of preserving the republic from the probable designs of its enemies, and as a stepping-stone for farther conquests. "The Maltese (they stated) now to be considered as French, serve on board our fleets, and betake themselves to the trade of pirates, and do infinite mischief to the English commerce in the Levant. The communication with our islands, heretofore those of Venice, will be assured. If Malta had fallen into the hands of the Russians, the English, or the Austrians, all of whom wished eagerly to have it, the advantages of those isles

\* The memorial and petition of Wadstrom was referred, by the council of five hundred, to the directory, in whose province it lay to receive information on such matters.

might have been nearly lost to us. In Malta we may establish immense arsenals, and the low price of labour will enable us to carry on the business of ship-building there, at a much easier rate than at Toulon. In fine, *Malta is the Cape of Good Hope of the Mediterranean.*"

At length, intelligence was received, that the French army had landed in Egypt, and were in possession of Alexandria, Rosetta, and Grand Cairo. A message was sent from the directory to the council of five hundred, on the fourteenth of September, communicating this intelligence, with a brief account of the most important particulars, prefaced by a statement of the reasons that had induced the directory to send an expedition to Egypt, a country belonging to their ally, the grand seignior, and that without a declaration of war. The spirit and purport of the statements, now set forth in vindication of their conduct, was to the same effect with the apologies already made by their agent to the Turkish government. The Porte had been unable to reduce the rebellious beys, who tyrannized over the French in Egypt, to submission to its government. Its remonstrances, and even menaces, in favour of the French, had been wholly in vain. The French were actually held by the beys as prisoners and slaves, in Egypt. It was time for the French to do justice to themselves, and avenge, at once, their own cause and that of the Porte. The grand seignior had no cause to be offended. The landing and success of Buonaparte, in Egypt, was not a matter of regret to the Sublime Porte but of self-congratulation. As to the point of the expedition

being set on foot without a previous declaration of war; to whom should such a declaration have been made? To the Ottoman Porte? The republic was very far from harbouring any design to attack that ancient ally of France, or imputing to that power an oppression of which it was the victim. Should the declaration have been made to the beys? It was impossible that their authority should be at all recognized. States proceed directly to punish robbers, without any previous declaration of war against them. But farther, in this attack on the beys was it not, in reality, England that was aimed at? The Porte would now, through the hands of the triumphant French, reap those immense advantages of which they had so long been deprived. Now, at length, for the good of the whole world, Egypt would become the richest in all the natural productions of any in the universe, the centre of an immense commerce, and, above all, it was the most formidable post that could have been taken for humbling the odious power and usurped commerce of the English, in the East Indies.

The directory, in this message, did not hesitate to indulge a degree of boasting and exultation. This memorable event had been long thought of, and, indeed, foreseen by the small circle of men to whom ideas that combine utility with glory are familiar. The world, however, in general, continued to consider the possession and colonization of Egypt, by the French, as a chimerical project. The realization of the stupendous prodigy was reserved, for the present era and for the French republic. These sentiments and observations of the directory

rectory were not deemed, by their countrymen, to exceed the bounds of modesty. They cordially sympathized with them in their fullest extent; and, while they ascribed this, as every thing prosperous and great, to the towering genius of the French people, they did not withhold their hearty approbation and applause from government any more than from their fleets and armies.

While the joy, at the success of the grand Toulon expedition, was fresh and at its fullest height, a general and continued rumour of the great naval victory obtained by the English, at Aboukir, pervaded the whole coast of the Mediterranean, and spread, like lightning, into every part of Europe. It was not long before the certainty of this report was confirmed by official dispatches, French as well as English. The ruin of their fleet and the dangerous position of their best generals and troops made a lively impression on the French government and nation, and threw them, for a moment, into profound consternation. But apprehension and dismay were soon succeeded by rage and a thousand varied expressions of revenge, and even affected contempt of the disaster that had befallen them. This momentary check they considered as a certain prelude to victories and triumphs, greater than ever: so that, in fact, it was a real advantage.

In the council of five hundred, on the nineteenth of September, Briot introduced a speech on the present state of the nation, in the following manner: "While our base and cowardly enemies affect an immoderate joy at a momentary check, and endeavour, by means

of perfidious negotiation, to produce a change in our resolutions, and the trumpet is just going to sound the signal for combat, the legislature must not remain cold and indifferent, nor permit the glory of the republic, in the eyes of foreign nations, to remain problematical. History will be astonished at the moderation and magnanimity of the republic, which, in the midst of victories, holds out to its vanquished enemies the olive-branch of peace. In contrast with these dignified features, she will hold up the perfidiousness of our enemies in negotiation and their baseness in action. Vanquished nations! we will follow the example of that imperial people which dragged, in triumph, the princes whom they had overthrown in battle." After not a little more in this strain, the orator proceeded. "A fortunate chance has favoured the enemy; and this reverse has given sadness to the souls of some republicans! Does the English flag, then, fly at Charleroi and Condé? Are the English in possession of Toulon? But they are powerful at sea—very well—we, being the masters of the continent, will shut them out from every harbour. Some talk of reverses. Weak and foolish people! learn to know republicans. The ground on which Hannibal was encamped sold, at Rome, for more than that around it. Behold the English, trembling on the coast of *Coromandel*, and ready to throw themselves into the gulph of Bengal at the approach of the hero that carries liberty to the people whom they hold in bondage." Briot concluded his discourse by moving for a committee to draw up the legislative measures that it would be

be proper to lay before the directory, in case, which was very probable, it should announce, by a message to the council, the necessity of recommencing the war. This motion was supported by several voices, but rejected, on the ground, that it related to a matter of exterior relations, which belonged exclusively to the directory. This fallacy of Briot's, however, bespoke the temper of the moment.

A message was sent by the directory to the council of five hundred on the twenty-third of September. The directors prefaced their message with many observations on the bravery of the French, the good faith and pacific dispositions of the French government, and the golden intrigues of England. The French nation, they proceeded, was weary of the diplomatic artifices and delays of the old monarchical school. The French nation had offered peace; but they expected that the powers would declare, expressly, whether peace was accepted. While they hesitated, it was for the republic to place itself in a proper attitude for terminating their indecision, and to obtain, by force, what it had attempted, in vain, by means of persuasion. The object of the message was to fix the attention of the council on the urgent necessities of the French armies at sea and land. Europe must be taught that the French republic was able to stand the present crisis, and that even without new impositions on the nation. The result of all that they said was a demand of a new levy of two hundred thousand men and a hundred and twenty-five millions of livres, in addition to the sum already voted for the service of the year

commencing in the end of September last. For the additional sum, demanded by the public service, there would be no occasion for new contributions. The same resources that had brought about the revolution must consolidate it. On a motion that two hundred thousand French should be drawn immediately, and put into a condition for action, from all the five classes of the conscript citizens, Jourdan, one of the members for Haute Vienne, proposed, for the greater expedition, that the whole of the conscripts, of the first class, should be called on at once to come forth for the public service. This proposition of Jourdan's was agreed to.

In the mean time, great eloquence continued to be displayed in vilifying the victory of Aboukir, in rousing the French nation to arms, and exciting, particularly, hatred and revenge against the English. In an advertisement, published before that victory, in newspapers and hand-bills, of the approaching feast, announcing the anniversary of the republic, the twenty-second of September, it had been given out, that, among other exhibitions, there was to be a representation of the English fleet in flames. The constructions that had been raised for that triumphant spectacle, when the day of the feast arrived, were called a fortified harbour; and the burning of the English fleet was, for the present, suspended. But the president of the directory, Trilhaud, in an oration, pronounced in the Campus-Martius, announced other decorations for the feast of the republic. "The shouts of victory re-echoed from the banks of the Tiber to the Danube: the ghosts of Brutus, Barnveldt,

veldt, and William Tell, awakened, by those shouts, from their graves, and joining, as associates, in the glorious pursuits of the republic; and pictures, statues, and other works of art, to be brought to Paris from the conquered nations. Let the friends of slavery count, with satisfaction, the few moments, when victory seemed to have forsaken our standards, as if the sublimest courage might not be betrayed by fortune; as if prosperity, without a mixture of adversity, were the destiny of any nation. Our enemies themselves, with more penetration and solidity of judgement, will see nothing in their transient gleam of success, obtained by superiority of numbers and paid for by their best blood: our enemies, I say, will see nothing in their success but a melancholy presage of great disaster."

The following article appeared in the directorial; or, as we would say, ministerial paper, *Le Directeur*, on the twenty-fifth of September: "The valour of the English, which so many poor creatures take delight to celebrate, consists in nothing else than overpowering their enemies by superiority of numbers. Nelson, reinforced by every traitor, after adding to his squadron, squadrons still more numerous, attacked the French on board their ships, lying at anchor, in an open road. The Briton, emboldened by a stupid superiority, could be no other than successful. But the vanquished fought like the three hundred Spartans, and Nelson was little more than Xerxes, overwhelming a handful of soldiers by the weight of his army. In point of glory and renown — on which side was the hero? To burn

ships is a kind of puny trick, which bespeaks weakness. It is but a hypocritical victory. Compare such ridiculous victories with the formidable bravery of those fifteen hundred brave men who lately gained so many palms and laurels. See Ireland, arranged, in the day of battle, on the side of the republic, for the purpose of opening to our battalions, all the roads to London, and hurling punishment to the Bey of Albion over the dead bodies of his warriors of shops and counting-houses." In the same paper, a few days after, we find the following interrogations: "Can the victory of Nelson prevent or even retard the happy consequences of the expedition, committed to the unfortunate Brueys? If it was the object of that expedition to annoy and cut off one of the principal sources of the prosperity of England, will not the cannon of the tower of London, which will announce, with so much fracas, that victory, be the forerunner and death-bell of ruin to English commerce in India? Is not Nelson the Xerxes, who, with his numerous army, defeated the three hundred Spartans and burnt Athens? But Themistocles flourished and Xerxes was destroyed. If Brueys, like Leonidas, preferred death to a dishonourable capitulation, have we not another Themistocles to avenge the blood of so many heroes? And does not Nelson himself owe his immortality to the glory of the vanquished rather than to his own actions?" These galconades are even exceeded by the following paragraph, which appeared, at the same time with those just quoted from other French papers, in the *Cité du Cabinet*. "Has Nelson thrown

any impediment in the way of the grand expedition, under Buonaparte? This is the question that will be put by every thinking Englishman. All that the English admiral has done is to destroy *some* ships, at the expense of a *great many* of his own: and if the opposition party, in the British parliament, retain any degree of energy, the admiral will not easily justify his conduct."

Before intelligence was received of the battle of Aboukir, the rapacity and profusion of the directory and their agents had come to such a height, that it was execrated by the whole nation. The immense fortunes that had been accumulated by the members of the directory, and others, drew universal attention. That of Reubel exceeded those of all other dilapidators. Neither Merlin nor Barras, though they had amassed immense fortunes, was so rich as Reubel. He was generally accounted the richest subject in Europe. His fortune had already amounted to three millions of livres, annual revenue, and it was still increasing, through a hydropical increase of avarice and cupidity. It may be worth while to give a very general sketch of the manner in which Reubel made his fortune, as this will serve, in some measure, to illustrate the point, presently in hand, which is to describe the internal state of France. He laid the foundation of his fortune in the plunder he made when he acted as one of the French commissaries, at Mayence. Merlin, of Thionville, was the other. During the progressive depreciation of the assignats, he purchased the greater part of the ecclesiastical possessions, in Alsace. These were to be paid for, in dis-

ferent instalments, with the paper-money of the republic. Part of these lands he sold and part he retained, comprising some of the finest dominions in Alsace. Reubel became a leading member of the committee, in the time of the convention, and the still farther depreciation of assignats, mandats, and rescriptions, was adopted as a measure of safety to the republic. But, besides this mode of acquiring wealth, by fulfilling his bargains, for national lands, through the means of depreciated paper currency, from the time when he became a director, there was not a job or contract in which Reubel, as well as Ramel, the minister of finance, had not a participation, or, to make use of a more appropriate, though vulgar term, a *feeling*: and, at last, the contributions imposed on the new republics, the plunder of Switzerland, chiefly managed by his two nephews, Forsait and Rapinat, and remittances from Santhonnax, in order to secure impunity for his malversations and crimes in St. Domingo, crammed with gold, as the French said, this new Midas. The fortune of Reubel gave so much offence to his colleagues in the directory, that they teased him, from time to time, with representations of the probable consequences. This was well enough known. The particular friends of the other directors said, that they teased Midas, as he was commonly called, only for their amusement; but others affirmed, and it was generally believed, that they did so for the purpose of laying him under contribution; to which, it was also believed, by some, he submitted, from a fear of public accusation. It is however, more probable

probable that Reubel deemed himself tolerably well secured from his colleagues by the means of retaliation. It was computed that not less than at least half the revenue, voted for the service of last year, had been dilapidated.

Be this as it may, the corruptions of the French government, at this time, had given such general scandal to the nation, that the remains of what was called, from the place of their meeting, the Clichian faction, in conjunction with the jacobins, Lucian Buonaparte and Duplantier had determined to call the Mitoyen and directorial party, and all who had amassed great wealth, to give an account of their fortunes and dilapidations, when the news from Aboukir raised an universal cry of revenge and war, or, in the language of the French writers, made all the French jacobins. Thus, the loss of France, at Aboukir, was a new support and a new source of power to the directory.

We have already seen the manner in which the directory, particularly the renegade bishop Talleyrand, the minister for foreign relations, endeavoured to amuse and soothe the Turks, before the actual invasion, by the French, of Egypt. Their apologies became now more necessary than ever; as that invasion left no farther room for equivocation and deception; and as the destruction of the French fleet must inevitably prove a strong incentive to the Porte to take a decided and active part with the enemies of the republic. The declaration of war against France, by the Ottoman Porte, though couched in terms of the most undisguised indignation, reproach, and abhorrence, was far

from provoking similar expressions of similar sentiments towards the Porte, on the part of the French government. That government, so haughty and insolent to other states, which maltreated, drove away, and confined their ambassadors, treated the Turkish ambassador, at Paris, with all possible marks of respect. The directory affected surprize at the mistakes and errors into which the divan had fallen, respecting the views of France and their own interests. In conversation and in different publications from the press, they expatiated on the true interests and policy of the Porte, and how much they were concerned for the protection of the grand seignior's power, authority, and pecuniary resources. Affecting to treat the umbrage that had been taken by the Porte, its expressions of hostility, and new alliances, as a transitory caprice, they dispatched another ambassador, Descoures, to Constantinople, with assurances of the constant and unchangeable attachment of the French to the grand seignior and the interests and stability of the Ottoman empire. In the same strain, and about the same time, they dispatched *Lacombe St. Michel*, as their ambassador to the court of Naples, whither he arrived on the third of October, 1798, with the strongest assurances of the loyalty of the French republic. He spoke much to the king of the Sicilies of the pacific and friendly attitude of the republic, of the hand which presented the olive-branch, and of the mutual advantages of beneficent policy. He became bound to his majesty, that he might always reckon on the sincere and constant dispositions of the republic towards the king and kingdom.

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [115

kingdom of Naples. It suited the policy of the French, at that moment, to make pacific professions to all the world besides the English.

The French directory, after they found all the arts they had practised, in order to cajole and keep the Turks quiet, to no purpose, by way of answer to the manifesto of the Porte, in a newspaper, called the *Moniteur*, which was understood to be as much under their direction as any of our papers are under that of our government, and a kind of illegitimate gazette, published, towards the end of November, 1798, among others, the following remarks. After affecting to call in question the authenticity of the Turkish manifesto, they adverted to that passage which charged the French, under the command of Buonaparte, with falling on Egypt, the most valuable province of the Ottoman empire, like so many corsairs. How far, they asked, could that country be considered as valuable to the grand seignior? A country of which the chiefs were independent; and where his bashaw, an officer merely nominal and honorary, was either suffered to remain, in a state of insignificance and contempt, or remanded to the Porte, at the pleasure of the beys. But, if they could be supposed to be unacquainted with the conduct of the beys towards the Porte, could they be ignorant of their deportment, for many years, towards France? In violation of the rights of nations, they had plundered and oppressed all Frenchmen in Egypt, whether sojourners or domiciliated in the country: and the French merchants had applied to the Porte for its protection, in conformity

with repeated treaties of commerce, in vain. Those solemn treaties the beys had sacrificed to private engagements made with England; to harass, oppress, and annihilate the commerce of France with Egypt. Ought their open hostilities to be tolerated any longer, with impunity? The directory would be guilty of a flagrant breach of their solemn engagement, to exercise a vigilant care for the protection of private property, as well as public rights and interests, if they did not repel such barefaced aggression and make just reprisals? It was not from Constantinople that the blow given to the beys should be re-echoed, but from London: in as much as in striking at the Mammalukes the French government had aimed a blow against England, with which they had made common cause, as appeared from a letter which (they affirmed) had been sent by them to admiral Nelson, before the battle of Aboukir: in which letter they had stated, to the admiral, that he had only to destroy the French fleet, and that they themselves would take care to cut the French troops in pieces when they should come on shore.

But it was asked by the enemies of the directory, what right had they, in order to inflict punishment on the beys, however merited, to set their foot on a territory belonging to the grand seignior, and suddenly to invade it without his knowledge? undoubtedly, the blow struck by the expedition had fallen unexpectedly; not, however, on the Porte, but on the English, against whom it was directed. They appealed both to the written declarations and the actions of Buonaparte, who



always avowed and conducted himself as the friend and ally of the Ottoman Porte. In this character it was that he had set at liberty three hundred Turkish prisoners, taken at Malta; that he had undertaken to pay to the Turkish government the usual tribute; and that the bashaw of Cairo had been continued in both his office and its emolument. The directory had often made application to the Sublime Porte for the chastisement of the beys who overwhelmed the French commerce with their exactions. But the only redress that they had been able to obtain was a declaration from the Porte, that the beys were a covetous and capricious race, wholly regardless of the principles of justice; and that the Sublime Porte, so far from authorizing the outrages they had committed against its ancient and good allies, the French, had deprived the beys of the protection of the Turkish laws and government. What was the import? what to be inferred from that sentence of outlawry? the putting of the beys out of the protection of the Turkish laws and government. Plainly this, that the Sublime Porte considered the beys as rebels against their authority; and that, in withdrawing their protection, they had given the rebels to the vengeance of the French, and devolved on these the charge of punishing them.—The directory or the writers of their counter-manifesto proceed, at great length, to shew, that the divan was previously acquainted with the descent on Egypt and its objects—the punishment of the beys and of England. They make no mention of the conversation between bishop Talleyrand and the Turkish ambas-

sador, Ali-Effendi, but insist much on the letters, of a date prior to those that had been transmitted by the effendi to the directory, and which Ruffin had laid before the divan, after his departure from Constantinople to Paris. The official communication, of the attack on the beys, by Ruffin, had served the Porte as a pretext for the declaration of war. But when was that declaration made? Not till the British cabinet, perceiving itself to be wounded through the sides of the beys, whom it had incited to take up arms against the French, had found means of instilling false suspicions and alarms, and making the Porte apprehend for itself, what was to be dreaded only by England. This they had done through the medium of that secret council, of twelve members of the Turkish government, who were in the pay of the British minister and whose influence swayed the divan, to the disgrace and ruin of the Ottoman empire. Against this influence, the directory predicted, there would, ere long, be a general revolt of all the Ottomans who were the real friends of his sublime highness, the sultan, and the Ottoman empire.

At first, the directory further remarked, on the Turkish manifesto, there was no direct complaint against the French government: it was Buonaparte alone, not the directory, that was charged with the invasion of Egypt. This measured charge, this cautious and perfidious reserve, proved that the divan, subservient as it was to the views of England, yet hesitated to break through the secret understanding that had been agreed on between the Turkish government and the directory.

directory of the French republic. But this hesitation and reserve, this temporizing policy, was observed only so long as the issue of the expedition to Egypt remained doubtful: it was not till the battle of Aboukir had given confidence to the Sublime Porte, that they changed, with fortune, abandoned, like fortune, the French cause, and launched forth their manifesto:—a manifesto that must remain as a monument of the underhand and perfidious dealings of the Ottoman Porte with their ancient friends; and who, in breaking with their natural and necessary allies, had rendered themselves the slaves of the English and abandoned themselves to their mercy. It is a long time, the manifesto, in the *Moniteur*, proceeded to represent, since the Czars cast a wishful eye on Constantinople. It was one of the vast projects of Peter the Great to make this the capital of his immense dominions and to exterminate the Turks from Europe. This, too, was one of the designs, most ardently pursued by the ambitious Catharine. Has the hour, destined by fate for its accomplishment, at length come? Already has Paul set his troops in motion towards Moldavia and Wallachia; already is his fleet under the walls of the seraglio. He has come out, so to speak, to reconnoitre the ground: he will soon seize his prey, and reign on the Bosphorus: he will annihilate a government so weak and senseless as to have called to its aid its natural enemy. The sultan, stripped of his crown, will pass from the throne to the scaffold: the ancient empire of the crescent will become no more than a province of Russia. Such will be the inevitable result

of the treachery of the Porte to France; and thus, with its own hands, it will have dug the grave of its own greatness.

A complete refutation of the false allegations of the French directory, contained in this and their other papers, as well as in their conversation with the Turkish ambassador, and their messages to the Porte, had any been necessary, would have been afforded even to the most credulous and stupid, by the intercepted letters of Buonaparte, which were published, under the authority of the British government, early in December; by which letters, the real designs of the directory, in Egypt, and the determination of Buonaparte to hold it, in the name of the French republic, if possible, in despite of both the Porte and its allies, were clear and incontrovertible. It may be noticed, as a proof, how completely the councils were at the beck of the directory, and how indifferent to the conservation of the constitution, or irresolute and dastardly in its defence, that not an individual in either ever mentioned a word of the violation of their fundamental laws, on the part of the directory, in making war against a sovereign and independent power, and that an ancient and constant ally, who had given no cause, nor even pretext, for taking offence, without the approbation and consent of the two other branches of the legislature. This apathy, or timid submission of the whole of the councils to the executive government, was a flagrant proof, that laws and forms are nothing without that living energy and virtue which is necessary to give them effect, and that the French nation was utterly capa-

ble, not to say unworthy, of republican government.

The same requisition, for the new levy of men that was made in France, was enforced in the conquered states. Liegeois, Swiss, Savoyards, and Belgians, if they did not readily obey the summons, were dragged, by force, into the French battalions. It was but ten years since the Belgians had revolted against their own sovereign, the emperor, Joseph II. on account of some innovations, and chiefly those respecting monasteries and certain religious observances, by no means essential to the principles and forms of the Catholic religion. They now saw their churches pillaged, their priests banished, imprisoned, and, sometimes, put to death; and this at a time when their temporal sufferings certainly required all the consolations of religion. Confiscations, contributions, and taxes, had yet left the honest and respectable Flemish peasants, however much discouraged by repeated and continued attacks on their industry, to console one another by mutual sympathy and affection in the bosom of their families. But this comfort was now ravished from them by the military conscription and requisitions. Husbands were torn from wives, children from parents, and lovers from the objects of a virtuous attachment. There is a time when tyranny cannot any longer add to its oppressions, and the cup of misery overflows. The Flemish nation, driven to despair, did not witness the young men dragged from their own fire sides, to swell the armies of their oppressors, without resistance. The parties of French, sent to press the youth into their regi-

ments, were, in some places, resisted by parents, brothers, neighbours, and even by the weaker sex. The first movements of this kind, so natural and affecting, diffused their influence over the Low Countries with the speed of lightning. A disposition, to throw off the detested yoke of France, had lately appeared in the Netherlands, which subjected the inhabitants, as usual in such cases, still more to the vigilant severity of the French government. The English, four thousand strong, had made a descent, in May, 1798, at Ostend, in order to destroy the sluices, but had been repulsed by a very inferior number: fifteen hundred of them were taken prisoners, among whom were five hundred and five officers. The English, at their landing, were welcomed by cries of invitation. The news of their landing was quickly spread over the whole country, where a very general disposition to give them intelligence and encourage them appeared among the inhabitants. A law was passed, for sending such as should, in future, be guilty of any speech or action, tending to the encouragement of the enemy, to courts martial, to be tried and punished, according to the military code, as spies and recruiters for hostile powers. Thus, the French were as ready to extinguish, as the Belgians, to catch the first sparks of insurrection.

The place, where the explosion burst forth, was the beautiful district of Waës, situated between the Scheldt and the canal between Brussels and Antwerp. From thence, in the end of October, it quickly spread to the lordship of Malines, the territory of Louvain, as far as

Trilemont.

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [119

Trillemont, and the environs of Brussels. Antwerp and Brussels too, both full of persons indignant at the yoke of France, and the whole of the department in which they were situated, were declared to be in a state of siege. In a few days, the flame of revolt was communicated from north to south Brabant, as far as the frontiers of Namur, part of Flanders, the Ardennes, and the borders of Liege; and, in another direction, to Diest, the Flemish Campine, and Bois-le-Duc, as far as Eyndhoven. Their principal places of rendezvous were Bornheim, on the Scheldt, Turnhout, Herenthall, and, above all, Diest. The insurgents, who took possession of this last place, a very well chosen position, amounted to six thousand men, divided into three columns of two thousand each. The first of these was commanded by an Austrian corporal, of the name of Corbiels; the second by the son of an opulent brazier, of Diest, called Woots; the third by a French emigrant, formerly a lieutenant-colonel.

On the first appearance of this insurrection, general Beguinot, commandant of Brussels, hastened, with what troops he could collect in the neighbourhood, to Malines, engaged, and, for a moment, dispersed, the insurgents; who collected again in great numbers, a second time, made themselves masters of Malines, and, a second time, lost it: but, still the insurrection prevailed more and more, and extended itself even to the banks of the Moselle. The French troops, cantoned in the Netherlands, were reinforced by the garrisons of Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, and Luxemburg: French troops were also sent,

afterwards, from the Lower Rhine and brigades of light artillery, and whatever troops could be sent from French Hainault and Flanders. Proclamations were published by the French general, Bonnard, offering pardon to all the insurgents, in the five infected departments, but threatening the last severities to all who should persist in rebellion. A great number of persons were arrested and imprisoned; thousands taken in action and put to death.

But the advantages gained, from day to day, by the French, were dearly purchased. Though the Belgians were united by no other system than a common sympathy, and had no concerted plan of operations, they were recruited and fortified by the daily accession of numbers of their countrymen, and animated with the resolution of despair. The motto on their standards was "*It is better to die here than elsewhere.*" After innumerable engagements, in which courage supplied the place of discipline and experience, and many defeats, or rather dispersals, they fell again on the French, when they did not expect them.

In the mean time, during these conflicts with the French troops, they did not spare either the civil officers of the French government nor such magistrates of towns, though their own countrymen, as had been most conspicuous for their attachment to the French cause. Commissioners and civil administrators were killed, wounded, or forced to seek safety by flight. The small military parties, dispersed in different places, for the purpose of enforcing requisitions of money and men, were subjected to a like fate. The trees

of liberty were every where cut down, and the tri-coloured flags torn in pieces and committed to the flames.

The generals of the French army and the directorial agents, who fled to the army for protection, did not fail to make the severest retaliation. A number of villages were given up to fire and sword. The insurgents, overpowered in the castle of Dussel, near Malines, around which they had cast a trench, were massacred, after they had surrendered, without

mercy. A number of executioners followed in the train of the French columns; scaffolds were erected; and the blood of the unhappy Belgians flowed profusely.

The brave and honest Belgians, equally obedient to justice and indignant at injustice and oppression, wearied and worn out, without magazines, artillery, and places of retreat, enclosed between Holland and France, and left to their fate by Europe, were, in January, 1799, obliged to yield to their mighty conquerors.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Congress of Rastadt.—Description of Germany.—Germanic Constitution.—The Germans, in all Ages, characterized by a Love of Liberty.—States of the Empire.—Three Colleges.—Vicissitudes in the Constitution.—Election of the Emperor.—Geographical Division of the Empire into Circles.—Division of the Empire, founded on Differences of Religion.—Diet of the Empire.—Advoics of the Diet.—Decrees of Ratification.—Conclusion.—Influence of the Emperor on the Proceedings of the Diet.—And of the King of Prussia.—Deputations of the Empire.—Ordinary and Extraordinary Members of the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire assembled at Rastadt.—Their Powers and Functions.—Negociation between the Parties concerned, at Rastadt, carried on without the Intervention of foreign Powers.—Secret Articles in the Treaties of Basle and Campo-Formio.—Violation of the latter, on the Part of the French, complained of by the Imperial Minister.—Basis proposed for a Pacification, by the French Plenipotentiaries.—Counter Propositions, by the Deputation of the Empire.—Continuation of Hostilities by the French.—Disputes concerning the Origin and Commencement of the War.—The Basis proposed by the French Plenipotentiaries agreed on by the secret Articles of the Treaty of Campo-Formio.—Secularizations proposed.—The Deputation agree to the Cession of half the Territory demanded by the French.—Who persist in their first Propositions.—Debates in the Diet of the Empire.—The Cession of the left Bank of the Rhine agreed to, by the Deputation, on certain Conditions.—Private Views of the individual States of the Empire.—The System of Secularization agreed to.—Farther Pretensions of the French.—Objections to these.—Jealousies and secret Views of both the negotiating Parties.—Rapacity and Venality of the French Directory.—Interesting and insidious Intervention of the French Plenipotentiaries, in Favour of certain Imperial Cities.—Relaxed and enfeebled State of the Germanic Constitution.—The German States arranged respectively around Prussia and Austria.—Fresh Pretensions of the French resisted by both these Powers.—Concessions of the French.—And of the Deputation of the Empire.—A Majority of the Deputation agrees to the French Propositions.—Protest in the Diet against their Vote.—Effect produced on the Negotiations at Rastadt, by the Approach of the Russians to Germany.—Conclusion of the Diet, on the Subject of the French Propositions, ratified by the Imperial Commissary.—Requisitions of the Deputation of the Empire, for the Relief of the right Bank of the Rhine.—Declaration of the French Plenipotentiaries against the Admission of Russian Troops into the Territory of the Empire.—Referred to the general Diet of the Empire of Ratisbon.—Entrance and Progression of the Russians into Germany.—Surrender of the Fortrefs of Ehrenbreitstein.—The French Army crosses the Rhine.—And penetrates into Suabia.—French Proclamation.—*  
*And*

*And Address of General Jourdan to his Army, on their Entrance into Germany.—Taken into Consideration by the Deputation of the Empire.—Which recommends to the general Diet the Adoption of Means for a speedy Peace.—The Zeal of the Deputies for Peace, checked by the Imperial Commissary.—Preludes of War.*

**B**Y an article in the treaty of Campo-Formio, it was agreed and fixed, that a congress should be held at Rastadt, composed solely of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire and of the French republic, for the purpose of concluding a negotiation between those powers. This congress was accordingly opened on the twelfth of December, 1797. That our readers may the more easily enter into the nature of this assembly, and the character of its deliberations, it may not be improper to recall to their mind, very briefly, an idea of the Germanic constitution, and of some of the principal vicissitudes it has undergone, in the lapse of time, from its origin to the present day, when it totters on the verge of dissolution, if not, in fact, already dissolved.

Germany is computed to comprise a surface of twelve thousand square geographical miles, and to contain a population of twenty-eight, or thirty millions of inhabitants. It is bounded on the north, by the river Eider, and the Baltic sea; on the east, by Prussia, Poland, Silesia, and Hungary; on the south, by the Adriatic sea, Italy, and Switzerland; and, on the west, by France, the Northern ocean, and the Seven United Provinces, at present styled the Batavian republic. Germany has not only the advantage of three seas, but also for internal navigation, a great number

of rivers, of which the principal are the Danube, the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Weser. In consequence of its extent, and the number, industry, and wealth of its inhabitants, it would be a very powerful and formidable state, and a happy counterpoise and barrier against the ambition of France, if the different territories of which it is composed, were united under one head, with sufficient authority to constitute them one united and compacted government. But, the three hundred states into which it is divided, possessing, for the most part, royal prerogatives, even to the extent of making peace or war, are influenced only by their own individual interests. They abandon the community of which they are members, at the moment of its danger, to all the attacks of adverse fortune. Though they acknowledge one chief, they are independant of each other, and not attached by any particular or private tie to the common interest: besides this, the powers which they have gradually assumed, are increased at every new election of an emperor. For this reason, it is an undecided point among German doctors of laws, whether the constitution of their country, be monarchical or aristocratical. This indecision renders it a matter of doubt with some, whether there be, in reality, any precise and determinate constitution of Germany at all. The most probable opinion on this subject

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [123

subject is, that the Germanic constitution is an extremely limited monarchy.—With the exception of the short and stormy period between 1742 and 1745, the imperial dignity has, for many ages, been vested in the house of Austria. This dignity was not hereditary in that family, but conferred, on successive vacancies of the throne, by way of election.

At the period when the German empire became an elective kingdom, (for it was not so from the beginning), all the *magnates*, or most powerful chiefs, had a share in the election. But this privilege passed insensibly into the hands of the principal ecclesiastical and secular princes, who were called electors. It was necessary, about the time of the reformation, and since, that the candidate for the imperial crown should be of the Roman catholic religion. Hence the capacity of filling the imperial throne is reduced to a very few houses of high distinction: those of Austria, the Palatinate, and Saxony. But, as the imperial election has been almost uniformly carried, for many ages, by the former of these, whose immense hereditary dominions has given birth to an apprehension, lest it should employ its vast power for the purpose of its own aggrandizement, rather than that of maintaining the rights of the states of the empire, the electors have judged it proper, at every new election, since that of Charles V. in 1519, to stipulate for the maintenance of their own prerogatives and those of their co-estates, by an instrument, called the *Imperial Capitulation*. It is a pretty general opinion, that the imitation of the imperial power, had its origin in an original compact

with the electors. But this was not the case. When Germany was separated from France, to which it had become subject, to form an empire by itself, the chief of the nation was in possession of full and absolute sovereignty. Dukes, margraves, counts palatines, and landgraves, were no more than simple officers of the crown, acting in the name and by the authority of the monarch. But, as it was common to bestow, on sons the places that had been held by their fathers, and to confer the great offices of state on families who had large possessions in the territories over which they were appointed to preside, it came to pass, in troublesome times, when the monarch could not exercise a strict vigilance over them, that they kept their places by a hereditary title, and the officers of the crown became sovereign princes, their power increased, in proportion as the hands were slackened, which united them to the empire, more and more, till at length a seal was put to their authority, by the peace of Westphalia. It is farther to be observed, that neither the kings of France, nor those of Germany, their successors, were ever absolute, so long as the tribes of Germany were but small. The chief consulted the opinion of every free man, without exception. An inherent love of liberty, it is recorded both by Tacitus and Julius Cæsar, was characteristic of the ancient Germans. When the empire became too extensive for the public deliberations of all free men in a body, the king assembled the dukes, margraves, counts palatine, simple counts, and landgraves to consult together, and with him, on the affairs of the nation. Those lords



lords were not indeed, strictly speaking, the representatives of the people: still, however, they might be considered as such: they were always great landed proprietors, who have the clearest and most unquestionable interest in the welfare of the people; and, besides this, it was in constant usage with the *grandeues*, before presenting themselves at court, to convene the free men of their respective districts, in order to receive information of facts, and charge themselves with the representation of their grievances: a custom which also prevailed, it will readily be recollected, with the *states-general* of France. Thus the *magnates* of Germany became *states* of the empire.

After Christianity made its way into the heart of Germany, a great number of archbishops, bishops, and abbots appeared on the same level, and in the same rank, with the lay chiefs, who, by and by, admitted them into their number in the public convents, not only in consequence of their respected stations and valuable possessions, but because the clergy alone, in those days, were versant in either letters, or the best modes of transacting public business. Thus the *states* of the empire were divided into two orders; the ecclesiastical and the secular. Among the former, were ranked archbishops, bishops, and abbots of royal foundations: the abbots of other monasteries did not enjoy the same privileges. To the order of prelates were joined, the grand-master of the teutonic order, and the grand-prior of the order of St. John, of Jerusalem. The secular order was composed of dukes, counts palatine, landgraves, margraves, simple counts, and independent proprie-

tors of landed estates: that is, such proprietors as did not hold them as fiefs of the crown. For a long time there were no other *states* of the empire. These two orders held their deliberations in common with the chief of the empire, under the simple designation of *two benches*; the ecclesiastical bench, and the secular bench. In the lapse of ages there arose a third class of national representatives. In the reign of Henry, the falconer, a great number of towns were built, both on the frontiers, and in the interior of Germany. Part of these held of dukes and princes, and part immediately of the emperor. The latter were called imperial cities, and their magistrates were appointed by the emperor, for the purpose of exercising, in his name, the rights of sovereignty, and drawing certain revenues for the imperial treasury. They derived prosperity from commerce; which enabled them to purchase the rights of sovereigns from the emperor, to form for themselves republican constitutions, and to acquire considerable domains; sometimes by money, sometimes by main force. Occupied, almost wholly, in industry and commerce, they gave themselves but little concern about the affairs of the empire. The particular wars in which they were sometimes engaged, and to which they were always exposed, rendered it difficult to establish a general peace, without some participation, on their part, in its formation; and their attachment to the emperor, from whom they derived their political privileges, pointed them out as a natural support to the imperial power, against the encroachments of the other *states*. Their wealth too, presented the amplest

amplest resource, whenever there was a necessity of imposing public contributions. They were, therefore, invited to appear in the diets of the empire, by representatives, chosen by themselves, out of their own number. But as their interests did not always coincide with those of the princes, prelates, and counts, they withdrew from these orders, formed a separate college of their own, and communicated the result of their deliberations to the other two states, in whose assemblies they presented themselves only on the most solemn occasions.

During a period of considerable length, it was the policy of the more powerful among the princes, to retain, by all means, the prelates and counts, as a part of their own body, that they might not lean too much towards the side of the emperor. But it was not long before new and particular interests occasioned a separation in this college. The chief among the princes secular, and ecclesiastic, by degrees, assumed the privilege of electing the emperor. At first, they met together for consulting whom they should propose, and recommend to the other princes assembled in the diet of the empire, who generally gave their voices in favour of the candidate so proposed, and always, if the chief princes were unanimous in their recommendation. But it was not till the thirteenth century, that the chief princes assumed a formal, absolute, and exclusive right of election. During this period, the states of the empire came to be divided into three colleges, the *Electoral College*, the *College of Princes*, and the *College of the Free or Imperial Cities*. The members of the ecclesiastical college were originally seven; three

ecclesiastic, and four secular. The former owed their dignity to the antiquity of their episcopal sees, and, to the office of arch-chancellors, which they performed at the imperial court, and which gave them the management of all such public affairs as were transacted, by means of letters, or writing. The elector of Mentz, was arch-chancellor for Germany; the elector of Treves, for the Gauls, or kingdom of Lorraine, when it became a part of the empire; and the elector of Cologne, for the kingdom of Lombardy, when that country too became subject to the sovereign power of the German empire. Subsequent changes in France, and in Italy, did not deprive the two latter princes of their electoral dignity and privileges. The secular princes of the electoral college were the sovereign princes of Bohemia, the palatinate of Saxony, and Brandenburg, who, in like manner, owed their electoral dignity to the great officers of state, which they held at the imperial court. The elector palatine having accepted the crown of Bohemia, in 1618, was overcome by the emperor Ferdinand II. put to the bar of the empire, stripped of his hereditary territories, and the electoral dignity conferred by the emperor on his ally, the duke of Bavaria. This dignity was conferred to the duke, by the peace of Westphalia; but, by the same treaty, an eighth electorship was created, in favour of the prince palatine, who was nominated arch-treasurer of the empire; on the ground, that it was indispensably necessary that every elector should hold some great office of state under the imperial crown. As the two houses of the palatinate and  
Bavaria

Bavaria were both of them branches of the same stem, and as it was foreseen that, in the course of time, the one might probably fall into the other, by hereditary succession, it was stipulated, that the electorship last created should, from that time, be discontinued. On the re-union of the two branches of the palatine family, in 1777, the number of electors would have been, accordingly, reduced to the primitive number of seven, if at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the electoral dignity had not been conferred, by the emperor, on the ducal house of Brunswick Lunenburg, or Hanover. The college of princes is composed of a hundred voices, or votes: of which some are parted, or shared among different persons, and, in some instances, even whole bodies. For example, the whole of the prelates have but two votes, the whole of the counts only four. Hence a division of the voices into *viriles* and *curiales*; the former those of individuals, the latter those of whole classes or bodies.

The imperial and free cities, which form the third college of the states of the empire, are all of them constituted on republican plans of government; being mixtures of democracies and aristocracies, or rather aristocracies more or less moderate. The city of Nuremberg alone is wholly aristocratical. Of the free cities of Germany, there are only four, which, at the present day, retain their ancient prosperity and consideration. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and the three Hanseatic towns of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburgh. Nuremberg, Ulm, Augsbourg, and others, have fallen from their ancient splendour. The number of the imperial cities, by

the cession of Alsace to the French, and, in one or two cases, the encroachments of powerful princes, has been reduced from sixty-two, to about fifty. They are divided into two benches, that of the Rhine, and that of Swabia.

Besides the political division of the states of the empire into three colleges, it was divided, geographically, into ten circles, or regions, shaped into a kind of particular counties, by the hand of nature; before Belgium, or the circle of Burgundy, was ceded to France, by the treaty of Campo-Formio, soon to be ratified by another pacification. The members of these circles, meet from time to time, to deliberate on their common interests. In former times, when the German states and princes were actuated, more than at present, by public spirit and a love of their country, assemblies of the circles were frequent, and of great importance. In proportion as particular interests and views prevailed over those of the community, the meetings of the circles have become irregular, ill attended, broken up hastily by pitiful disputes about precedence, where the members were numerous, or discouraged and overborne by some preponderating power, when few. Every circle has its director, or president, charged with the general police and maintenance of the public tranquillity, as well as with the execution, of all imperial decrees within their circles. In the assemblies of the circles, there is no difference between voices *viriles*, and voices *curiales*. The vote of the smallest count, or prelate, is equivalent to that of the greatest princes, even electors not excepted. And

all questions are disposed of by a plurality of voices. There is yet another division of the empire, besides the political and geographical divisions just mentioned, and that is, a division founded on difference of religion. In the college of the princes, as well as that of electors, the Catholics are the most numerous: though of the princes, all those of the most ancient and illustrious houses are protestants, with the exception of Austria, Bavaria, and the Palatine. In the college of imperial cities, the protestants preponderate. However, although the Catholics prevail in the other two colleges, it was provided and settled, by the peace of Westphalia, that the preponderating number and voices of the Catholics, should not be of any prejudice to the Protestants, in any question wherein the Protestants should agree to make common cause, and at the imperial diet, form themselves into a separate and distinct body. In which case nothing remained but modes of conciliation. If these failed, the matter in question remained undecided.

It has already been observed, that the emperor, in most cases, was restrained from exercising the imperial authority without the consent of the states. In order to obtain this, the emperors, in former times, were wont to assemble, from time to time, to the states of the empire in person. When all matters were agreed on, the result of their deliberations was reduced to the form of a law, under the name of a *recess* of the empire, and the diet was broken up. As the emperors and princes were present in the diets, in person, there proceedings were carried on with expedition. From

the date of 1663, when the diet, or assembly, of the states of the empire became permanent, neither the emperor, nor the different members of the states, appear there in person. Every thing is transacted by deputies, who are not, however, empowered to conclude any business of importance, without transmitting it, and receiving the instructions of their constituents.

The representative of the emperor, in the diet, has the title of the principal commissary, because it would be beneath the dignity of the chief of the empire to send a deputy to the states.

It is the prerogative of the emperor to call meetings of the diet for any particular purpose, and to lay before them the subjects of deliberation. A proposition, or motion, is made in the diet, either by the imperial or principal commissary, in which case the decree for making it, is called a decree of commission: or, in his absence, directly by a message from the imperial court; in which case, it is called an *aulic decree*. But although the regular initiative of legislation belong to the emperor, it is, nevertheless, competent for the states too to propose any question or subject of discussion: of which an instance was exhibited a few years ago, by the elector of Mayence, in a motion relative to peace with France. But in whatever manner a proposition is made, it must be communicated to the whole empire.

Each of the three colleges meets separately, and deliberates on the propositions submitted to their consideration and decision, by the president or director: who reduces to writing, the sense of what is determined by the majority; and lays it be-  
fore

fore the college at the next meeting, for their confirmation. In the electoral college, in general more concordant than the others, the draught of what is understood to have been agreed on, is not often attended with any difficulties: but it is very commonly otherwise in the college of princes; in which the sketch or project drawn up by the director, is often rejected, and another proposed to the college in its stead. Thus it follows, from this mode of conducting the deliberations of the states, that there are three different decrees, or resolutions, on all matters that come before them: which three decrees it, of course, becomes necessary to reduce to one. For this end, the directors of the two first colleges proceed, without delay, to a conference. If it happens that the resolutions agreed to by their respective colleges be fundamentally the same, or conceived in the same spirit, it is not commonly difficult for the two colleges to come to a common result or *conclusum*. But if they cannot be brought, by any means, to one accord, the question is dropped, and there is an end of the business: unless indeed, as sometimes happens in cases of great urgency, they agree to refer the matter to the arbitration of the emperor; for he has no right to interfere, without such a reference. After the *conclusum* of the two first colleges, a similar procedure takes place between these two colleges, united in the same design, on the one part, and the college of imperial cities, on the other. The content of this college is followed by a general decree of the diet: which, however, has not the force of a law, without the ratification of the emperor. The ge-

neral decrees, in some measure, qualified or characterized by the title they bear, of *Advises of the Diet*, represented by the directors to the imperial and principal commissary, who transmits it to his court. These advises the emperor may reject, though not without coming to an explanation on their subjects. The consent of the emperor, duly declared, is called a *Decree of Ratification*. An *Advice of the Diet*, and a *Decree of Ratification*, form together a *conclusum* of the empire.

From this sketch of the Germanic constitution, it is evident, that the transactions of the diet cannot be carried on otherwise than very slowly; and that it is impossible they should be kept secret. A very great influence on the assembly is possessed by the emperor, who seldom fails to turn it to his own advantage. He is, himself, a member of the electoral college, as king of Bohemia; and the three ecclesiastical electors are usually of his party. In the college of princes, too, he can commonly reckon on the ecclesiastical princes, as well as on the secular princes of the new houses, and still more on the prelates and counts. As for the college of free cities, it is but very rarely that they dare resist the will of the chief of the empire. It is only the house of Brandenburg, and the greater part of the princes of the old families, that can form, to a certain degree, a counter-balance to the power of the emperor. But of these great houses, means have generally been found to draw over one or other to the imperial party. One thing is certain, that if the courts of Berlin and Vienna are of one mind, as was unfortunately, the case,

case, at the commencement of the present war with France, all resistance from any other quarter would be vain. On the other, a resolute and steady opposition, on the part of the Prussian monarch, in the present situation of the empire, would suffice to frustrate, in the diet of the empire, any project of the emperor's.

The business brought before the diet is sometimes transacted by the states, in a body, and sometimes, as in cases where dispatch is necessary, and others, by committees appointed to deliberate and decide in the name of the empire. These committees, which may be considered as committees, on a small scale, are called *Deputations of the Empire*. Of these there are two kinds: ordinary, or extraordinary; such as those appointed to deliberate and decide on questions relating to peace or war: and it is in this kind of deputations alone that we are interested. The members of an extraordinary deputation are chosen by a plurality of voices in the different colleges, and their election is confirmed by the emperor. At the head of such a deputation is the ambassador plenipotentiary of the emperor: in the choice of whom his imperial majesty is not restrained by any limitation whatever either of law or custom.

Although a deputation of the empire, as has already been observed, be a diet on a small scale, in deputations extraordinary there is no division of the members into separate colleges. They form but one body. Their president is the elector of Mayence, and the vote of a delegate from one of the cities, is equivalent to that of an electoral plenipotentiary. There was for-

merly a world of disputes about the ceremonial, according to which the sub-delegates from the diets were, on such occasions, to take their seats or places. In order to avoid such an inconveniency at the congress of Rastadt, it was settled, that all the deputies should be placed on equal seats, and that there should not be, as usual, in the midst of the hall, any table. The inconveniencies necessarily arising from this arrangement, it seems, were judged less than those to be apprehended from the ideas of dignity or degradation that would arise in the breasts of the sub-delegates, from their positions, in relation to that utensil. With regard to the manner or form in which the deliberations, in the extraordinary deputations of the empire are conducted, it is precisely the same with that which takes place in the diet. The imperial plenipotentiary opens the session with due solemnity, and proposes the various points that are to be made the subjects of discussion. Every thing that is proper for them to know, is communicated from time to time through the ministrations of the elector of Mayence: who collects the votes, and pronounces the decrees; which decrees, when they are of a nature that requires the imperial sanction, are either ratified or rejected by the emperor.

In extraordinary deputations of the empire, the sub-delegates are furnished, by the emperor and diet, with powers and instructions which they cannot transgress. The members of the extraordinary deputation, at Rastadt, were appointed so early as 1795, on the first overtures for peace. And although there was afterwards a great change of circumstances,

cumstances, there was none in the powers of the deputation. Of those powers the principal were these: The deputies were empowered and instructed to make peace with France, on the basis of the integrity of the empire. Their deliberations were to be carried on not by any delegations or committees, but in a body. The result of these was to be presented to the imperial plenipotentiary, who, if he approved, was to lay them before the French ministers. The answers of these ministers were to pass through the hands of the same plenipotentiary, and to be communicated by him to the deputation. Although it did not seem necessary, that there should be a renewal or verification of the powers with which the deputies were invested, for the purpose of negotiation, yet, this was thought proper, on the whole, and going to be made: but the French plenipotentiaries demanded, that the deputies should be furnished with unlimited powers; a requisition with which the diet thought it fit to comply.

Besides the ministers of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, there appeared, at Rastadt, a great number of envoys from particular powers, and *immediate members*, (as they were called), *of the empire*.\* It was considered, that particular interests are not always carefully attended to by general deputations. The imperial capitulation, at the election of Leopold, in

1790, guaranteed to the states, the right of sending to a general congress their particular envoys, who should take care of their particular interests, and be authorized to treat in the name of their constituents. It was not understood that they should have any right either of pleading or voting. They were only to present, in writing, to the deputation of the empire, their remonstrances and their demands, and come to as good an understanding, and settlement of all matters of importance, as should be found possible, in the way of friendly representation. They were not to be admitted to sit in the hall of the deputation, but by the express invitation of the deputies; and, in order that they might have an opportunity of being informed, *viva voce*, of any thing the deputies might choose to communicate. Though they ranked after the deputies of the empire, yet these could not enter into any discussion, in which the courts of the former were interested, without previous conferences with them on the subject. The number of deputies from the diet, and from individual states and princes, amounted to one hundred and seventy-three, and, together with their clerks or secretaries, and other attendants, under different denominations, exceeded six hundred. For, not only was the German empire threatened with a great loss of territory, but with the subversion of its ancient constitution.

\* There is a great number of *immediate members of the empire*, who enjoy the greater part of the rights of sovereigns, but who have no seat or voice at the diet of the empire. Of this class, the principal are the *immediate noblesse*, which is divided into three circles; those of Suabia, Franconia, and the Rhine. Each of these circles is subdivided into cantons, of which cantons, each has its own directory, chosen by the whole of the members. It consists of a president, or head-man, several counsellors, and a chancellor, or syndic.

At the congresses for pacification, with the German empire, we often find ambassadors from other powers, whether in the character of mediators, or as being interested in the preservation of the Germanic constitution. Besides the ministers of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, all of them states of the empire, envoys were sent to the congress, at Rastadt, from the Helvetican, Batavian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics, and also from the pope; though it does not appear, and could not well have been expected, that these five envoys should have taken any share in the negotiations. There is not a doubt but a greater number of foreign ministers would have attended the congress of Rastadt, if it had not been expressly stipulated in the treaty of Campo-Formio, that a pacification between the German empire and French republic, should be conducted without the intervention of any other power.

The unlimited powers granted to the deputation of the empire tended, in a very considerable degree, to expedite the business of the congress; yet still the variety of interests and influence that pervaded the deputation of the empire, left but little hopes that this assembly would bring matters to any speedy or certain conclusion. The German empire, already disjointed and distracted, was rendered more and more loose and unsteady by passing events. The councils of France, too, were fluctuating, for similar reasons. The congress at Rastadt was a barometer that indicated the rising or falling power, or prospects of different parties concerned. The deputies of the empire were obliged to shape their conduct by that of

the emperor and king of Prussia. The French plenipotentiaries, though, on the whole, rising in their demands on every concession on the part of the empire, were yet sometimes forced to relax in their pretensions, and to assume the appearance of greater moderation, by the course of great events, foreign and domestic. The negotiation was a game of rackets, which was broken up by the approach and entrance of a Russian army into Germany. It would serve no purpose of either entertainment or instruction to record all the propositions and counter propositions, and capricious turns of such proceedings. Yet a few of these may be thought worthy of being related.

The minister plenipotentiary, on the part of his imperial majesty, chief of the empire, was the count Metternich: those appointed, at first, on the part of the French republic, were, the citizens Buonaparte, Trailhard, and Bonnier. Buonaparte was called from negotiation to arms; Trailhard, in the progress of the negotiation, was elected into the directory: and succeeded, in the embassy to congress, by the citizens Robert Jott and Jean Debrie.

By secret articles, subjoined to the treaty of Campo Formio, Mentz and Ehrenbritstein had been given up to the French: and other arrangements had been made, by the treaty of Basle, in 1795, at the expense of the empire, for the purpose of certain amicable arrangements between the French republic, on the one part, and the king of Prussia, the duke of Wurtemberg, the margrave of Baden, and one or two German powers more on the other. Mentz was, accord-



ingly, notwithstanding the treaty of Campo Formio, summoned by the French general, Hatry, to surrender, with the menace, that he would subject the territory of that electorate to all the calamities of war, if that city did not open its gates to him. The menace was afterwards put in execution and the gates opened; and, for the fortrefs of Ehrenbritstein, it was closely besieged. The count de Metternich publicly complained of these violations of the treaty, in a note addressed to the citizens Trailhard and Bonnier, dated at Raftadt, the twenty-fourth of December, 1797. "He had learnt," he said, "from all quarters, that the French troops, without any provocation whatever, had passed the lines marked out by the armistice, that they had summoned the fortrefs of Ehrenbritstein to surrender, had passed the Rhine as well as the Nidda, near Openheim, and that they had formed lines of circumvallation round Mentz." On the subject of grievances, the count proceeded to mention another, which was, "The political organization that the French would, by force of arms, compel a people to accept, who were accustomed to a constitution which formed their happiness. Such an enterprize," he observed, "was in direct and avowed opposition to the spirit of the French constitution, and which could result only from a definitive treaty of peace, that should establish such a people under the dominion of France. Besides, this attempt was made during an armistice, religiously observed by the states of the empire, and at the moment of a negotiation, whose object was to ensure, by a solid and durable

peace, the return of that ancient confidence and friendship which, for the interest of suffering humanity, should be restored between the two nation." To these complaints no reply was made, nor does it appear that any was insisted on. The plenipotentiaries, after not a little discussion on the subjects of designations, titles, and a passport, for a French citizen, named Bocher, entered seriously on the business for which the congress was called, on the seventeenth of January, 1799. Citizen Trailhard, having stated, as an incontrovertible fact, that a war had been provoked by the German empire, proceeded to represent, that his government had an incontestible right to an indemnification for all the sacrifices which it had made; and that, in compliance with its principles of loyalty and justice, whose object was to terminate the calamities of war, and to establish peace on the most solid foundation, he proposed, for the first basis, "That the course of the Rhine should be acknowledged as a boundary. To this proposition, the count Metternich, in a note of the twenty-seventh of January, replied, "That, by the new frontier proposed, Germany would be dismembered, independently of the circle of Burgandy, of the most considerable parts of the three circles of the Rhine; and that, by such a disposition, several states, the existing nobility, and other members of the empire, would lose either the whole, or, at least, a great part of their possessions. The cession, to France, of the provinces beyond the Rhine, would shake, to the very foundations, the Germanic constitution, and disable the empire from supporting its political

tical existence, and maintaining the relations which it hitherto preserved with the other states of Europe. By the preliminaries, settled at Leoben, on the eighteenth of April, 1797, an assurance was given, that the empire should preserve its integrity: and this assurance was also confirmed afterwards, by the definitive treaty of Campo Formio. The emperor and empire, it was stated by the imperial plenipotentiary, confidently expected, from the justice and generosity of the French government, that it would be disposed to substitute, instead of the proposition already made, a basis of negotiation more accordant to that which was stipulated, in favour of the empire, by the preliminaries of Leoben. Some propositions," he farther observed, "were indispensably necessary to be made, concerning the wretched state of those parts of Germany, at that moment occupied by the French troops. The propositions, to be made on this head, would be favourably received, since they rested on conventions settled with the French nation, were in strict conformity to the law of nations and the natural consequence of negotiations, now entered on, for the purpose of arranging a definitive treaty. They were resolved into the following heads:

I. That, in consequence of the preliminaries of peace, signed at Leoben, the armistice should be strictly observed till a definitive treaty should be concluded.

II. That the French troops should remove, altogether, from the right bank of the Rhine; and, respecting the left bank, that they should retire beyond the lines settled by the armistice.

III. That all hostilities, and consequently all contributions and requisitions, of every denomination, should cease, from that moment, and without any future renewal.

IV. That all sale or alienation of the possessions, situated as well on the German territory as out of it, belonging to the states of the empire, and other members of it, should be discontinued: that a stop should be put to the destruction of forests, the sale of woods, as well as the suppression of ecclesiastical and pious foundations: and, that those faithful subjects, who had manifested a zeal for their masters, and particularly those who, being still in the civil or military service of the princes and lords, had, without any just reason, been classed as emigrants, and had their properties sequestered or sold, should be free from all future persecution: that those servants or subjects, who had inhabited, to the present moment, the countries, some time since, or more recently, occupied by the French troops, should not be disturbed by the arrest of their persons, or sequestration of their goods; and that they should be permitted, on the contrary, to remove with their effects and to follow their masters: and that, in those parts of Germany, where there were any French troops, none of the penal consequences of emigrations should be exercised against those who had withdrawn from the theatre of war and the countries that were occupied by the armies.

V. That, in all the different places, whether occupied or not by the French troops, a stop should be put to all those new doctrines and revolutionary dispositions, whose object was to seduce subjects from

the constitution which was suited to them, and to associate them with the republican system.

VI. Finally, to prevent the total ruin of the countries occupied by the French troops, that the number of these should be proportioned to the means and resources of those countries.

This answer from the deputation of the empire, to the proposition, that the Rhine should be established as a limit of the French republic, the ministers plenipotentiary of the republic transmitted to their government. At the same time, they still insisted, that the indemnity required by the republic was equitable. The boundary of the Rhine was essential to its safety, and the tranquillity of the empire was still more immediately interested in forming those limits.

Meanwhile, the French not only declined to retire beyond the limits settled by the armistice, but proceeded to invest Mannheim and to other acts of aggression. The imperial plenipotentiary did not fail to make loud complaints of such conduct, as well as of various flagrant attempts to excite, throughout the territories of the empire, a spirit of insurrection. In these attempts, the plenipotentiaries, on the part of the republic, disavowed all concern or participation, and said, that the executive directory had taken very strong measures to discover and punish their authors and accomplices. As to the constant acts of aggression they were silent. Disputes were also continued concerning the origin and commencement of the war. Count Metternich considered it as an incontrovertible fact, that the empire did not attack France, and that it

engaged in the war from no other cause than that it was attacked itself. According to the Germanic constitution, the empire could not engage in a war without a resolution of the diet to that effect, ratified by its chief. The resolution of the diet, on the twenty-second of March, 1793, expressly declared, "That, since France made war on the empire, by acts of hostility, without any formal declaration; since she had attacked and disposed, by means of her armies, the countries belonging and states of the empire, this war, undertaken by France, and declared by acts of hostility alone, must be considered as a war common to all the empire." The French plenipotentiaries replied, "That the open and scandalous protection, given, notwithstanding the most ardent remonstrances, to the emigrants, who were brought back to threaten the French frontiers, was the first act of hostility against France, which not only justified for peace but must be acknowledged to have been deeply interested in maintaining it. The continued refusal, to disperse the assembling of these implacable enemies, compelled France to take such measures as were necessary for her security: but, so far from endeavouring to suspend them, by giving reasonable satisfaction, the empire proceeded to declare itself in a state of war. These facts were of such public notoriety, that they could not be contested." But such discussions were equally endless and unimportant. It was not by appeals to any principles of justice, or to any thing that had passed, that the points in question were to be settled, but by the present situation of affairs and future prospects.

That

That the Rhine should form the boundary between the French and German empires had been assented to, in the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, was no secret. The whole of Bavaria, beyond the Inn, was to be the compensation for this cession. Bavaria was to receive, in return, a part of Suabia and certain states in Franconia. No doubt was entertained of the good understanding that existed, on this point, between France, Prussia, and Austria. That the system of secularization, which was to make up the respective losses, had been previously agreed on among these three respective powers: but the deputation of the empire were not prepared to make, at once, so great sacrifices. The French plenipotentiaries represented, that the cessions, on the left bank of the Rhine, were of no great consequence, as an addition of territory to such a republic as France, while the boundary of the Rhine was established by nature, and would equally conduce to the tranquillity of both empires. The deputation of the empire, on the contrary, stated, that, by giving up the left side of the Rhine, and the indemnities proposed, thirty-one secular and thirteen ecclesiastical states of the empire would be subjected to losses, which amounted to upwards of eleven hundred square-miles; the population of which was upwards of three millions of inhabitants. France had drawn from this country, since the beginning of the war, in requisitions and contributions, more than eighty millions. For fertility and situation, it was one of the first provinces of Europe. The French plenipotentiaries, not, probably, discouraged by this last argument,

persisted in their first propositions, from which, they declared, they would never depart. France, they said, demanded the left side of the Rhine, not so much for the purpose of aggrandizement as for that of securing to the republic a determinate and secure frontier. The deputation was still indisposed to make so large a sacrifice. But, on the third of March, 1798, the deputation, in a note of the third of March, agreed to a cession of half the territory demanded; and this they did in consideration that the French government, according to the declaration of its ministers plenipotentiary, had no view of aggrandizement, and that its principal object was to procure natural and determined limits for both France and the empire. As a line of demarcation, of this kind, they proposed the Rhine and Moselle, leaving to the French government the choice between the countries of the empire, situated beyond the Rhine, on the right bank of the Moselle; or those on the same side of the Rhine on the left. But, in consenting to such an important cession, they declared, it would be absolutely necessary to make every possible provision to alleviate the condition of those states of the empire, of the nobles, and other members of the Germanic body, who, by such a disposition, would sustain very considerable losses. Nothing, in the way of negotiation, on equal terms, could have been more reasonable than this proposition, which, in the style of common business, was a fair division of the difference. But the French plenipotentiaries peremptorily declared, that the boundary of the Rhine was a basis of negotiation from which the re-

public would never depart. The imperious demands of France, as might naturally be expected, gave rise to very animated debates in the diet of the empire. The duke of Bavaria not only refused to agree to the cession proposed, but went so far as to propose, to the other states, to invite the empire, Russia, Prussia, and England, to oppose it by main force. But the destiny of the empire was in the hands of Prussia and Austria. After multiplied sittings, long debates, and the interchange of preparatory notes, the deputation of the empire, on the thirteenth of March, finally consented to the cession of the whole left side of the Rhine; but on the conditions that the French troops should immediately withdraw from the right bank of the Rhine, and that all military engagements and requisitions should immediately cease; that the French republic should immediately withdraw all its troops from the right side, and, confining itself to the countries of Germany, which should be ceded to it, on the left bank of the Rhine, should not form any farther pretensions, on the empire, of any kind; that indemnities should be fixed for, the states which had sustained any loss on the left bank of the Rhine; that all persecution, of whatever kind, in the countries to be ceded, should cease, and individuals be safe and secure in their persons and properties. The French plenipotentiaries agreed, that the cession of all posts, on the right bank of the Rhine, should be the first consequence of a final pacification. They also agreed to the principle of indemnities, which, they said, were to be found in a secularization of the ecclesiastical

estates; which principle was also adopted by the deputation of the empire. But in the discussions which ensued, on the application of this general principle, there was a great interference and opposition of interests; and it was evident, that each state thought only of its own aggrandizement, and of throwing the sum of damages and losses on those who were the least capable of defending their own interests. The states of the first rank did not dissemble that these losses were to fall on the secondary states; and these, again, shifted them off on those of inferior order. The Austrian ministers proposed the great secularizations; the ecclesiastical electors demanded to be indemnified by those of the prince bishops; the prince bishops required the suppression of abbeys, monasteries, and the inferior prelacies. Many, in order to lighten the stroke with which they were threatened, and which they had not the power to avert, began to form a fund for their future support, by putting to sale not only their moveables and other portable objects, but also considerable portions of their landed property: so that, in case of the secularizations expected, the new possessors should have the less benefit, unless a law should be passed for invalidating such dilapidations.

It was decided, by the deputation, that they should begin with the total secularization of the abbeys and private prelacies. If these should not be sufficient to cover the balance of the losses, a part of the possessions of the prince bishops should be taken to their account. Austria and Prussia declared, that, in order to avoid too great a number of seculariza-

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tions, they would content themselves with moderate indemnities.

These two points, the cession of the left side of the Rhine, and the principle of secularization being agreed on, the deputation of the empire requested to be informed of the total amount of the losses to be indemnified, and what other pretensions the French had to state. The principal of these, specified in a note, delivered by the French ministers, on the 3d of May, were, that the navigation of the Rhine should be common to both nations; the suppression of the right of tolls; the equalization of custom-duties on both sides the river; that all the islands in the Rhine should be left in possession of the republic; that the navigation of the rivers, which empty themselves into the Rhine, and also that the navigation of the great rivers of Germany, particularly the Danube, should, in like manner, be free to both nations; to retain possession of the fort of Kehl, and, to a certain extent, the territory adjacent; to demolish the fortrefs of Ehrenbrittstein, which was still held in close blockade; and Cassel, as forming a part of the fortifications of Mentz, already given up to the republic, to remain likewise in its possession. The amount of these and other propositions was, in fact, to open a free entrance for the French troops into Germany, in case of war, and the extension of the principles and intrigues of the republic, in times of peace, by the command of the whole internal navigation of Germany and Hungary, from the Rhine, even to the Euxine and Baltic. But these, inordinate as they were, did not define and limit the full extent of the demands of the republic, which still rose on every

concession. The French plenipotentiaries, July 19th, said, "The first object of the negotiation, was the cession of the countries situated on the left bank of the Rhine. Then followed the mode of indemnity, by the means of secularization. But the determination of these questions did not preclude the consideration of others. There were other propositions which they had to make, which were nothing more than the natural effect of the progression of ideas; a successive display of a regular plan, which they had already announced. Of these propositions the principal were, an immediate abolition of the tolls, and staple duties, and also of the corporation of boatmen, who were in the possession of certain privileges, inconsistent with the perfect freedom of navigation; and that in the treaty of peace a special clause might be inserted, by which a stipulation should be made for the cession of Frickthal, and that all the rights which the German empire might claim on that territory, should be relinquished to the French republic. On the note containing these sentiments and proposals, the deputation of the empire observed, that the negotiation would never attain a fixed point, if the conditions of peace, already agreed on, should be continually interrupted by new propositions.

It was impossible that two parties could confide in each other, who had agreed to the secret articles of the treaty of Campo-Formio, and who measured their rights only by their power. The public articles of that treaty were continually violated by the French. The augmentation of troops was complained of on both sides. The emperor watch-

ed, with jealousy, the motions of the French, and the French those of the emperor. The negotiation was continued, particularly on the part of the former, more from the view of gaining time, and acting according to circumstances expected, or merely contingent, than from any sincere hope or desire of pacification. The plans pursued in Italy and Switzerland prove, that the genius of the republic was still bent on war and conquest: which were not only suited to the temper of so great a part of the nation, but which seemed indispensably necessary for the security of the administration and the stability of government. But, besides this general or national interest, that all things should be left or thrown, as much as possible, into uncertainty and confusion. The directory, and their agents, were indisputably influenced, in their conduct at Rastadt, by a regard to their own private and personal interests. So profound was the corruption of the rulers of France, at this time, that they did not hesitate to offer their protection to different parties, to sale, at Rastadt, as in other places. From the time that the principle of indemnities and secularizations was agreed on, they had the most abundant means of practising on the hopes and fears, the cupidity, jealousy, and resentment of states and princes. A kind of lottery was established of principalities, bishoprics, abbacies, and various other acquisitions and exemptions, in which the prizes were disposed of, chiefly by the favour of the French directory. A principle of the most flagrant injustice and rapacity pervaded all ranks and degrees from France, Austria, and

Prussia, down to the smallest imperial city, or other member of the empire.

While the French plenipotentiaries paid so little regard, on the whole, to the rights of the empire, they affected a particular concern for the interests of the free imperial cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Franckfort. They demanded, that these cities might preserve their political existence, and be confirmed and maintained in the plenitude of their constitutional independence. The deputation of the empire, with regard to this point, acknowledged, "that the preservation of these, as well as of all the other commercial cities, was highly interesting to the commerce of the whole empire. All these free and independent cities, they observed, formed the third state of the empire, and on that account, as well as from their rightful constitution, were under the protection of the laws. The deputation of the empire considered it as an essential duty to attend to the maintenance of the imperial states, and the Germanic constitution, and to comprehend, in the wish expressed by the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, all the states and members of the empire in general." The intervention of the French, in behalf of those towns, was not only unnecessary and impertinent, but in the highest degree violent and imperious. It corresponded to the secret efforts of the plenipotentiaries to sow the seeds of jealousy and discord among the different states and members of the empire: particularly to a rumour they were at pains to circulate, that the flourishing cities of Bremen, Franckfort, and Hamburg, were coveted by certain potentates, from  
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whole grasp it was, by the powerful mediation of France alone, that they could be protected. Whether the reports, which were spread at the time, of money being sent to Paris, for the *private pocket* of the directory, by all of those towns, were well founded or no, it is certain that a formal embassy was sent to the French government, by the senate of Bremen, to solicit their influence for obtaining the suppression of the ancient toll of Elsflet on the Weser, as being a very great interruption to its commerce with Bremen. That toll formed a very considerable part of the revenues belonging to the counts of Oldenburgh, who, in return, had for ages kept up certain embankments which were necessary for the navigation of the river. The generality of the deputies in the diet of the empire appeared to be perfectly indifferent to the just rights of Oldenburgh: but they were strenuously defended by the Austrian, Hanoverian, and Saxon ministers. And the deputation, in a note of the eighteenth of October, declared, "that as the toll at Elsflet, which had been guaranteed to the counts, now dukes of Oldenburgh, by the tenth article of the treaty of Munster, was collected in a port of Germany, which had not been taken possession of in the course of the war; and, as the deputation of the empire, did not possess the power of determining upon this object, it must be left to the French government to conclude, with the ducal house of Holstein Oldenburgh, such an arrangement as might, in fact, be beneficial to commerce." In another note, dated the twenty-first of November, the deputation farther declared, in reply to the con-

tinued demands of the French plenipotentiaries, "That they were not qualified to enter into any engagement on that subject, inasmuch as the legation of Holstein Oldenburgh had offered to the diet, very serious representations against any suppression or restriction of the said toll; declaring, at the same time, in very positive terms, that it was not in the power of the duke himself to cede an object of such importance, without the consent of those who had a hereditary right, which was equal to his, to the duchy of Holstein Oldenburgh; particularly the crowns of Russia, of Sweden, and of Denmark. The Danish legation had formally acceded to this declaration, which had since been strongly supported by that of Prussia." The French plenipotentiaries replied, "That there could not be a doubt but the losses, resulting from a cession of the toll at Elsflet, would be indemnified in the same manner as all those which the actual pacification should occasion." But the deputation insisted, that as the ministers of Holstein Oldenburgh, of Denmark, and of Prussia, had repeated, in writing, to the deputation of the empire, their determination to oppose any suppression of the tolls of Elsflet, it would be altogether superfluous to enlarge farther on this object. This was deemed strong and inexpugnable ground. There was no other than this, or such as this, that could be safely rested on: no security or protection in the Germanic constitution. All the German states and princes therefore, at this time, that had not entered into collusions and secret agreements with the French republic, was arranged around either the emperor, or king of Prussia, who began



began now to be considered and, afterwards, assumed the character of protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany. From the moment it was seen that the courts of Vienna and Berlin could not draw together, and to the same point, every state of the empire followed their example and their fortunes.

At the opening of the congress, the ascendancy of France bore down all opposition: Prussia had espoused its interests; and Austria, influenced by private views and engagements, had sometimes hushed into silence those remonstrants against the claims of France, whose rights of sovereignty were to be made the sacrifice of peace. But the fresh pretensions of the French, which have been already mentioned, after the cession of the left side of the Rhine and the admission of the principle of secularization, appeared so extravagant to both these great powers, that they determined to oppose them: a resolution, in which they were confirmed, or, rather, perhaps, to which they were excited, by that coalition against France, which quickly followed the naval victory of the English at Aboukir. The imperial minister, who had, at first, supported the pretensions of the French to the left bank of the Rhine, on the principle repeatedly stated, was the first that raised a standard of opposition to their new requisitions, and afterwards determined resistance, though the interests of Prussia were in opposition to those of the emperor; though the king had declared that he would observe the most exact neutrality, his ministers thought themselves equally obliged to protest against the new preten-

sions of the French plenipotentiaries.

The tide was now turned and the tone of the opposite parties reversed. The French made one concession after another; the deputies of the empire stood firm; and those of the leading powers manifested a disposition rather to rise in their demands than fall. The deputation acquiesced, however, in the principal bases that had been proposed for pacification. They ceded, to the French republic, the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. They acknowledged the Thalwagg, or middle and navigable stream of the Rhine, as the boundary of the empire. They admitted the distribution that had been proposed of the islands; the free navigation of that river; the maintenance of the towing paths; the re-establishment of commercial bridges, and the construction of new ones, provided their necessity should be acknowledged; and that the consent of the emperor and empire should be obtained for erecting them. The deputation renounced all the rights of the empire to the Austrian Low Countries and to Savoy, as well as to considerable fiefs of the empire in the Cisalpine republic. It resolved that the fortifications of Ehrenbreitstein, situated on the right bank of the Rhine, should be demolished. For the security of Mentz it consented to give up the island of St. Pierre, though situate on the right side of the Thalwagg. It did not resist the proposition, that the empire should not construct new fortifications at Kehl and Cassel, within a distance of three thousand toises. And, lastly, the deputation of the empire charged itself with the particular debts, as well as those contracted

contracted for supporting the war of the empire, of the states on the left bank of the Rhine, which were to be indemnified on the right bank. But, the French plenipotentiaries, though, among other cessions, they agreed that the laws respecting emigrants should not be applicable either to the countries now ceded to France, or to Mentz, insisted still, that they should remain in full force, with respect to the countries which had been already united, and which now formed French departments, and refused to withdraw the troops to the left side, till a pacification had taken place. They insisted, likewise, on the cession of the Frickthal, the toll on the Wezer, and the acquisition of the isle of Buderich, opposite Wesel: the continued possession of which isle, for the safety of that town, had been resolutely claimed by the ministers of Prussia; and they declared, in a note of the sixth of December, that if, within seven days, the deputation of the empire should not have given and transmitted to them a categorical and satisfactory answer, relative to all the points still in contestation, their powers would cease. A majority of the deputation agreed, without any farther conditions, to the French propositions. But the ministers of Austria, Saxony, and Hanover, contending against all farther cession, and particularly with regard to the four points of the emigrants, the toll on the Wezer, the isle of Buderich, and the Frickthal, declared that they would never relax from the resolutions they had formed. The two last, seeing that the majority of the deputies gave way, protested against their vote and left the chamber. The count of Lehr-

bach, the Austrian plenipotentiary, remained, but entered the same protest, and declared, that the contingent of Austria was ready to march, in order to protect the empire from farther aggression. This declaration was a pretty certain proof how the negotiation would terminate. The approach of the Russians had overturned all that had been effected towards peace, in the Austrian councils and those of the other states that adhered to Austria. On the other hand, the same circumstance produced an opposite effect on the cabinet of Berlin, jealous of an alliance between the two empires. It was in consequence, probably, of this disposition in Prussia, that the deputation of the empire, on the tenth of December, were compelled, in consequence of the categorical answer demanded to the French ultimatum, to submit their opinions, and declared that they acceded to all the articles proposed by the French ministers. But, in making this declaration, they expressed their hopes that such points, as yet wanted more mature examination and farther investigation, would be left for definitive regulation till the formation of the articles of peace. The Prussian ministers, at the same time, addressed a note to the deputation, stating, that the king, their master, unwilling to throw any farther obstacles in the way of peace, by new opposition in the critical state in which the empire then stood, and expose it to new dangers, acceded to the vote of deputation; reserving to themselves the power of recommending, likewise, the interests of Prussia, at the conclusion of the peace. The conclusion, remitted to the imperial commissary,

missary, was sanctioned; though with expressions of much dissatisfaction at the impetuosity which they had forced into the negotiation. It says, "The decree of the imperial commission, to the deputation of the empire, has sufficient motives to determine it to make still farther concessions, in the present circumstances, the commissioner of his majesty, the emperor, will not oppose its painful proceeding, since it believes that these will be the means of obtaining peace. But this determination will be entirely misunderstood, if it should be supposed to proceed, from any other motives than a desire to avoid any division with the deputation of the empire."

As all the essential parts of the first basis of the negotiation were now definitively settled and concluded, nothing remained but to apply the acknowledged principle of indemnity by the means of secularization, which formed an integral and indivisible part of the future treaty, that the respective negotiators were to conclude. But as this object required mature deliberation, before it came under discussion, the French plenipotentiaries declared that they would, in a short time, present their propositions on this head to the deputation; which, in the mean time, continued its deliberations on other points, and decreed, on the thirty-first of December, that a note should be presented to the French ministers, requiring them to realize the promise which they had given of lessening the weight of military contributions on the left side of the Rhine, of raising the siege of Ehrenbreitstein according to agreement, and that the French republic would take the necessary measures to protect the coun-

tries on the right bank, which were still occupied, from the arbitrary and vexatious impositions of French commissaries. These requisitions, relative to the actual state of things on the right bank of the Rhine, were almost immediately answered, by a note from the French plenipotentiaries, stating, that if the diet of the empire consented to admit Russian troops into the territory of the empire (above noticed) or if it did not exert all its power to oppose their entrance, it would be considered as a violation of the neutrality, on the part of the empire, the negotiation at Rastadt would be dissolved, and the republic and the empire would be exactly in the same position, with respect to each other, as they were previous to the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben, and the conclusion of the armistice. To this note the minister plenipotentiary of the head of the empire, answered, that the French government, instead of giving a satisfactory answer, conformably to the law of nations, to the urgent demands of the empire, relative to the actual posture of affairs on the right bank of the Rhine, had entered on a new and very different subject. This object, which was not within the department of the deputation of the empire, count Metternich acquainted the plenipotentiaries, had been sent, agreeably to the constitution, to be determined by the empire, united under its head, and that the republic must wait the result of such a determination. That the diet had resolved to take the instructions of its constituents, and that it had notified to the deputation of the empire, that no overture, or requisition, had been yet made to the diet to grant a passage

passage to the troops of Russia. It was not to be expected that the imperial minister's answer to the remonstrance against the march of the Russians into Germany should be satisfactory to the French negotiators: to whom it was quite apparent, that the head of the empire was as unwilling as the diet at Ratisbon, was unable to bring the point in question to a speedy and friendly conclusion.

The Russian troops, commanded by the renowned general Suarrow, in number sixty thousand, and marching in four divisions, of fifteen thousand each, having halted for some time at Olmutz, and Biltz, in Moravia, arrived at Brunn about the middle of December. The infantry were arranged in the Prussian uniform, and in fine condition. The Cossacks were accoutred in the Turkish style. They wore long beards, and coats of all colours. Besides the Turkish lance and sabre, they had pistols and carabines slung to their girdles. The arrival of so decided and formidable an enemy, to the French republic, was a pleasing and animating sight to the court of Vienna, the Austrians, and all the partizans of Austria. The emperor and empress, the palatine of Hungary, the duke of Saxe Teschen, prince Ferdinand of Wirtemberg, prince Esterhazy, the Russian ambassador count Razamoufky, and other persons of high distinction, attended by the first regiment of imperial horse-guards, were present at a review, which was welcoming the Russians, on the twenty-seventh of December; and admired the quick evolutions and rapid movements of the infantry, and the dexterity and ease with which the Cossacks managed their little, but

hardy and spirited horses. The open countenance shewn to the Russians, by the imperial court, was considered as a declaration of war against the French republic.

The fortrefs of Ehrenbritstein, held in close blockade by the French, who made no scruple of breaking a stipulation in the armistice, for the admission of a regular supply of provisions, so long defended by its natural strength, the constancy of the garrison, and the military skill of its commander, colonel Faber, at length surrendered, January, 1799. The French found, in Ebreubritstein, an immense quantity of stores, consisting of 192 pieces of artillery, about 100,000 balls, bombs, and grenades; a million of cartridges; about 450,000 weight of powder; 5,000 muskets, and other articles in equal profusion. Those alone were wanting, which were necessary for life. The blockade of this place commenced in April, 1797: so that it was among the longest in modern history. By the reduction of this place, the French became masters of the two banks of the Rhine, from Schaffhausen to Dusseldorf. The possession of these places, with that of Mayence, already noticed, opened to them the provinces of Franconia, Hesse, and Westphalia. At the same time, the French troops that were stationed between Cologne and Mayence, along the left of the Rhine, repassing that river, were joined by those who had formed the blockade of Ebreubritstein, on the left.

While the note of the French plenipotentiaries, respecting the march of the Russians, was under the consideration of the diet, at Ratisbon, the French ministers at Rastadt, declared

declared to the deputies of the empire, on the thirty-first of January, that they had orders neither to receive nor remit any note in any of the points of the negotiation, till they had received a categorical and satisfactory answer to that which they had remitted, on the second of January; relative to the same subject. In the mean time the Russians continued to advance. The emperor of Germany assembled his troops on the river Lech. And the French army, having, as already observed, re-crossed the Rhine, penetrated into Sussia, under the command of general Jourdan. Official information of this invasion, was, on the first of March, 1799, communicated to count Metternich, by the French plenipotentiaries, at Rastadt; who remitted to him, by order of the directory, the following proclamation, signed by the president, and dated the twentieth of February, 1799: "The troops of his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in contempt of the convention concluded at Rastadt, the eleventh of Frimaire, (December the first, 1797), anno. 6, have re-passed the river Inn, and have quitted the hereditary states. This movement is connected with the march of the Russians, who declare aloud, that they are coming to attack the French republic, and who are already in the dominions of the emperor.

Ever faithful to its engagements, always animated with the sincerest desire of maintaining peace, and ever disposed to attribute the same sentiments to his majesty the emperor, the French government has demanded of him a satisfactory declaration, respecting the march of the Russian troops, and the passage

which has been granted to them. The emperor, however, has remained silent. The executive directory, therefore, finds itself compelled, by the absolute necessity of self-defence, and the obligation imposed on all governments to provide for their safety, to command the French armies to take those positions which the existing circumstances require. But, at the same time, it declares, that its wish for peace is unalterable: and, the moment that his majesty the emperor shall announce, by an amicable declaration, that the Russians have evacuated his territories, and that his troops have returned to the positions regulated by the convention, at Rastadt, the French armies shall also re-enter their former limits."

This proclamation was accompanied by an address from general Jourdan, to his army, on their entrance into Germany. It was dated, February the twenty-eighth, and was conceived in the same spirit with that of the proclamation, as far as it related to political objects. It also enjoined the strictest military discipline under the severest penalties. The French ministers, in a note which they remitted at the same time to count Metternich, signified, that they were authorized to declare, that the march of the army ought not to be considered in any other light than that of a precaution necessitated by circumstances; that the desire of peace, on the part of the French government, continued to be ardent and sincere; and that the directory persisted in the intention of concluding peace, with the empire, on the supposition always, that the empire would declare itself against the march of the Russians.

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The deputation of the empire having taken the proclamation, together with the note of the French ministers, and the address to the army, into consideration, came to a determination, that all these pieces should be sent to the general diet of the empire, at Ratisbon; that it should be observed to the diet, at the same time, that the majority of the deputation was convinced, that after this note, the diet ought to be persuaded how urgent it was, that the deputation should be invested with full powers, to give an answer to the note of the French legation, of the second of January, (concerning the march of the Russians,) in order to resume the negotiations which had been so long suspended; that the present subject of deliberation should be remitted, as usual, to the commissary of his imperial majesty; that he should be requested to impart to the French ministers, the decision of the deputation, and express its ardent desire of concurring, in all possible efforts, for a speedy and lasting peace. The imperial commissary was not influenced by the same pacific dispositions. By a note, transmitted the fourth of March, he informed the deputies, that the imperial commission could not approve the *conclusion*, since, from the actual situation of affairs, their answer should have been restrained to the simple acknowledgment of their having received the French minister's note, and communicated it to the general diet; and that all farther declaration should have been suspended till the ulterior decision of the emperor and empire, agreeably to a former *conclusion* of the deputation. The views that dictated this note of the imperial ministers, could not be misunderstood. But a prelude to the renewal of war, still less equivocal, was exhibited soon thereafter, in the expulsion of Bacher and Alquier: the first, the French resident at Ratisbon; the second, the French ambassador at Munich. On the fourteenth of March, they were ordered to quit those towns within the space of twenty-four hours, and to retire within the French advanced posts. The expulsion of these ministers was not effected without opposition on the part of certain members of the diet, as well as that of the elector of Bavaria: but, as the order was accompanied by military force, Bacher and Alquier were under the necessity of obeying the requisition.

C H A P. IX.

*Attack on the French, by the King of Naples.—Secret Motives assigned for this.—Position of the Neapolitan Troops, after their Repulse from the Roman Territories.—And of the French.—The different Divisions of the French Army draw near to Naples.—Amidst general and constant Insurrections of the Natives of the Country.—Armistice proposed by the Neapolitan to the French General for an Armistice.—Rejected.—Massacres of the French.—Perilous Situation of the French Troops.—Desperate Resolution of Championet.—Unexpectedly relieved from his Embarrassment by an Offer, for the third Time, of an Armistice.—The Neapolitan Troops evacuate Capua.—Where they are succeeded by the French Garrison.—Dissatisfaction of the Directory with Championet.—The Royal Family of Naples at Palermo.—Regency appointed, at Naples, in his Absence.—Championet's Vindication of his Conduct to the Directory.—Communication between Championet and the Malcontents of Naples.—Violent Fermentation in Naples.—Contest between the Royalists and Revolutionists.—Retreat of the Viceroy.—Escape of General Mack to Championet.—Total Disorganization of the Neapolitan Army.—Assassination and Rapine.—Naples assaulted by the French Army.—Obstinately defended by the Lazzaroni.—Momentary Cessation from mutual Slaughter.—Improved by Championet.—Whose Professions of Humanity and Respect for St. Jannarius draw over the Lazzaroni to the Side of the French.—Miracles.—Advertisement, by the Archbishop, to the Citizens of Naples.—Proclamation of Championet.—Edict of the Provisionary Government of the Neapolitan Republic.—Under imposing Forms and Names in the Hands of the French General.—Contributions.—Trophies of Victory and Ambassadors sent from Naples to Paris.—The whole public and much of the private Property of Naples claimed, by the Directory, for the French Nation.—Civil Commissaries sent for the Purpose of taking Possession of this.—Ordered, by Championet, to quit Naples.—The Decree of the Directory, on the Subject of Neapolitan Property, annulled by a Counter-Decree issued by the General.—Indignation of the Directory.—A Decree for arresting Championet with other Generals, and trying them for Disobedience.—Another for bringing Persons, accused, by public Fame, of Robbery or Dilapidation, to Trial by a Court-Martial.—These Trials prevented by new Struggles and Changes at Paris.—French Invasion of the small Republic of Lucca.—Factions there.—Revolution.—And Contributions.*

**W**HILE the farce of negotiation was carried on at Rastadt, military preparations were continued on both sides of the Rhine

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [147

Rhine and in Italy. Notwithstanding the treaty of Campo Formio, the continued encroachments of French ambition provoked a war, in which it was almost certain that the house of Austria must sooner or later be involved.

The courage, with which the king of Naples, after the naval victory of Aboukir, ventured to attack the French, on the Roman territories, was considered, by many politicians, as a spur to the emperor to depart from that mysterious inaction in which he had remained, after many provocations, on the one hand, and encouragements, on the other, to rejoin his former allies in an appeal to arms. By others it has been affirmed, that the Neapolitan court, as well as that of Vienna, with military preparations and precautions mingled political negotiation. It was secretly agreed on, they said, and understood, between the prevailing party in the directory and those courts, that, after such a shew of resistance, as might prevent murmurings or worse effects, on the part of the French nation, the ecclesiastical states should be given up to the arbitrament of the court of Naples. The terms, on which this cession was to be obtained, were the same with those on which a majority of the individuals, composing the directory, offered peace to the Americans, the Portuguese, and other nations: and it was determined, according to this account of matters, by the directory, to sacrifice the small army, under Championet, to their private interests. If these reports be well-founded, the selfish views of the directory were counteracted and disappointed by the French gene-

erals, who were not admitted into the secret.

Championet, after the repulse of the Neapolitan troops, encamped at Santo Germano, the spot from whence his Sicilian majesty, but a few weeks before, had issued his proclamations of deliverance from the French yoke to the Romans. The king and general Mack, as mentioned in our last volume, had hastened back, with their defeated and diminished forces, from the Roman territories into those of Naples. The king, with part of the troops, repaired to his capital: the general, with the remainder, joined the garrison, and undertook the defence of Capua; from whence, on the thirty-first of December, 1798, he sent a letter to Championet, proposing an armistice, limited or unlimited, on account of the severity of the weather and the badness of the roads. The French general returned for answer, that, as his army had overcome the difficulties of both the way and the weather, with their usual patience, he should not halt until he had made his entry into Naples. Championet, in pursuance of his plan, moved his head-quarters from Santo Germano to Teano.

The left wing of the French army, under Duhesme, in the midst of repeated attacks, both by the Neapolitan troops and large bodies of insurgents, marching along the coast of the Adriatic, through a country intersected with rivers, proceeded towards Pescara. A mass of insurgents, to the number of six thousand, had taken possession of Teano, in the rear of the French army, and there massacred every person belonging to the French. Duhesme, still continuing his march, sent back

[L 2]

detachments



detachments to reduce the insurgents. Taking advantage of the impression that had been made on the Neapolitans, by the repeated checks given to their attacks, and particularly by a victory over them near the river Volturno, he appeared before Pescara without artillery or ammunition, and by threats of a general sack on the one hand, and promises of protection and favour on the other, induced the garrison to open the gates of that important fortress, which was the key of the Adriatic, and the possession of which was equally subservient to the progress of the left wing of the army towards Naples, as that of Gaëta, on the Mediterranean, already in the possession of the French, under general Roy, was to the advance of the right. The centre of the army, under general Lemoine, having crossed the Appenines in one of their most difficult passes, continually exposed to the massacres of the insurgent peasantry, wherever they could meet with little resistance, forced the post of Popili, where the centre of the Neapolitan army was strongly entrenched, and thereby prevented the junction of the centre of the French army with its left. While the centre division formed its communication with the right by Venafro, general Roy, leaving a garrison at Gaëta, marched on towards Capua with the remainder of his column, and took his position along the Volturno, a river falling into the gulf of Gaëta, which covered Capua, towards the sea. General Macdonald, who commanded the main body of the right wing, had fallen down from Calvi, and was marching onward, in order to reconnoitre the ground around Capua. A body of Neapo-

litans, routed in a close encounter with the French, found protection in their retreat from the artillery of that city. The French, who had pursued them to the very walls, were forced to retire with very considerable loss to Cajazzo, where Macdonald, having left a reserve at Calvi, in the Terra di Lavoro, took up his position. This position, in the face of an army yet numerous, covered by a river, protected by a strong place, masters of the left side, and all the fords of the Volturno, with the means of drawing considerable re-inforcements from the capital behind: this position of Macdonald, in such circumstances, was daring and dangerous. It was, however, the result of circumstances of which the generals in chief had not probably the command. His own plan was to have waited at Cajanello, to concentrate his armies, by the divisions of the left and centre, and not to have advanced into a country, every where in insurrection, until he had a force fitted to face the dangers to which he would be exposed. The precautions intended by Championnet were justified by the event. On his return to the head-quarters at Teano, from Venafro, whither he had gone to concert the operations of the siege of Capua with Lemoine, he found dispatches from general Roy, informing him, that a prodigious number of insurgents had assembled at Sessa, threatening to cut down the bridges at Garigliano, and even menacing the camp. Strong detachments were sent against them, in order to re-establish the communication between the left wing of the army and the centre. The insurgents not only opposed the passage of the French

troops,

troops, but beat them, after they had been reinforced, in successive engagements, and at length forced them to retreat. Other bodies of insurgents, during these conflicts with the French troops, took possession of the bridges on the Garigliano, which they cut down, seized the park of reserve belonging to the army, burnt the ammunition waggons, plundered the baggage, and made themselves masters of all the positions that had been occupied by the French. While these transactions passed in the rear of the French army, commissioners from the viceroy of Naples presented themselves at the head-quarters before general Championnet, offering to surrender the city of Capua, and to draw a military line, on which the opposite armies should wait the orders of their respective governments. Championnet, though astonished that such propositions should be made to him in the present distressed state of the French army, refused to enter into any discussion of them, on other terms, than the surrender of Naples. The same propositions were repeated the next day, and met with the same refusal. But Championnet, on returning from this conference to head-quarters, at Iano, found that the troops appointed to surround it had fallen back, and that the town was evacuated.

The insurgents, having gained the heights, were preparing for an attack. These bands were dispersed; but, on the same evening, Championnet received intelligence that the insurrection was general, that every part of the kingdom was in arms, and that the insurgents were commanded by experienced officers. Lemoine, whose head-

quarters had been attacked, had crossed the Voltorno. No farther intelligence could be obtained of the left wing under Dubesme. It was believed at the time, that he had been surrounded by insurgents.

The gathering storm of general insurrection gained on the rear of the French army more and more. The standard of revolt was raised in Santo Germano, and the whole of the adjacent country. Championnet's baggage and equipage were pillaged. One of his aids-de-camps, it has been asserted, was burnt alive. Another was taken prisoner. At Tendi and Ibi, there was an indiscriminate massacre of French, travellers, and all that were found in those places.

The French troops, thus surrounded, were left without provisions. Their number was considerably diminished; by the numerous detachments sent out against the rebels. The burning of the park of artillery and ammunition-waggons, left each soldier only a single round of cartridges. The communication with Rome was cut off. A junction with the left wing was become impossible. The Neapolitans were making dispositions for a general attack. And a landing was expected, about this time, to take place, at the mouth of the Garigliano, of troops, that had embarked at Leghorn, and which were to fall on the rear of the French, while general Mack made an attack in front. In this extremity of fortune, Championnet had called in all his posts, resolved to conquer or perish, when a trumpet presented itself, the third time, at the advanced posts of the French army, announcing the arrival of the former deputation with more ex-

tenfive powers. An armistice was immediately concluded between Championet, and, on the part of Naples, the prince of Milliano. The principal conditions of this were, the surrender of Capua, with all its stores and artillery; the possession, by the French army, of the country as far as Acerra, before Naples; Benevento, and a tract from thence to the Adriatic, to serve as a line of demarcation; the evacuation of the Neapolitan ports, by the ships of hostile powers; and the payment of ten millions of livres. This treaty was to be ratified by the respective governments of the contracting parties: and, in case of its rejection by either government, no hostilities were to take place till after three days notice.—The armistice was concluded and signed, on the twenty-first day of January, 1799. The Neapolitans evacuated Capua on the next, and proceeded to Naples. They were, on the twenty-third, succeeded by a French garrison. The rest of the French army encamped without the city. Championet, disembarrassed from a formidable opposition in front, cleared the country of insurgents in his rear.

The French directory, quickly informed, and before the arrival of any official dispatches, of the armistice between Championet, and the government of Naples, was so highly dissatisfied with it, that a letter, by their orders, and in their name, was written to Championet, in the most severe and insulting

terms.\* But when Championet had explained the reasons of his conduct, and which were altogether irrefragable, that letter was retracted.

By the time that the armistice was concluded, the king of the two Sicilies, with the royal family, had been for some days, after a tempestuous voyage, safely landed in Palermo. It was not without much reluctance that the king quitted the seat of his government. Artifices were used by the party who urged his retreat, in order to bend him to submission; such as pretended conspiracies and popular insurrections. At length, having created the prince Pignatelli viceroy, he embarked on board the British ships, commanded by lord Nelson, during the night of the first of January, with his court, accompanied by the British, Austrian, and Russian ambassadors. For the tranquillity of the city, a civic guard was formed: the officers of which were taken equally from the classes of the nobles and private citizens. Large sums of money, as well as arms, were distributed among the Lazzaroni, for the purpose of retaining and encouraging their wonted loyalty.

At Caserta, which Championet had now made his head-quarters, he received intelligence of the left wing of the army, which had been embarrassed, on all hands, by insurgents, as had been suspected, in the provinces of the Arbruzzo. Duhesme, after the reduction of Pescara, extended his line to Ortona

\* According to what has already been briefly stated, it was the wish of the ruling faction of the directory to sacrifice Championet and his army to a secret treaty with the king of Naples. On this point we have not learnt any thing that can be considered as certain. It appears, that an animosity had been conceived by the directory against Championet on other accounts than his ignorant counter-action of their secret designs, if such really existed, in favour of the courts of Vienna and Naples.

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [151]

and Lanciano, and then directed his march towards Popoli. After various dangers and escapes, he reached Sulmona and Venafro, and finally joined Championet, at his head-quarters at Caserta. Macdonald, who, from some disgust, had given up his commission, was replaced by the general Dufresne.

Championet, in a confidential note to the directory, accompanying his official letter, had stated, that a suspension of arms, with a government so perfidious, was nothing more than a stratagem of war; that such articles had been inserted in the treaty as would lead the Neapolitans to break it in various ways, and thereby furnish an ostensible ground for the recommencement of hostilities when he pleased; that, at the time in which they should receive the news of the capitulation of Capua, he should be master of Naples, having means of revolutionizing it, from his head-quarters, at Caserta, through the correspondence which he was about to open with the disaffected party, and who, as appeared by their conduct towards the viceroy, had not been strangers to this useful treaty. In pursuance of the design he had intimated to the directory, Championet found means of opening a communication with the malcontents in Naples. For that end, a committee was formed, which received, from time to time, accounts of what was passing in the city. The emissaries, sent from thence, carried back instructions to the revolutionary party, who, having come to a determination to co-operate with the French, for the destruction of the old government, and having received new assurances, which led them to rely on the fide-

lity and generosity of the French army, began to declare their intentions more openly. General Lemoine was now sent to Paris, to receive instructions from the directory, respecting the nature and form of government to be given to the Neapolitans. The crisis expected, was precipitated by the following circumstance. A French agent had been sent from the general, under a safe conduct, to Naples, to hasten the payment of the money agreed on by the treaty. He was received very cordially by the viceroy: but his visit and the object of his mission were no sooner known, than a violent fermentation was excited among the Neapolitans. The French agent was in danger of assassination; but saved by the French party. An individual of this party was killed. Some abetted the deed of the assassins, others were eager to avenge the victim.

From this moment the two parties, the royalists and revolutionists, were at open war. The Lazzaroni, who were in the royal interest, took possession of all the arms; and, forming themselves into bands, ran through the streets, invoking the names of the king, and St. Januarius. General Mack was noted as a traitor, and the remains of the army which he commanded, as jacobins, corrupted by French gold. Even the viceroy was become an object of suspicion, and, apprehensive of the danger that awaited him from both sides, prudently withdrew to his barge, which lay in the bay, and set sail for Sicily. The soldiers, terrified by the numbers and the menaces of the Lazzaroni, deserted to the French ranks, and in two days the Neapolitan army was quite disorganized and annihilated. General

neral Mack, abandoned to the capricious fury of the Lazzaroni, demanded an asylum from Championet: but his danger became so imminent, that he arrived at Caserta on the heels of the officer whom he had sent to ask for protection.

Championet received Mack with kindness, and gave him a passport and escort to accompany him to Milan. Here, however, he was arrested, by order of the directory, as a prisoner of war: an act to which Championet was not in anywise accessary, and which he reprobated with great indignation.

The Lazzaroni, exasperated at the escape of their prey, collected themselves into a body, and rushed, like madmen, on the French advanced posts, at Ponte Rotto, routed the advanced guards, and penetrated even to the line. Numbers of the ragged multitude were killed, and dispersed. The rest returned to their stations. Previously to this attack, they had made themselves masters of Castel-Nuovo, and of the fort of Camina, and had proclaimed, that they were going to exterminate the French, and their partizans, the jacobins. Under pretence of searching for those distressed persons, they had begun to break open the houses of the inhabitants, and to commit various depredations. Naples was about to be given up to every kind of horror, when the young prince of Molliterno, of a family which had considerable weight with the people, mingling with the Lazzaroni, persuaded them to choose him for their general.

The prince, in concert with the reigning authorities of the city, had begun to re-establish order, and to enter into negotiation with the French general, when the Lazza-

roni, informed of his designs, revolted against their chief, and renewed their pillage: Those whom they considered, or pretended to consider as jacobins, were the objects of their fury, as their property was of their rapacity. Among the victims of their capricious fury, was Zarlo, comptroller of finances; the duke Della Torre, with his brother, Clement Filomarino, whom they massacred and burnt: though neither of these noblemen had ever been signalized for what was called patriotism; and that the duke was distinguished only by his love of the arts, and by multiplied acts of beneficence. There was a celebrated clock and watchmaker, one Villoliani, who was much about the duke. This man, who was a great patriot, was of course obnoxious to the Lazzaroni, who, not finding him at home, went in search of him to the duke's palace. Missing their intended victim, they wreaked their fury on his patrons.

The only means that remained to Molliterno and his friends for saving the city, were, to seize on the forts, and to call the French to their assistance. They gained possession of the castle of St. Elmo; intelligence of which was the signal to Championet to commence an attack, on which he had already resolved, and in which he was justified by the rupture, on the part of the Lazzaroni, of the armistice. The division under general Dufresne, lately the right commanded by Macdonald, encamped on two lines before Averla. The vanguard was posted at Melito, and within gun-shot of Naples.

The division of Dufresne marched from Acerra, and, after dispersing an enormous mass of armed peasants,

ants, encamped on two lines to the left of Naples.

These lines were strengthened by a brigade from Benevento. This brigade was attacked by a band of five or six thousand peasants; who, unacquainted with the stratagems of war, fell into an ambuscade, near the Caudine Forks, (the spot where the Romans were made to pass under the yoke of the Samnites,) and the greater part of them destroyed. Such detachments were made from the different posts in the country around Naples, as could be spared, for a time, from the important service of quelling insurrections, and crushing bands of insurgents.

On the day following, the twenty-third of January, 1799, these two divisions, which were charged with the attack of Naples, drew nearer to the town and gained the heights. Two battalions, in order to establish a correspondence of signals with Fort St. Elmo, took possession of Capo-di-monte. The first grand division placed their centre between Capo-di-Chino, and Poggio-Reale. The ground to the left of the city was occupied by the left division, and joined to the right by a brigade under general Ruffa. The artillery, under general Eble, was so disposed as to give it the command of the city. Every thing was ready for the assault. Naples was on the point of being given up to all the horrors of a storm, and the impatient soldier waiting for the signal of attack.

Championnet still hesitated. He was anxious to prevent so great and unnecessary a waste of life, and addressed a proclamation to that effect, by the chief of a Squadron, to the magistrates of the city. But Na-

ples had now no magistrates. Such of the inhabitants as had not taken up arms, had shut themselves up in their houses, or concealed themselves from the fury of the Lazzaroni, who, to the number of sixty thousand, had sworn to defend themselves to the last. The messenger of Championnet was received by a volley of musketry. A ball broke the pommel of his saddle; and, on his attempting to make them understand the general's proposition, another volley forced him to retreat.

Championnet, imagining that the exhibition of his forces would have induced the Lazzaroni to come to some compromise, had determined to defer the attack to next day. But the Lazzaroni, during the night, made several sallies, and kept up so terrible a fire, that the general lost all hopes of gaining them by any other means than those of force. Orders were given for the two battalions on Capo-di-Monte, to march in the silence of the night, to join the patriots in St. Elmo, from whom information had just been received that they waited the signal of the French to open their fire on the city; to announce their arrival by the junction of their columns with those of the patriots: when the citadel was to open a general discharge of all its artillery; and on which, general Eble, also, was to open all his batteries. The whole army, investing the city, were to rush forward, and beat down every thing that opposed them. Columns, armed with torches, were to carry fire and desolation wherever they should be able to penetrate.

The Lazzaroni, drawn up in columns, sustained, or rather anticipated the attack with astonishing ad-

dress and courage. When repulsed, they returned again to the charge, and several times repulsed the French in their turn. At length they were forced to yield some ground, of which they disputed every foot, with part of their artillery. The French became the masters of several streets. The Lazzaroni were harassed and pressed, but not vanquished. Night overtook the combatants, but the fire was still continued. The French troops, overcome with fatigue, divided themselves into two equal portions. The one kept up the fight, whilst the other lay down to rest amidst corpses and ruins. At the dawn of the day the fury of the combatants redoubled, and final victory was yet uncertain. Championnet, in order to bring the struggle to an issue, gave orders to force the passages to Castel-Nuovo, and the forts Del Cannina, with the bayonet, and to penetrate into, and turn the quarter of the Lazzaroni. A division was ordered to march into the heart of the city, and take possession of the palace: and another to form a junction with the garrison of St. Elmo, who had already gained certain quarters of Naples.

From the exhausted state of both parties, a momentary cessation took place from mutual slaughter. In this interval, Championnet spoke to some of the inhabitants who had crept forth from their houses, and gave them assurances of protection. He professed profound respect for St. Januarius, to whom he put up fervent ejaculatory prayers for the preservation of human lives, and restoration of tranquillity to the unhappy city of Naples. The report of the general's respect for St. Januarius was carried into the ranks of

the Lazzaroni. The cry of *Vivent les Français, vive la republique*, began to be heard. A guard of honour was stationed at the church of the tutelary apostle. The consign was, *Respect for Januarius*. The general paid his homage at the shrine of the saint twice. His conversion flew throughout the city like lightning. Numbers of the Lazzaroni crowded round him as he rode on horseback through the streets or squares, and kissed his boots. The avenues, to the church of St. Januarius, were filled with Lazzaroni and other inhabitants of Naples. One of the chiefs of the Lazzaroni, placing himself at the head of the French, harangued his terrible foldiers, ordering them to cease their fire and ground their arms. He was heard respectfully and obeyed. A shout of general joy succeeded to the voice of mourning and the shrieks of despair. The war was ended, and peace restored. Thus it was the fortune of the French, in this campaign, to make allies of their enemies on the field of battle. A part of the regular troops had gone over to them with general Mack, before their entrance into Naples.

The Lazzaroni, who had hitherto been the most strenuous defenders of the royal cause, were now as loud in their vociferations for the new system, and began to evince the sincerity of their conversion, by the ardour of their zeal, by proceeding to pillage the royal palace, and the houses of those who had been attached to the court. This demonstration of true proselytism was immediately repressed by Championnet; who, having taken possession of all the forts, and encamped his army on the heights around Naples, appointed Dufresne com-  
mander

mander of the place, and ordered all the inhabitants to be disarmed; lest, among so capricious and inflammable a people, some accidental spark should set them again in combustion.

The army of Rome, on the day after the cessation of hostilities, was proclaimed the army of Naples. The general announced his order to the assembled troops, amidst the shouts of the populace and the thunder of all the artillery. On the same day there was an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which had been tranquil for five years past. This phenomenon, which had hitherto been regarded as an indication of the anger of their favourite saint, in the present temper of the Neapolitans, was constructed into a favourable omen. The blood of the saint flowing at the same time, at the earnest intercession of the cardinal, archbishop, and the other clergy, confirmed by another miracle this sudden revolution in Naples.

In consequence of these two co-incident prodigies, *Te Deum*\* was sung in the cathedral: at which solemnity the French general and his principal officers assisted. "The French," said the Neapolitans, "have come to regenerate, and to establish the prosperity and happiness of this city, under the

particular guidance and protection of divine providence. St. Januarius, our protector, has given his sanction to their proceedings. His blood began to liquify on the evening of the day on which the republican troops entered the city." On the same day, January twenty-fourth, 1799, Championet held out to the Neapolitans the objects which he chose to avow for his invasion, and the reason of the new denomination, which had been given to the French army in the following proclamation. "Neapolitans, you are at length free: your liberty is the only reward which France claims from its conquest; and the only clause of the treaty of peace, which the army of the republic has just solemnly sworn, together with yourselves, within the walls of your capital, and on the ruins of the throne of your last king.

"Woe be to him who shall refuse to sign with us this honourable compact, in which the whole of the advantage is on the side of the conquered, and which leave nothing to the conqueror but the glory of having consolidated your happiness: such an one shall be treated as a public enemy, against whom we remain in arms.

"If there be any among you who have hearts ungrateful enough to reject that liberty which we

\* The following is the advertisement published, on this occasion, by the archbishop:

"All the faithful citizens of Naples are invited to be present this day, Friday, twenty-fifth of January, at two in the afternoon, at the celebration of *Te Deum*, which the archbishop, accompanied by the chapter, the clergy, the general-in-chief, and staff of the army of Naples, will sing in the cathedral church, to thank the most high for the glorious entry of the French troops into this city; and who, protected in a peculiar manner by Providence, have regenerated this people, and are come to establish and consolidate our happiness. St. Januarius, our protector, rejoices in their arrival. His blood miraculously liquified on the very evening of the entry of the republican troops." The cardinal, and the other clergy gave out to the people, that great faith and extraordinary prayers had been necessary to induce their saint to give a sign of his will and pleasure.



Have purchased for you at the price of our blood—or any, whom insanity would lead to regret a king, who has forfeited whatever right he had to command them, by the violation of the oath which he had made to defend them; let them fly to the dishonoured standard of perjury: eternal war against them: let them be cut off!

“Republicans, the cause under which you have so generously suffered is at length decided. What the brilliant victories of the army of Italy were not able to effect—what had for so long a time retarded the political interests of all Europe—what had suspended the hopes of a general peace—what had hitherto prevented the fulfilment of the faith of treaties, and raised apprehensions of another general war—the blindness of your last king has happily accomplished.

“Let him accuse, therefore, only his own inordinate ambition, and the folly of his aggression, for the happiness of your lot, and the disgrace of his: but let him remain a just object of punishment for having attacked, contrarily to the faith of treaties, an allied nation; and for having purposed to deprive a neighbouring people of their liberty, by the loss of a throne which he dishonoured, and by the reflection of having contributed to the regaining your liberty. Let no fear poison the sentiment of a happiness so unexpected: the army which I command remains amongst you for your defence; it will lose its last soldier, and shed the last drop of its blood, before it suffers your lost tyrants to entertain even the hope of renewing the prescriptions of your families, and of opening again the

dungeons in which he had so long buried them.

“Neapolitans! if the French army assume at present the title of Army of Naples, it is only from the solemn engagement which it has taken to die for your cause, and to make no use of its arms but for your independence, and the preservation of the rights which it has obtained for you.

“Let the people feel no apprehensions for the liberty of their worship; let the citizen be no longer anxious for the security of his property. The tyrants have been strongly interested in the exertions which they have made to calumniate the loyalty of the French nation; but a very short time will suffice to undeceive such as have harboured unjust suspicions, and which have been weapons put into their hands by despotism, in order to excite them to the most deplorable excesses.

“The organization of plunder and assassination, formed by your last king, and executed by his corrupted agents, as a means of defence, has been attended with the most shocking effects, and the most fatal consequences; but, as we have removed the causes of the evil, it will be easy to stop the career, and even repair the calamities. May the republican authorities, which are about to be created, re-establish order and tranquillity on the basis of a paternal administration! may they dissipate the terrors of ignorance, and calm the fury of fanaticism with a zeal equal to that which has been employed by perfidy to alarm and irritate them! and soon will that severity of discipline, which re-establishes order with so much facility among the troops of a free people, put

put an end to such disorders as are excited by hatred, and which the right of reprisal has not been too forward to repress."

This proclamation was immediately followed by an edict, entitled "A law for the provisional government of the Neapolitan republic." The preamble to this law states, that the regeneration of a people cannot be effected under the influence of despotic power: that the formation of a free constitution for a people, whose habits and manners had received a tincture from the prevalence of such a power, was a task that required the utmost assiduity, and the most profound reflection: that the general course of government could not be suspended without the greatest danger to the public welfare, as well as to the private fortunes of individuals: that the reign of tyranny, in a country on which it had so deeply impressed, through the length of time, habits of corruption, could not be counteracted, and finally subverted, without opposition to very great interests and irritating the lowest passions; and that, of consequence, it is indispensably necessary to check the projects of malevolence, and the attempts of discontent, by a vigorous and active administration, which has for its object, to provide for the happiness of the people by the enactment of wise laws, and to defeat the designs of its enemies by constant vigilance. The general, after this brief lecture on the difficulty of political regeneration, which, as well as religious regeneration, must indeed be allowed to be no easy or pleasant matter, proceeded to ordain that the Neapolitan republic should be provisionally represented by twenty-one citizens,

whom he had chosen for that end, and whose names were mentioned. This assembly of representatives was invested with authority, legislative and executive, until a new constitutional government should be completely organized. But the decrees of this assembly were not to be valid as laws, without the sanction of the general-in-chief of the Army of Naples. The assembly was not to enter on any business without a quorum of two thirds of their number; when decrees were to be passed by a majority of suffrages.—The assembly was to be divided into six committees, to be chosen by the assembly itself; the functions and limitations of each to be determined and fixed by a particular law. It is evident that by fixing a quorum at two-thirds of the assembly, the general of the army, even without the exercise of his vote, could manage and direct the proceedings of the representatives as he should think proper. Thus, under a shew of freedom, the Neapolitans were bound hand and foot and delivered, like all the other friends and allies of the French, into the hands of a military government. Contributions were levied for the support of the administration, and the maintenance of the army. Trophies of victories were soon followed by ambassadors from Naples to Paris, to present the vows of the new republic, and to fraternize with the French government. They were received very coolly, and even with marks of contempt; which has been accounted for, as it is the nature of every theory, true or false, to draw every thing into its own vortex, by the supposed compact above-mentioned, between the directory and the king of the Sicilies; but which may, perhaps

perhaps be explained, without such a supposition, by what follows:— In the plunder of Italy, the military commanders it was suspected, had taken more than their just share. Civil commissaries were appointed by the directory to attend the army, and to control, or rather monopolize its robberies. Those civil commissaries were armed with a decree of the executive directory, claiming for the French nation almost all the public, and a great portion of private property, throughout the kingdom of Naples: the royal domains, and the feudal rights of the crown; the ecclesiastical possessions offered for sale by the ex-king; the estates belonging to orders of chivalry; public banks, mounts of piety,\* and lotteries; estates of emigrants; the fortunes of strangers, subjects of states at war with France; repertoires of works of art; and whatever could be considered as prizes of war.

The whole power of such extensive proscription and confiscation, with the collection of the sums arising from thence, was vested by the directory in their civil commissaries, of whom Fagotoult was at the head. The very discipline of the army subjected to the interference of the commissaries, and even to that of the Nascent Neapolitan republic. In a word, the directory was jealous of the power of their generals, and envious of their fortunes.

Championet did not hesitate, by a counter-decree, to set aside and annul a *placand*, as he called it, so unworthy of the French nation, so contrary to the engagements he had come under, so dangerous to the authority of the republic in an

unsettled state, and so subversive of the discipline of the army. The disposal of all national, and regulations concerning the tenure of private property, he affirmed were the exclusive province of the Neapolitan legislature. Among other strictures, on the shameful conduct of the directory, he remarked, that it would not fail of exciting a general apprehension of the cruel dilapidations in the state of Venice, and other parts of Italy. In fact, such an apprehension, in consequence of the directorial *placand*, had been already excited, as was fully evinced by the testimony of the French generals, and commanders of fortresses, as well as by members of the civil administration. A general fermentation was excited. Confidence in the solemn promises of the French was shaken, and the raising of a contribution for the army, that had been without any pay for five months, was retarded. In consideration of all these circumstances, which proved how absurd the directory's decree was in principle, indecent in form, injurious and insolent in expression, and dangerous in its tendency. The general gave orders, that the individuals composing the civil commission, namely, the commissary, the comptroller, and the cashier, should quit Naples within twenty-four hours, and the territories of the Roman and Neapolitan republics in ten days. All agents, charged by the commissioners with the execution of any orders, were instantly to stop their proceedings. They were allowed five days for removing the seals they had affixed to any property committed to their charge,

\* Depositories on a great, liberal, and merciful plan, of the nature of pawn-broking. for

for drawing up inventories of such property, and consigning it into the hands of commissaries of war, or such other commissaries as the commander-in-chief might appoint. The five days being expired, they were to quit the Neapolitan and Roman territories within the time allowed for their departure and journey, to their principals. All the functions vested in the civil commission were provisionally confided to the commissary-general, the controller of expenses, and the paymaster of the army, until farther orders should be received from the executive directory. Confiscations of the property of strangers were not to be valid without the confirmation of the commander-in-chief. All Sicilian property.—This counter-decree of Championet's was sent by a courier extraordinary to the executive directory, to the French ministers of war and finance, and to the governments of the Roman and Neapolitan republics. The directory having received the decree of their general, on the twenty-fifth of February, found that he had been guilty of disobedience to certain laws, which they quoted, and that he was in a state of open revolt against the government.

Championet was employed in quelling insurrections in the provinces, in making new perforations into the ruins of Pompeia and Herculaneum, when he received a mandate from the directory, ordering him, together with generals Roy, Dubesme, Dufresne, Bonami, and Brouffier, to surrender themselves prisoners of state, and undergo a trial for disobedience. These generals, in obedience to the mandate, returned to France. But their trial was prevented, by the struggle which

soon after took place at Paris, and which terminated in the overthrow of the directory; with whose tottering state, Championet had probably been well enough acquainted. The directory, indignant at rapine committed without their authority, direction, or participation, at the same time that they issued a decree for the arrestations of the generals, issued another for bringing to trial, by a council of war, all those persons whatever their rank now, or who had been in the armies of Italy and Naples, whom public fame had accused of any species of robbery or dilapidation. It was necessary, they stated, by a striking example, to prevent the return of excesses so reprehensible and disgraceful, and injurious to the French republic. One Bassal, who, it seems, was a noted offender, was particularly pointed out as a flagrant object of inquiry. This decree was ordered to be printed in French and Italian, and to be put up in all proper places throughout the Roman and Neapolitan territories.

While Championet was employed in the conquest of Naples, general Serrurier invaded the little republic of Lucca, and immediately imposed on it a contribution of two millions of livres. The principles of republicanism having made their way into Lucca, as well as other Italian states, it was divided into two factions; denominated the patriotic and the oligarchical. The patriots embraced the present opportunity to demand a new constitution of government. But the government wisely determined to moderate, at least, the evils of innovation, by taking the lead in the revolution. In compliance with the requisitions of the people, they decreed

creed the abolition of all privileges and titles, the sovereignty of the people, the integrity and independence of the republic, the return as much as possible to the constitution as it stood before the usurpation of 1556, and the bestowing places of power and trust on those who could and would administer them cheapest. But while they readily, and with a good grace, made these important cessions to the popular party, they thought it prudent to retain the provisional authority. The patriots, through the organ of their deputies, represented to the senate and the legislative commission, that the wish of the people was, to have a constitution founded on a more perfect equality of right and division of power. The senate resisted those reclamations, and were supported by the French agents, who treated the patriots as anarchists, and disturbers of the public peace. Six other members were added to the legislative commission: but this measure did not occasion any alteration. Agreeably to a notification from the French general, a hundred deputies, chosen by the city and territory of Lucca, were about to open their sittings, when a constitution ready made, and formed as nearly as circumstances would admit, on the plan of the Ligurian republic. The general, having dissolved the

senate, appointed the members of a directory, and of two councils, and remitted to them the form of government, which they were to put in execution.

The directory was to consist of five persons; and to nominate five ministers: one for foreign affairs; one for domestic; one for justice; and one for war and the marine. The directory was also to choose a national treasurer. Fourteen commissaries were also to be appointed by the directory for the administration of the departments, and to reside in the country. All the acts of the former government were to remain in force. And those who were to have either civil or military employments were, as far as possible, to be continued in their places, or to receive indemnities. The contribution of two millions of livres was raised, only, on the ex-nobles. This was a kind of counterbalance to the complaisance that had been shewn in continuing the provisional authority in the hands of the senate. The salaries of the public functionaries were judiciously proportioned to the smallness of the state. The directors were to receive fifty crowns a month, the ministers twenty-five, the members of the legislature twelve, and the other agents of government in proportion.

## C H A P. X.

*Meeting of the British Parliament.—Speech from the Throne.—Debates thereon in both Houses.—Army, Navy, and other Estimates.—Supplies.—Ways and Means.—Taxes.—New Measure of Finance.—Russian Subsidy.—Debates.—Eulogy on the Russian Emperor.—India Budget.—Amended Bills for the Redemption of the Land-Tax.—Motion by Mr. Tierney, for the Prevention of any Negotiation that might prevent a Peace.—Suspension of the Habeas-Corpus-Act.—Conversation relating to the Treatment of Persons confined in the New State Prison.*

WE come now to give some account of the effects produced by the great events, above related, on the councils and conduct of Great Britain: the great antagonist, around whom all the powers were naturally arranged, that were yet unwilling to bend the knee, and able, with her aid, to make a stand against the spreading tyranny of France.

On Tuesday, the twentieth of November, 1798, the king, in a speech, from the throne, to both houses of parliament, stated "the signal success, which, by the blessing of Providence, had attended his arms, been productive of the happiest consequences, and essentially promoted the glory and happiness of the country. The unexampled series of our naval triumphs had received fresh splendour from the memorable and decisive action, in which a detachment of his fleet, under the command of rear-admiral Nelson, had attacked and almost totally destroyed a superior force of the enemy, strengthened by every advantage of situation. By this

Vol. XLI.

great and brilliant victory, an enterprize of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance, had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed against some of the most vulnerable interests of the British empire, had, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors; and the blows, thus given to the power and influence of France, had afforded an opening, which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other powers, might lead to the general deliverance of Europe.

"The wisdom and magnanimity so eminently displayed, at the present juncture, by the emperor of Russia, and the decision and vigour of the Ottoman Porte, had shewn that those powers were impressed with a just sense of the present crisis: and their example, joined to the disposition manifested almost universally in the different countries struggling under the yoke of France, must be a powerful encouragement to other states to adopt that vigorous line of conduct, which ex-

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perience

perience had proved to be alone consistent with security and honour.

"The extent of our preparations at home, and the demonstration of zeal and spirit among all ranks of his subjects, had deterred the enemy from attempting to execute their vain threat of invading the coasts of this kingdom.

"In Ireland, the rebellion, which they had instigated, had been curbed and repressed; the troops which they had landed for its support had been compelled to surrender; and the armaments, since destined for the same purpose, had, by the vigilance and activity of his squadrons, been captured or dispersed. The views and principles of those who, in concert with our inveterate enemy, had long planned the subversion of our constitution, had been fully detected and exposed, and their treasons made manifest to the world. Those whom they had misled or seduced must now be awakened to their duty; and a just sense of the miseries and horrors which those traitorous designs had produced, must impress on the minds of all his faithful subjects, the necessity of continuing to repel, with firmness, every attack on the laws and established government of their country." His majesty proceeded, as usual in times of war, to express his confidence, that the public resources and spirit would enable the house of commons to provide the necessary supplies without essential inconvenience to his people, and with as little addition as possible to the permanent burthens of his people.

His majesty and the house of commons having retired, the earl of Darnley went over all the topics touched on in his majesty's speech.

He celebrated with equal warmth, eloquence, and justice, the pre-eminently glorious victory of the Nile; the spirit and union of the Russians and Ottomans, roused and animated by that victory; the courage of the king of Naples inflamed by the same cause, and the rising hopes, and spirits of the interior Italian states. His lordship concluded by moving an address, echoing, as usual, the speech from the throne, and assuring his majesty of the loyalty and zeal of his parliament, and the cheerfulness with which that house would support the crown and constitution. The motion for the address was seconded by

Lord Craven, who said that, by our single exertions, the navy of the French republic was annihilated. Her boasted army of England had lost even its title, and every enterprise she had undertaken against us was wholly defeated. Not only our coasts at home, but our most valuable possessions abroad, were secured. There was but one branch of commerce which this country did not almost exclusively possess; namely, that of the Levant. Of that trade France would now be totally deprived: and this country would reap all the advantages which had before belonged to our enemy, in that quarter, which alone contributed to the support of her navy. Buonaparte was cut off from all means of retreat, and on every side beset with obstacles. These successes had already given spirit and alacrity to several of the foreign powers, who had unequivocally declared their determination to join against the common enemy. Russia and the Ottoman Porte had already declared themselves, and he had no doubt but Austria, though unwilling,

unwilling, would find it her interest to join in the great united exertion, which the example of our government had recommended to all Europe, and without which it would be vain to look for either security or peace.

The marquis of Lansdown joined most heartily in the praises justly bestowed on our navy. It became all that house to join in merited thanks, but after that duty was performed, there would remain another duty to be performed by the king's ministers and by their lordships: the duty of drawing from our naval victories the advantages they were calculated to secure. He was satisfied that it was of consequence, not only to the repose and security of Great Britain, but of the world in general, to check the progress of the French revolution. It was neither necessary nor consistent with sound policy to load with approbrium even the enemy: but it was impossible, he said, to speak of the conduct of the French without using the language of the utmost reprobation. Their course of havoc and devastation, their unprincipled and detestable tyranny, corruption, and baseness, must excite in every bosom that cherishes the principles of liberty as the supreme good, and the happiness of human kind, as the end of every rational government, a steady resolution to check their career, and to save the world from the horrible calamity to which they doom it. But how was the progress of their atrocity to be checked? Had we not the experience of five years to prove to us that we had undertaken the task in a way not calculated to obtain the end? It was never denied that, at length, a sense of general

danger should bring the powers of Europe to a league, upon honest principles, they must prevail over the revolutionary system; and it was his hope, that his majesty's ministers had improved the late victory of the Nile to that great purpose; that they had displayed to the powers the advantages of magnanimity, and before they came to parliament to announce the continuance of war, had incorporated those powers in a great and disinterested league, in which, instead of disgracing themselves, by looking to this country for subsidies, they had resumed the dignity which became them, and at length resolved on proceeding directly to the object of restoring security to Europe, without seeking, in its disorders, their own temporary profit. My lords, said the marquis, I am disappointed to find none of this in the speech from the throne; I see nothing held out to me on which I can repose; I hear no account of returning magnanimity, and wisdom. His lordship proceeded to describe the mutual jealousies that subsisted among the great powers of Europe, and consequently that, while these lasted, no system of co-operation against France can be successful. As to the boasted vigour, manifested by Russia and the Porte, it was impossible to speak of so monstrous an idea as a conjunction between the Russians and the Turks without ridicule. Their mutual distrust and jealousy exceeded that of other nations. And what, he asked, was the Ottoman Porte? Did we not know that the most helpless of all the countries on earth was Turkey? It was not only merely incapable of external operations, but even of domestic defence. The grand seignior



nior had been defeated in more than thirty attacks on one rebellious bashaw. Experience ought to impress on our minds a conviction of the hollow principles on which political combinations are formed. We had assisted the great powers of the continent: one of these had contracted large engagements with us, and been enabled, through our means, to make valuable acquisitions. "I do not, from his majesty's speech, understand that that power has come forward to discharge its obligations; or to give any assurance that he will repay the loan, which he raised under the guarantee of the British government, and therefore, I say again, my lords, that even if a new combination should be made, of those powers that have hitherto only looked to their own distinct and individual objects, and who have deserted the common cause, the instant that they had obtained some miserable acquisition to themselves, we can have no prospect of advantage from such a league. Nay, my lords, if the jealousies of these great powers should again be stifled for the moment, I should not think this all that was necessary to the combined movement of Europe against France. I should demand the concurrence and exertion of the northern powers also. It is material that the powers of the Baltic should join in the confederacy; but I see nothing of all this, and yet we are to continue the war upon the ground of hollow and disjointed combination, and that combination neither general nor disinterested. Are other powers less sensible of their danger than we are? Are they less liable to feel the atrocity of the French system? The security we derive

from our marine, from our insular situation, and from public opinion, makes us certainly more secure than any kingdom on the continent: and when we see that the powers on the continent make use of us only for their own ends, can we again entangle ourselves with such confederates? I anticipate the reply to all this." "How can we make peace? By repeated trials it has been shewn, that it is impossible to negotiate to any purpose with the French directory." Ministers know best whether they ought to have failed. I do not wish to exasperate. If they were sincere, I only lament that they did not take the most dignified course, nor the most likely to obtain the end. I would have your lordships to shew, by your conduct, that you seek for no other object than security and peace; that you will support the government who shall act upon this single principle. And let it be made manifest to all the world, that England looks to nothing else. It is particularly dignified to make this declaration in the moment of conquest. Political situations are always, and at the present period, rapidly changing. The French of this day, are not the French of last year. And therefore, however indisposed they were on the last experiment, it is now worth the trial. I do not mean that you should send to offer it, but choose the moment of victory to make it manifest, that this is the only end you have in view; and that you are constantly ready and prepared to make it. After such declaration, our course is clear and safe. Let us lay aside all idle plans of conquest and acquisition, which we cannot maintain, witness

Cortica

Corsica and St. Domingo, and let us only think of cheap and economical defence. Let us refuse our assent to all continental intrigues, in which it is likely that the French will out-manceuvre us: for it is clear, that in all the progress of their system, they have gained full as much by intrigue as they have by arms.

Lord Romney perfectly coincided in opinion with the noble lords who moved and seconded the address. The negotiation, he thought had been well conducted, and produced the happy effect of convincing the people of England that his majesty's ministers were sincere.—There were some who constantly called the present “an unfortunate war.” It was unfortunate indeed, he said, on account of the expense with which it was attended; but, in all other respects, this country had never carried on any war that had been more successful than the present. He augured better than the noble marquis from our alliance with the Turks, on whom he bestowed not a little praise, for opening their eyes to the errors of their conduct towards France, and determining to oppose the French with the utmost vigour. As to the emperor Paul, taken notice of in the speech from the throne, his character, he believed, deserved praise. The system of his internal policy was moderation. He had no doubt but a prince, so remarkable for virtue, would be faithful to his engagements. He had heard a rumour that Denmark and Sweden were arming, and that the other powers were making great preparations. —He hoped the rumour was true. If Europe had made a common cause against the French, they

would have long ago been successful, and the great nation must have given way to them. With regard to conquests, St. Domingo and Corsica were not only acquisitions we had made: witness St. Lucia, Martinico, and the Cape of Good Hope.

Lord Holland confessed, that, with all the advantages we had gained, it appeared to him, that the noble lords, who had moved and seconded the address, failed to prove that which it was their great object to establish, namely, that the next combination of the powers of Europe, would procure for this country an advantageous peace. We had heard indeed of the powerful effects of a new confederacy. It was held out in the speech from the throne. But this was not the first time they had heard from the throne of the probable effect of a powerful confederacy against France. And he wished to know what there was new in their situation, that should induce them to think that the confederacy, now about to be formed, would be of a firmer texture, and more durable and efficacious than those that had been tried already. Compare, said his lordship, the situation of this country, at this moment, with its condition at the commencement of hostilities, and then ask yourselves, my lords, what is likely to be the result of your proceeding? If so many victories cannot gain you peace, what is a new confederacy to produce? His lordship proceeded to shew, that to manifest a disposition to peace was not a humiliation, but equal magnanimity and wisdom.

Lord Mulgrave, having warmly joined in the general expressions of

joy and congratulation on the glorious achievements of Lord Nelson, asked whether the present moment was a time for a display of unmerited and injudicious moderation? Was it a time to crouch to the intemperate views of inordinate ambition, and to seek for precarious security? No! It was on the contrary, a time for inspiring unanimity and vigour, for infusing constancy and courage into the powers which were threatened with dissolution, and for rescuing from oppression and every species of misery, the countries which had unfortunately fallen victims to the arbitrary measures, and boundless tyranny of the French republic. However he might lament the private distresses of many, and that the tears of individuals were shed on various occasions, the general exultation was complete and satisfactory, for it was founded on the general good, the preservation, the happiness, and the glory of the country. The noble marquis had asserted that no concert, no systematic plan of co-operation could exist between nations jealous of one another. That Austria and Prussia were jealous of one another when they entered into the war, and became parties in the coalition, he was ready to admit.—But was not the situation of these powers most materially altered since that period? Had they seen no example of ruin, produced by improvidently and rashly indulging in sentiments of jealousy? He would undertake to say, that, under the salutary impression of their past expense, he should have more just confidence in any alliance that should be formed between them now, than in that of the most amicable nations in any former war. As

to the unexpected co-operation between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, what could have induced the grand seignior, with all the prejudices with which he was supposed to be tainted against his new ally, to suffer the Russian fleet to pass the Dardanelles, but the dreadful example of the desolations and horrors held out to him by the ambition and rapacity of the French in Europe? The very idea of entering into any negotiation at present with such a government as that of France, and consequently of checking the reviving spirit of Europe, would, in his mind, not only militate against the true and substantial interests of this country, but afford an unquestionable proof of pusillanimity and meanness.

Lord Grenville put the question; what had threatened the subversion of civilized society, and the overthrow of the system of Europe, but paltry and shameful disunion? but those misling, selfish politics, which had to night been applauded, and through which France had for years been strengthened, by the resources of plunder, till at last the misery of republican dominion had driven those countries to that resistance which they were afraid to exert, when their strength and their means were entire. "It is with pride and satisfaction I acknowledge," said his lordship, "that I have never submitted to you the necessity of different policy. I have valued too much the testimony of my own conscience, the feelings of national honour, the dictates of public duty, and, perhaps, those frail memorials which may remain of me, should men take the trouble to inquire how William lord Grenville thought and acted in this great crisis,

crisis, even to advise any other than a vigorous manly line of conduct, or to recommend any resource but our own constancy and perseverance.—It has ever been the opinion, which I have entertained and avowed, that if France remained mistress of the continent, we could have no safety. Disunion, mean and shifting policy, have occasioned all the calamities under which a considerable part of Europe now groans. Now, however, there is something more than mere symptoms of the return of other sentiments, and the prevalence of other views. This then is not the moment for England to shew that she is guided only by little selfish politics. Instead of resigning Europe to its fate, and abandoning the victims of French domination to their misery, it ought to be the business of England to animate their efforts, and contribute to their deliverance. It is rather the duty of the ministers of this country, supported by king and parliament, to say that we are ready to take them under our shield, which is raised for their defence and security; that we are willing to aid them by our counsels, to support them with our resources, to conciliate differences, to allay jealousies, and unite their efforts.—What is the situation of those powers which yet stand in a trembling, degraded, precarious existence, purchased by dishonour?—Look at those who have followed that course in which it has been recommended to us to seek our safety. What impartial man will deny that the comparison justifies an honest pride, that the survey approves the system on which his majesty's ministers have acted?—We have endeavoured, in a mo-

ment of difficulty and danger, to maintain the honour and independence of our country, and to support the liberties of Europe, and the proud superiority which we now enjoy, through the national constancy, energy, and virtue.”

The marquis of Lansdown observed, that in what he had said to night, he had abstained from agitating any topics that did not seem to be immediately connected with the discussion before the house.—Since, however, the noble lord who had just sat down, had brought forward old questions, he would frankly own that, in his opinion, opportunities for concluding a safe and honourable peace had been lost, and that, for the omission, ministers were severely responsible. When the noble lord talked so exultingly of the schemes entertained for new coalitions, and told us that we were to take the lead in Europe, he thought it a foolish idle plan, which could terminate in nothing but confusion and disaster. He begged their lordships to read the collections, of the correspondence of our statesmen since the revolution, and they would find how much our wisest politicians disapproved of continental connections, the system of subsidies. In his own time he recollected to have heard lord Grenville's father search the English language for epithets, by which to express his disapprobation of such views and politics.—The duke of Marlborough, who possessed conciliatory talents in as eminent a degree as any man ever did, said, with that grace which was so peculiar to him, that it was some merit to have made eight nations act as one man. But, great as the duke

of Marlborough's talents were, he would venture to say, that were he alive now, it would be above his talents to form such a confederacy, or to make four nations act as one man: as little would the noble lord find it easy to make even four nations act with concert and effect. Now that experiments were to be made, at the expence of so many millions, and of so many thousand lives, he would say to the noble lord, you tried one experiment and failed, and we do not choose that you should try it over again. The noble lord has been deceived once, and I am afraid he will be deceived a second time. "If, said the marquis, I have any credit with the country, I stake it upon this sentiment. For several years I opposed the former attempt to take the lead in continental coalitions, and I now oppose the attempt to renew them."

The question being put, the address was carried *nemine contradicente*.—On the same day, his majesty's speech having been read in the house of commons,

Lord Grenville Levison Gower, rose to move an address in reply. The house, he said, would recollect, that his majesty had been induced to make two attempts to negotiate with France. It was conceived that a dawn of reason had at last broke forth in France, and it was hoped that the directory would see that it was their interest to make such a peace as this country could with honour agree to.—The event, however, had shewn how vain were all these expectations. It was possible, indeed, for a country to be so much embarrassed, as to render it prudent in them to make peace almost on any terms.

Great difficulties we had certainly experienced: but we had happily surmounted them. The national credit, which at one time was greatly distressed, and on the fall of which the enemy had placed their expectations, was confirmed. The spirit of the country was roused, and its ardour seemed to have increased in proportion to the difficulties it had to combat. The British people proceeded in willing concert with the government. In addition to the burthens upon them, they had come forward with voluntary aids to an amount which exceeded the most sanguine expectations; and, from a people unaccustomed to arms, they had suddenly become a nation of soldiers. The French government were intimidated; and all their mighty preparations, for the invasion of this country, terminated in mere gasconade. The few troops, whom the French government had, by a favourable chance, succeeded in throwing on the Irish shore, were soon compelled to surrender to his majesty's forces. This fortunate event was succeeded by the defeat of the Brest fleet. The Dutch ships, which had the same destination, were also intercepted; and, in short, every armament they had ventured to sea was either captured or dispersed. From these instances of British valour and discipline, his lordship turned to the glorious first of August: that splendid achievement, which, in its brilliancy and utility, was unequalled in the annals of this or any other nation. That expedition, which had been planned against our East India possessions, had been rendered incapable of hurting them. It was cut off from all communication with France,

France, and must be left to its own means, as they were at present, for no reinforcement could be sent from Egypt. Not only had the destruction of the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir given spirit and energy to the Turkish government, but it had inspired all Europe with hope and joy. When the news of that great event reached Rastadt, the deputies of the empire for the first time ventured to resist the ambitious projects of the French plenipotentiaries. It had also encouraged the king of Naples to oppose the common enemy, and it was to be hoped that the time was not far distant when he would be capable of crushing the infant republics, which had been erected in his neighbourhood. It was from the conduct of the French to other powers that we ought to estimate the practicability of negotiating in safety with France. Witness Switzerland, Spain, Austria, and Italy. When Russia and the Ottoman Porte had to magnanimously stepped forward in the cause of virtue and social order, when those powers that had, by force or fraud, been subjected to French domination, manifested a returning sense of indignant pride, and a determination to throw off the galling yoke of republican tyranny, ought that house, by talking of an unattainable peace, to chill the ardour and paralyze the efforts of the people of England in the common cause, and at the same time to blast the hopes of every civilized state of Europe, whose sole prospect of relief centered on this country? Lord Levison did not forget in this animating retrospect to advert to the increase of our commerce and the flourishing state of our finances.

Sir H. P. St. John Mjldmay,

who seconded the motion for the address, went over the same ground, with equal eloquence.—Offers of pacification rejected by the enemy; the necessity we were under of pursuing to a conclusion the advantages we had gained, not only for the sake of our own country alone, but that of all civilized society; a progressive and uninterrupted chain of splendid success; Ireland saved; public credit not subverted, but propped and strengthened. From the mutilated and almost annihilated state of the French marine, many years must elope before the enemy could again become formidable to this country; by vigour, and perseverance, therefore, at the present moment, we were not only preparing a permanent and substantial treaty for ourselves, but laying the foundations of peace, prosperity, and happiness, to a generation yet to come.

Sir John Sinclair, who had minutely examined the particulars of the various brilliant actions which decorated the maritime history of this country, declared, that, amongst them all, he did not find one that could stand a comparison with lord Nelson's victory: which placed the hero, under whose banners it was achieved, and the fleet that had the honour of serving under him, at the summit of naval glory. But, by the misconduct of ministers their laurels had been well nigh blasted. The orders for the sailing of the fleet had been shamefully delayed, in consequence of which lord Nelson had not been able to attack the French armament at Malta: in which case, both the fleet and army of Buonaparte must have surrendered. The British fleet was unaccompanied with frigates, which had rendered it necessary for

for lord Nelson to send home a fifty gun ship with an account of the engagement, by which we lost the *Leander*. And, no bomb-vessels having accompanied the fleet, the transports in the harbour of Alexandria had hitherto escaped destruction. The next instance noticed by sir John, on the misconduct of ministers, with regard to lord Nelson's fleet, is very important indeed, and shews to how many accidental circumstances a hero may owe his fame; and a hero too his disgrace. Had it not been for the accidental circumstance, sir John observed, that the *l'Orient* drew too much water to enter that harbour, the whole French fleet might have been moored there in safety, and might have defied all our efforts. It was not sufficient that we had gained a splendid victory, by the skill and gallantry of our seamen, in spite of ministerial misconduct. We ought to know why the expedition of Buonaparte was not totally destroyed? Sir John proceeded to make various remarks on all the other points touched on in the speech from the throne, and also on several other points of which he had expected or wished that some notice had been taken. To detail those remarks, or even all the topics to which they refer, would exceed the plan of this concise abridgement of proceedings in parliament. But there is one of these that may be mentioned, both on account of its own importance, and the singularity of the observation with which sir John introduced it. The subject was the evacuation of St. Domingo. It was well known that sir John S. observed, that, if, at the beginning of the war, we had bent all our exertions against the French West India islands, instead of Flanders,

where we had wasted our strength so fruitlessly, we might have secured the possession of those islands, and prevented all those scenes of desolation, massacre, and plunder, which had taken place in that unfortunate quarter of the globe. At last, we did send some troops there, and succeeded in capturing some of the French possessions, but were not sufficiently strong either to take the whole of St. Domingo, to retain possession of Guadaloupe, or to prevent some of our own islands from being desolated. Amidst all these unfortunate circumstances it was some consolation to us that we could retain possession of a part of St. Domingo, by which, we were told, Jamaica was protected from invasion. That source of consolation however was now over, as St. Domingo was completely evacuated. This was a subject which would demand a very serious inquiry. That house, and the nation, ought to know the number of British subjects that had perished in that ill-judged, or ill-conducted enterprise; the amount of the sums of money laid out in attempting to make the acquisition; whether they had been properly expended and regularly accounted for; with other particulars. This subject, of so much public importance, said sir John, "to his utter astonishment, had been totally overlooked in the speech from the throne." We suppose that it would have been matter of great astonishment to most of our readers if the minister, on such an occasion, had poured forth confessions and lamentations on so melancholy and mortifying a subject—on all the points in the speech from the throne; observations were also made by sir Francis Burdett.

The

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [171

The country he admitted stood on higher ground than it did a short time back; and if advantage were taken of this favourable situation, in conjunction with the rest of Europe, to procure a safe and honourable peace; then indeed he should hail our recent successes as the omens of future happiness. But if, as the whole tenor of the speech from the throne this day gave too much reason to fear, our recent successes were to be made use of, only as an instrument to instigate the country to a prosecution of the war, without a declaration of any distinct and definite object, he could then regard our naval victories only as the probable forerunners of future misfortunes. The history of all coalitions, formed of great and discordant interests, was the same. If they were not successful in their first efforts, they rarely, if ever, succeeded at all. Did any man think that successful war would be carried on against France, by a coalition of the present mutilated powers of Europe, when she had already baffled the most powerful league that was ever formed against any country? And though internal dissensions should arise in France, we knew, by experience, how little influence internal disturbances had upon her armies and her external policies. Sir Francis, having come to the concluding part of his majesty's speech, said, that in the last sentence, and in that alone, he did not completely agree, that we should all be firmly determined to meet any attack on our laws and constitution. Had we firmly repelled the many attacks made on them by our present ministers, he should not now have to complain of many and weighty grievances

on the part of the people of England: innovations in the jurisprudence of the country; the interference of the executive power with the management and treatment of prisoners; bastilles, called houses of correction, where severities were exercised upon men, not even charged with any crime, such as the humane old law of the land does not allow to be inflicted, even upon the greatest criminals; men thrown into prison on mere suspicion of crimes, and, after months of solitary confinement, turned naked into the world, their fortunes ruined, their health destroyed, their wives and families starving, or depending for a precarious subsistence on charity: and this was the conduct of a government which we were called on, not barely to submit to, but zealously and affectionately to support. If his majesty, said sir Francis, was sincere in wishing to promote that unanimity amongst all ranks of his people, so desirable at all times, so peculiarly necessary at the present time, let the people be restored to their rights and liberties; let the old law of the land be again made the rule of action; let these new prisons, these receptacles of misery, and instruments of tyranny, be destroyed; let a wise system of economy succeed to the present profligate waste, of corrupt expenditure; and let these blessings of liberty be secured by a full, free, and fair representation of the people in parliament. The question for the address being put, was carried with only one dissentient voice.

Next day, November twenty-first, 1798, the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted, unanimously, to lord Nelson and his



his fleet, and also to sir J. B. Warren and his fleet. On lord Nelson, and his two next successors, being heirs male, a net annuity was settled of 2000*l.* *per annum*, for their natural lives. To the memory of captain George Westcott, who fell in the naval engagement on the first of August, as noticed in our last volume, a monument was ordered to be erected, at the public expense, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, London.

On the same day, the minister entered on the great and urgent business of finance, the grand spring of all other business, external and internal. The house of commons having resolved itself into a committee, a resolution, moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, for granting a supply to his majesty was agreed to.

On the twenty-sixth of November, lord Arden moved that it was the opinion of the committee, that one hundred and twenty thousand seamen should be employed for the sea-service of 1799, including twenty thousand marines: which after some opposition from sir John Sinclair were voted. The following sums were also voted, for their maintenance:

For the payment of the seamen, at the vote of 1*l.* 17*s.* *per man*, *per month*, for thirteen months, 2,886,000*l.*

For victualling the same for thirteen months, 2,964,000*l.*

For the wear and tear of ships, 4,659,000*l.*

For naval ordnance, 390,000*l.*

On the report of the resolution for 120,000 seamen, the twenty-seventh of November,

Sir John Sinclair, hesitated not to declare his full conviction, that

110,000 was the utmost extent to which we could possibly go with any attention to propriety. The principal grounds on which he rested his opinion, were, the ruined state of the French navy; the skill and spirit uniformly displayed by our own; the assistance we were likely to receive from Russian, Turkish, Portuguese, and Neapolitan auxiliaries, not forgetting the new maritime power that was rising in America, and the aid which, according to report, we were to receive from Sweden and Denmark; the inoccupation of a vast number of our ships, undergoing repairs or rotting in harbours; the necessity of public economy; and the prudence of a gradual disbandment of our soldiers and sailors, and leaving hands sufficient for the purposes of agriculture and commerce.

General Tarleton wished the house not to mistake what were the sentiments of gentlemen on his side of the house, respecting the importance of the navy to the country. He could assure them that not one of his honourable friends, entertained the same sentiments on that subject, as the honourable baronet. The resolution was then put; and, with the exception of sir John Sinclair's single vote, unanimously agreed to.

On the twenty-eighth of November the following resolutions were moved and agreed to:

That it is the opinion of this committee, of the house of commons, that, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the several duties imposed upon sugar, by the 27th, 34th, and 37th, of his present majesty, and also the duties of excise on tobacco and snuff, directed in the last session of parliament,

parliament, to be continued until the fifth of March, 1799, should be farther continued until the fifth of March, 1800.

"That four shillings in the pound and no more, be imposed on all pensions, offices, &c. and continued:

"That the duty on malt &c. be continued from the twenty-third of June, 1799, to the fourth of June, 1800. On the twenty-ninth, the house being in a committee of supply, the secretary-at-war, Mr. Windham, proceeded to lay before the commons, the army-estimates. The difference between the estimate of this, and that of 1797, he said, would be something more than one million. The objects, which had created this difference, were the supplementary militia, the provisional cavalry, the volunteer corps, and barracks. The charges attendant on those new arrangements, added to those already estimated for 1798, amounted in the whole, to the sum of 3,305,925*l*. Besides these increased establishments, which were to be kept up for the ensuing year, there were some volunteer corps that had not been called out till the present time, and others that had considerably increased since the last estimate: on which account, the estimate for the ensuing year would amount to somewhat more than the sum of nine millions. The heads of the cause of increase, in the present year, were, an augmentation of dragoons, which amounted to 65,000*l*.; an increase of the companies of foot-guards from one hundred to one hundred and twenty men, which caused an increased expense of 120,000*l*.; for the establishment of regimental pay-masters, 27,000*l*.

The great head of excess in this year's account arose from the embodying of the supplementary militia. It came in but partially last year, (1798) but now it was to be provided for the whole of the year. The Scotch militia was another head quite new. Another head of charge was, an increase of sensible cavalry: to which must be added, an increase of the staff at home. A small additional arose from the increased allowances to inn-keepers: The charge of volunteer corps, although not entirely a new head, was yet, in the estimates before the house, considerably extended. The next additional charge, which occurred, was that of barracks, on account of the increase of troops, during the last year, for the purpose of repelling any attack which might be made against us. Another article, which it would be necessary for him to notice, was one, which would meet with the approbation of every gentleman: a small increase of the pension to officers widows. His private opinion was, that it was now much too small, and when it was considered to what a deplorable reverse of fortune those persons must be reduced, before they received that reward, he was convinced that the small additional sum could not be considered as improperly bestowed. The whole account under this head did not exceed 12,000*l*.

But these articles of excess were reduced by other articles of saving. We had formerly to provide for foreign corps: an expense which had now ceased. The reduction of provisional cavalry was another head of saving. To this was to be added an additional sum from the island of Jamaica, and a farther allowance from

from Ireland, in consequence of the troops sent from this to the assistance of that country. Scotch roads and bridges were an article in former estimates, but now they were totally omitted, being provided for in another manner. There now occurred another article to which he wished to say a few words. In the present estimate, the expense of the war establishment is included. He much questioned whether the new regulation of paying fixed salaries from fees would in the event prove any saving to the country.— He very much doubted whether the regular and usual fees would pay the permanent establishment of the office. He had now stated all that occurred to him to be necessary.— After some observations by Mr. Tierney on the necessity of economy, and on expenses rising instead of being diminished, in the midst of victories and triumphs, the several resolutions on the army-estimates, as laid down by the secretary-at-war, were moved and agreed to.

On the third of December, the chancellor of the exchequer made a statement of the whole of the supplies necessary for the service of 1799, and of the ways and means by which he proposed to raise them. The sum total of the supplies required, was 29,272,000*l*. The ways and means for which there were the usual resources, in the duties substituted in lieu of the land-tax now made perpetual, the lottery, the consolidated fund, and imports and exports, extended to the amount of 6,150,000*l*. The remainder of the sum total of the supplies for the year remaining to be raised, either by a tax within the year, in the same manner as the assessed-tax bill of last year, or by a

loan, was upwards of twenty-three millions. Last session, the plan of trebling the assessed-taxes, not only was taken to furnish a certain portion of the supplies of the year, but part of its produce was assigned for the extinction of such part of the loan of eight millions as was not covered by the sinking-fund. Voluntary contributions had made up the deficit on the assessed taxes; and the superior produce of the exports and imports beyond the estimate of ways and means, had brought the amount of the sums to be raised to that of seven millions and a half, at which they had been calculated. The produce of the assessed-taxes, which he had estimated at 4,500,000*l*. under all the modifications they had undergone, and all the evasions and tricks with which so many persons had shifted the public burthen from their own shoulders, was yet four millions. Instead of 1,500,000*l*. the voluntary contributions already exceeded two millions; and the sum of seven millions and a half, for which credit had been taken, had been effective to the public service. These particulars, respecting the estimate of 1799, being premised, Mr. Pitt proceeded to state a new plan for raising a very considerable part of the supplies within the year, and of course proportionably diminishing that of the sum to be borrowed. This tax was not like the assessed tax; a tax on expenditure, but one on income. The commissioners who should be invested with a power of fixing the vote of every one's income, should be persons of a respectable situation in life, and men of integrity and independence. Amongst the commissioners of supply, from whose voluntary services

in the different counties the country had derived such benefit, men might be expected to be found, who would best answer the description he had just given. He would propose that no men should be admitted to act for the purposes to be hereafter specified, who did not possess 300*l.* per annum: to these a certain number of persons should be added, resident in the different divisions or districts, and who should possess the same qualification of 300*l.* a year—that such list of commissioners should be referred to the two last grand juries for each county, who should select a proper number of each division, and a smaller number for appeals. In great cities and commercial places these special provisions might be necessary. The commissioners being appointed, the next stage of the business was, the manner of bringing before the commissioners the true view of the charge which each individual was to contribute; adopting it as a principle, in the same manner as was done in the assessed-tax bill, that no persons whose incomes were under 60*l.* a year should pay any thing. Every person should state what that sum was, which he was willing to contribute, and make a declaration that what he so contributed was not less than one-tenth of his income. The difference between this plan and that of the assessed-tax bill was, that instead of single and quadruple assessment, the true charge would be from the declaration of the parties themselves. But the next point to be considered, was in what manner the declaration of the parties should be checked and ascertained. The noble Mr. Pitt would propose, was, that every public statement of income,

but that it should be made the duty of some officers, in each district, to lay before the commissioners any grounds of doubt which they might entertain. These statements from individuals, he proposed, should be sent to the surveyors of taxes, or some other officers appointed for that purpose; that these should only express their doubts, and the foundations of them; and, that then the commissioners should call for farther explanation. When these grounds of doubt should be transmitted to the commissioners, they should have the power of requiring a specification of income arising from the different branches, and according to the forms prescribed by a schedule annexed to the act. If the commissioners should not be satisfied, they might require another specification. Individuals also might state in what they had been overcharged. If the commissioners should not be satisfied with the schedules given in, they should have, in that case, the power to proceed to examinations by oath; but they should have no compulsory power to make a man answer.—They should neither have authority to call for books, nor to examine any man's clerks or agents. If, however, the party examined should withhold any information on these points, it should rest with the commissioners to form their own opinion, and their judgement should be final, unless the party chose to appeal to the higher order of the commissioners. But even in that case, no books or papers should be examined. If the party should be unwilling to produce those papers, he must acquiesce in the decision which the commissioners should come to upon such other information as it might be

be in their power to obtain. Such information the commissioners should be strictly sworn not to disclose, nor to avail themselves of it for any purpose separate from the execution of the act. If, however, any information should be made, upon oath, which the commissioners should think to be false, they might carry on a prosecution for perjury. Mr. Pitt proceeded to propose certain exemptions from disclosure of income: abatements, and allowances in favour of certain descriptions of persons; and next to consider the probable amount of the tax. Having reviewed the general sources of the wealth of this country, he stated the national income to be 102,000,000*l.* annually, clear of all deductions; \* on this sum, a tax of ten per cent. was likely to produce 10,000,000*l.* a year. Now, it would be recollected, that in the last session of parliament, the assessed-taxes were the only part of the public resources which were mortgaged for the sum of 8,000,000*l.* borrowed for the public service, in 1797. He therefore proposed that the sum now to be raised in lieu of the assessed taxes, after its appropriation to the supplies of the present year, should

remain as a pledge for the discharge of that sum, for which the taxes were a security, and also for the discharge of the loan for the present year, beyond what would be paid out of the sinking fund; that it should be applied to the supplies of the year in the first instance; but, at the same time, that the tax should be continued till it had discharged the debt for which the assessed taxes were mortgaged, and then to make a farther charge for what might be borrowed beyond what the sinking fund would discharge.

Mr. Pitt having thus explained the nature and object of his present plan of finance, observed, that it was founded on an extension of the general principle of that financial measure which had been adopted last session of parliament. If the committee had seen the advantages of that principle, imperfect as its executibility was, in comparison of that of the present measure, they would find something better than reason to induce them to adhere to it: they would find that their own experience decided in its favour.—He exulted in the disappointment of our enemies, who had founded their hopes on the immoderate ac-

* The amount of rent on land possessed by landlords in England . . .	£20,000,000.
The amount of lands in the hands of tenants . . .	5,000,000.
Amount of tythes . . .	4,000,000.
Amount of mines, shares in canals, timber, &c. . .	3,000,000.
Amount of the rent of houses . . .	6,000,000.
Amount of the income arising from possessions . . .	2,000,000.
Amount of the produce of all the above articles in Scotland . . .	5,000,000.
Amount of income of absentees from Ireland . . .	1,000,000.
Amount of income from the West Indies . . .	4,000,000.
Amount of interest of funds . . .	12,000,000.
Amount of profit on foreign trade . . .	12,000,000.
Profit on home trade . . .	28,000,000.

£102,000,000.

cumulation

cumulation of our funded debt, and the ruin of our public credit. The present surpassed the proudest period of British history. He bestowed the highest praises on our armies and navies, and particularly the secrecy and vigilance displayed in our naval department, and a skilful disposition of our maritime force. But the great and permanent source, he said, of our glory, was those pecuniary resources, and the proper means of calling them forth, which had enabled us to persevere in the contest, to weary out adverse accidents, to strike at length a most terrible blow, and to bring about the greatest events. When the interests of themselves and their posterity, of England, and also of all other nations, were at stake, he was confident, that after the difficulties they had already encountered, they would not shrink from the present arduous crisis, or resign those titles to pre-eminence, for which they had already been so celebrated, and which were the pride and glory of all those who had the honour of calling themselves subjects of Great Britain. On these grounds, therefore, he proposed a series of resolutions, on the plan submitted to their consideration, which were agreed to.—The resolutions were,

“That it is the opinion of this committee, that so much of an act made in the last session of parliament, intitled “An act for granting to his majesty an aid and contribution, for the continuation of the war,” as charges any person with an additional duty in proportion to the amount of the rates of duties to which, prior to the date of the fifth day of April, 1798, such person was assessed, according to any as-

essment made in pursuance of any act of parliament in force, at the time of passing the said act of the last session, be repealed.

“Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be charged annually, during a term to be limited, the several rates and duties following, upon all income arising from property in Great-Britain, belonging to any of his majesty's subjects, although not resident in Great Britain, and of every body politic or corporate, or company, society, or fraternity of persons, whether corporate or not corporate, in Great Britain, whether such income shall arise from lands, tenements, or hereditaments, wheresoever the same shall be situated, in Great Britain or elsewhere, or from any profession, office, employment, trade, or vocation. It has already been noticed that no income was to be burthened with any tax, if it did not exceed sixty pounds. If it amounted to 100*l.* but did not exceed 105*l.* it was charged with a duty of one-fortieth part. Intermediate incomes were charged in similar ratios.

Mr. Tierney declared himself an opponent to the financial measure proposed; chiefly on the ground of its being unequal. The tax was laid, by its mover, to fall nearly equally on all sorts of property. That was not true. It did not fall on the property of a certain description of stockholders, or what might be called the leading London gentlemen: not the mass of stockholders, but those whom the chancellor of the exchequer always chose to favour; the monied men of the city. These gentlemen could pay off any

tax without hurthening themselves. Indeed, the greater the taxes were, the richer they became, and they never succeeded better than when the minister succeeded in taxes. There was, among other considerations urged by Mr. Tierney, on which merits particular and profound attention. Under the present plan, the whole property of England would soon shift hands: which would make a great difference in the state of the country. For, said Mr. Tierney, if the rich man in the city buys the small estates of a number of gentlemen, which will be one of the operations of this plan, although the estate will be the same, and the revenue the same, yet the condition of whole districts of inhabitants, will be materially altered. When a gentleman of small fortune sells his estate, let him get ever so much for it, there are evils arising to his family from that sale, which can never be avoided, nor adequately described. But not only the condition of the farmer, Mr. Tierney might have added, by such transferences, would be altered, but that also of the farmers and others. Between old families and their tenants, there arises a mutual sympathy: nor does the offer of a higher rent always induce the farmer to banish the latter from the soil cultivated by his forefathers. The mere monied man, for the most part, measuring all things by money, scruples not to send them packing, whenever another monied man offers a higher rent, with as much *sans froid* as a London house-builder lets a row of houses. If one rich farmer offer to rent the whole estate, the absentee, unrestrained

by any sympathy, or recollection, (as was commonly the case with great landed absentees, from Ireland,) accepts the offer. Thus farm is added to farm. The middling class of farmers, the actual cultivators of the soil, is gradually extinguished, and the nation divided into masters and servants, much in the same manner as Jamaica planters. Such, indeed, is the operation of all great capitals of credit: which enable the capitalist, by means of banks, to multiply the natural power of his stock even three or four fold; to grasp, monopolize, and controul every thing; moderate farms and farmers, as well as other articles, and other industrious individuals, and, in a word, to turn the world upside down. Large capitals and credits cannot certainly be considered as evils in themselves, but as national advantages; though it must be allowed, that they arise, in many instances, from the distresses as well as the prosperity of the country. That they have a tendency to monopolization, and to form a kind of *bourgeois* and upstart aristocracy, with all the faults of the former, without any of its virtues, is also undeniably. But, another truth, equally certain, and equally to be deplored, is, that it would be difficult for the legislature to check the evils arising out of immense capitals and credits, without also checking a spirit of industry and enterprize. Yet the evils arising from an immoderate extension of farms are so obvious and rapidly increasing, that some measures may be expected for restraining it, and opening, by the improvement of natural opportunities, the earth to the cultivation of men,

men, not as hirelings to others, but on their own account.\* Before the report of the committee-tax was taken into consideration, the chancellor of the exchequer, on the tenth of December, informed the house, resolved into a committee of ways and means, that he had bargained for the limited sum of three millions, as a loan, and reserved the remainder till after Christmas. The 3 per cent. *consols* were at 52½; the reduced at 51½. For every 100*l.* in money, there was to be given 52½ *consols*, and a proportion of seven-eighths of a hundred pounds in the reduced, amounting to 87*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* the value of which, in money, was 46*l.* 12*s.* 3½*d.* The payments were to be made before the month of February, in four instalments. And, as the public service did not require prompt payment, there would be no discount. In lieu of the discount, an allowance was to be made, as a *bonus* to the contractor, of 13*s.* 4*d.* The whole sum then given for every 100*l.* lent to government 99*l.* 15*s.* 5½*d.* Since that period stocks had risen, and the premium on the loan was 2½ per cent. Thus it would appear, that the reasons for postponing the whole of the loan, at the present period, were founded in prudence. He then moved, that the sum of three millions be raised, by way of annuities, which was agreed to. On the fourteenth of December, the report of the in-

come-tax was taken into consideration.

Sir J. Sinclair thought that, if such extraordinary contributions were to be levied, there ought to be half per cent. on capital, and only five per cent. on income, above 200*l.* He urged, against the income-tax proposed, three radical objections; namely, that it would promote emigration, diminish the produce of the old taxes, and raise the price of all the necessaries of life. Among a variety of strictures on the bill before the house, made by this speaker, the following arrested, in a particular manner, our attention: "Formerly our principal taxes, arising from consumption, and not extending to many of the real comforts and necessaries of life, were, in a manner, voluntary. The exchequer was enriched; the people were happy; and the profusion of government was happily checked, by the conviction that, if the taxes were carried beyond a certain length, the produce, instead of increasing, would be diminished. But if this bill pass, the whole property of the country will, in future, lie at the mercy of the minister. For though he now, very moderately, requires only a tenth part of our income, he establishes a principle, that the government of this country is entitled to demand a certain part of the income of each individual, and is also entitled to enforce that compulsive requisition,

\* Were it certain (which is controverted) that large capitals and large farms are the best means of raising the greatest quantity of cattle, grain, or other physical produce, at the least expense; there is in political economy a previous question. Is the advancement of agriculture itself, so defined, to be preferred to population, health, virtue, contentment, general independence, and an immense reduction of the poor's rates? See Mr. Newte, of Tiverton's, *Tour in England and Scotland*, and "An Essay on the Right of Property in Land." *Walters*. Both these publications have been translated into the French language, and been received with the highest approbation by the French economists.



by the strictest and hardest regulations."

Mr. Simeon said, as the honourable baronet had not shewn, that the price of labour would be affected, he might allay his fears respecting the emigration of the laborious class. And, for his own part, he had no apprehension that persons of 200*l.* would emigrate. The country, he said, was now better able to pay the tax than it had been. So rapid had been the increase of commerce, that we had not shipping enough to do the business.

Mr. M. A. Taylor objected to the bill, that it disclosed property, and, what was worse, invaded it, (though, by the genius of the constitution, it was held sacred) to its inequality, and to its operation, as a check on the vigour and energy of the manufacturer and merchant. It hurt not the rich man; but hundreds of industrious people, employed by that splendour from which he would now be obliged to retire. He would prefer a tax that should be borne, generally by all classes of people in the community. Mr. Taylor, though widely differing from Mr. Paine, in both religion and politics, quoted what follows, from his publication, of which he was reminded by the bill before them, "Government always take to themselves, all the produce of the industry of the people, under the head of government."

The solicitor-general said, that when it was proposed to repeal the assessed tax bill, and to substitute this mode of collection, the principle was preserved, though the means were altered: that principle, approved by the house, and sanctioned by experience, he was of opinion, the house would not now controvert. He was surprised to find that Sir J. S.

was an advocate for taxing capital, because it seemed to be an opinion almost universally agreed to, that income, and not capital, was the proper object of taxation. It was on this principle that most of our taxes were founded. What were the land-tax, the country rates, the rates for building bridges, and so on, but taxes on income. That principle was entirely assented to by

Sir W. Young, who observed, that the natural consequence of passing the funding system to an extreme would be, to raise the interest of money to a degree that would be extremely dangerous; because, if men could get an extravagant interest for money, without exposing it to the risks of commerce, they would be much inclined to lay out their money at interest, and thus all commercial enterprise would be checked. As to disclosure of property, he did not consider it as any mighty hardship. In the West Indies, and in many parts of America, a man could not have a bond or note, without its being registered, and consequently, to a certain degree, disclosing his property: yet he did not know that it ever was considered as an inconvenience, or had ever produced any prejudicial effects.

Sir Francis Baring thought the present measure as liable to evasion, and even more so than that of last year. In commerce, the bill would be liable to evasions and frauds without end. On the whole, he disliked the measure, and augured ill of its success.

Mr. William Smith admitted, that the principle of the bill was the same as that of the assessed taxes last year, as far as it went to raise a certain portion of the supplies within the

the year. As it related, however, to the criterion, by which the means of contributing were to be ascertained, it differed widely. A man might think himself able to spend a certain sum of money, but his expenditure was at his option. His income, however, could not be said to be a voluntary criterion: over this he had no control. It had been said by an honourable gentleman, (Mr. Ellison) that they should all put a hand to the plough and free the bill from all its inconveniences. But he would ask that honourable gentleman whether, if he thought the bill unconstitutional, unjust, oppressive, and cruel; he might also add, fraudulent—would he then insist on forcing it on the house and the nation? Such was his opinion of the bill; he would not, therefore, put his hand to the plough. On the present subject, Mr. Smith quoted Dr. Adam Smith, whose authority would have more weight than his speeches—“Capitation taxes, if it is attempted to proportion them to the fortune or revenue of each contributor, become altogether arbitrary. The state of a man's fortune varies from day to day, and without an inquisition more intolerable than any tax, and renewed at least once in every year, can only be guessed at; his assessments must, therefore, in most cases, depend upon the good or bad humour of his assessors, and therefore be altogether arbitrary and uncertain.

Mr. Pitt defended the bill. It was some satisfaction to him, that he had no reason to think that any gentleman objected to the principle of the bill, but the honourable baronet who opened the debate: if there were any points in it really objectiona-

ble, they might be altered in the committee. On the whole, the measure proposed, affected in a just and equal manner, the commerce of the country, all proprietors of land, all on whom the commerce and economy of the country depended, all those through whom the administration of justice took place, all on whom the protection of the poor was incumbent, all who formed the great and important links in the chain of society. The house then divided on the reconsideration of the bill. For it, 133; against it, 25. On this reconsideration, which took place, in a committee of the house, on the seventeenth of December, a motion was made for postponing the preamble of the bill. This preamble stated, that under the assessed taxes bill, people were not taxed in proportion to their income, and that frauds and evasions had been practised with success.

Mr. Tierney desired to know what reason there was to suppose, that under the assessed taxes, people were not assessed in proportion to their income, and that frauds and evasions had been practised with success. He thought the preamble a libel on the people of England. A debate of considerable length ensued: but the question, for the reading of the preamble was carried in the affirmative. After several amendments, in several committees, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, December 31, that the income-bill should be read a third time. Mr. Nicholls observed, that if it was fair that the scale should rise from 100*l.* a year, to 200*l.* it was equally fair that it should rise from 200*l.* upwards.—Mr. Abbot said, that it seemed,

now to be the decided opinion of the people of this country, that a great part of the supplies should be raised within the year. Last year considerable progress had been made in the application of it by the assessed-tax-bill: and, with regard to disclosure of income, in Scotland, all transactions respecting real, and many respecting personal property, were publicly registered. In Ireland, the same practice prevailed in case of real property. In the counties of York and Middlesex, it existed to a considerable extent. The attorney, and the solicitor-general, both defended the bill. Mr. Elliot and Mr. Tyrwhitt, also supported it, as highly creditable to the spirit of the country, and as the most effectual that could be adopted for confounding the hopes of the enemy. The question for the third reading of the bill was carried by 98 against 2. After undergoing farther amendments, the bill, having been read a third time, on the eighteenth of March, was passed on the fifth of April, and ordered to be carried to the lords; to whose consideration "on the motion for the third reading, in the house of commons," on December 31, being agreed to, it had already been submitted, on the second of January; when it was read the first time, and ordered to be printed. On the eighth of January, the order of the day, in the upper house, for the third reading of the income-duty-bill being read, and the question put, lord Suffolk approved its principle, in one point of view, namely, that it would tend to prevent the nation from rashly embarking in expensive wars,

by shewing them the consequences: and, on this ground, it would have been well for the country if a fair and equitable tax of this kind had been proposed at the commencement of the war. It was said that this tax was only *ten per cent.* upon income. But when he reflected on the taxes and expenses peculiar to landed property, and added the sum of these to the present tax, the whole amounted to not less than *20 per cent.* Last session, a tax upon salt took place, which, in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Cheshire, and other places, upon what were called the dairy farms; in particular, would in its operation be found equal to *4 per cent.* There was also a very heavy article, which in many places, and particularly on estates adjoining to his, the poor-rates fell uncommonly heavy.—Where there were extensive commons, the poor naturally\* flocked to them. And in the parish of Brinckworth particularly, he was within bounds, when he stated the poor-rates at *3 per cent.* This, added to the other, made, with the tax imposed by the present bill, *17 per cent.* The necessary expenses of bailiffs, stewards, and other numerous incidentals to landed property could not be less than *3 per cent.* more; making the whole nearly *20 per cent.* His lordship stated, that he had, in the course of the last few years expended in improvements more than 15,000*l.* not for his own personal gratification; for, in doing this, he had submitted to many privations, but in order that he might transmit to his son, an estate as independent as the prin-

\* To seek for some spot on the earth where to rest the sole of the foot; some dear and sacred home, this worthy nobleman admits, is the natural disposition of men: but this disposition, by a proper distribution of the land, might be improved to the advantage of the landed proprietors, and the comfort of the country people.

ciples which he had endeavoured to instil into his mind, and which might enable him to act up to them. Many other lords, he doubted not, had acted upon the same system with himself. Such noble lords he cautioned to beware how they gave their sanction to a measure which fell so peculiarly heavy and oppressive on the landed interest. Very different was the situation of the noble lords on the cross bench, and other parts of the house, whose situations brought them in very large emoluments, unimpaired by the duties and expenses peculiar to landed estates, which they no doubt well deserved, for the high, important, and arduous stations they filled in the state.

Lord Suffolk, after many expressions of regard to morality and religion, and admitting the necessity of a decent maintenance for those whose lives were spent in teaching and inculcating them, both by precept and example, observed, that there was nothing that had long lain more heavily on all agricultural improvements than tythes. It was a very mistaken notion that they amounted only to a tenth: taking in all improvements, they certainly amounted to a fifth of all the landed property of the kingdom. The people of this country were every day feeling their pressure, and the alleviation of that pressure would be a consideration well worth the attention of their lordships. His lordship concluded by giving his decided dissent to the present bill.

The earl of Liverpool said, that had lord Suffolk attentively perused the bill he would have seen that many of the peculiar expenses attached to land were allowed to be deducted previously to the opera-

tions of the bill taking effect. With regard to the salt-duties, they certainly bore with additional weight on those parts of the country where cheese was manufactured; but the maker repaid himself by the advanced price of his cheese.

Lord Holland, among a variety of observations, to the same effect with those that had been urged against the bill, in both houses of parliament, stated that the arguments in favour of the measure, he believed, had been reduced to three, which were, first, that it prevented all idea of delusion, with regard to our situation, and made the people understand at once the nature and extent of the burthen they had to bear. Second, that the country saved by raising the money at once, the interest, whatever it was. Third, that this proceeding was calculated to intimidate the enemy, who had placed the hope of our destruction on the increase of our debt. With regard to the first of these arguments, the principle on which it was founded, met his sincerest approbation. As to the second, it made no essential difference with regard to the wealth of the nation whether interest was paid or not, as the great loss arose from the capital being taken out of productive, and squandered on unproductive labour. If borrowing was inexpedient for government, it was equally so for private persons. Nothing could be said to shew the difficulties of government in raising money, that might not be urged with regard to individuals. He had heard an argument in favour of the measure of last year, from lord Liverpool, who, he was sorry to observe, had left the house. He had stated that it was nothing more than

than taking the money out of one pocket and putting it in another. But if a great part of the savings, which might enable people to pay the present tax, should be taken from consumption, there must be a reduction of the revenue: if they should pay the tax out of their capital, the evil would still be greater. It certainly was the operation of many taxes to take money out of one pocket, and put it in another: and it was not unworthy of their lordships' attention, to consider, from whose pockets it was to be taken. Their property was easily known, and they could not, if they were inclined, evade the tax. It was evident that the object of the bill, in taking money from one pocket, and putting it into another, was to take from those that had wealth, and give it to those who had none. As this measure must continue for many years, the whole weight of the tax must fall on those who should not be able to escape it; in fact, on land-owners; or as a noble lord had expressed it in a book "on those who had ostensible possessions." The tendency, his lordship observed, of this shifting of property, was, to impoverish the members of that house, and to render them still more and more dependent on the crown. The gradation of the tax, commencing from upwards of 60*l.* and stopping short at 200*l.* he was afraid would give too great an opportunity to the circulation of those calumnies which often represented some of their lordships as acting from the worst of motives. It might, perhaps, be said, that the lower and higher classes were sheltered from the tax, and that thus a compromise was made with them to crush

the middle. It was whispered, why do not persons of the latter class petition against the bill? There were, comparatively, few, he believed, in that situation of life, but had some dependence, directly, or indirectly, on the minister. As to the third argument, in favour of the tax, lord Holland was of opinion that a perseverance in the funding system was more likely, than the present measure, to give the enemy a great idea of our resources, because that system was not understood on the continent. Their ignorance of its nature made persons abroad magnify its effects, and they were inclined to consider it as an inexhaustible resource to which the British government could always with confidence resort.

The book to which lord Holland in the above-mentioned short quotation, alluded, was *Letters to the Earl of Carlisle from W. Eden, Esq.* published in 1799. Lord Holland, by way of illustrating his sentiments on the present subject, in the course of his speech made some farther quotations from it. "The author (he observed) in putting the supposition of one-thirteenth of the income of the country being to be raised, either voluntarily or by force, laid it down as a maxim, that such a tax could not take place without diminishing the capital of the country, which would prove very injurious to trade and agriculture. The superior ranks would retrench their expenses, which would cause a deduction in the revenue, which must be made up, either by taking from the sinking fund, or by fresh taxes, &c. &c." The book, from which he had read so much, also represented, in a very striking point of view, the "evils arising from a disclosure

disclosure of property." These quotations naturally called up

Lord Auckland, (formerly Mr. Eden), who thought it incumbent on him to repel the insinuation, that he could give his concurrence to the income-bill, as a peer of parliament, without an inconsistency of reasoning, or a change of system. He might admit, he said, the full construction given by the noble lord to the passages quoted, and answer that, in the lapse of time, many speculative opinions were liable fairly and honourably to be varied by events, change of circumstances, better information, and more mature judgement. If, however, the noble lord had adverted, with his usual accuracy, to the context of the passages which he had thought proper to cite, he would have found that they related to a voluntary contribution; or if to a forced and general contribution, then to be dependent on a merely voluntary disclosure of income. At that period, it never entered into the minds of the most enlightened statesman, that it could be practicable to establish a forced and general contribution, on the only just and efficient system of a forced disclosure. In 1799, he did not foresee either the enthusiasm, or the prosperity and resources, which distinguish the actual epoch of our history above all others, and which have given to our countrymen both the disposition and ability to adopt the present measure, without any probable inconveniencies to counterbalance the advantages to be obtained. It now appeared, that the difficulties we feared were not insurmountable. The successful attempt to surmount them was well worthy of that great and

energetic mind which directs our councils—that mind which seemed to have been created by a beneficent Providence for the preservation of this, and an adjoining kingdom: perhaps for the restoration of Europe. Till the period of the Lisle negotiation, and even then, a great part of the nation was disposed to abandon the whole continent of Europe to subjugation and destruction, and to make other ruinous sacrifices, in order to purchase a nominal peace, more fatal than any war. When he looked back to that period, he had all the painful sensations of a feverish and frightful dream. Almighty God was pleased, for our preservation, to destroy our short-sighted hopes. The Lisle conferences were broken off in a manner that removed the film from the eyes of many. A patriotic enthusiasm warmed the heart of every Englishman in every part of the globe. The wisdom of parliament went hand in hand with the right disposition of the people; and, towards the close of 1797, brought forward the measure of the additional assessed taxes, and these again, the present bill, than which, his lordship endeavoured to shew there was no measure better calculated, in an equal manner, to bring our great resources into activity and effect. Lord Auckland, in the course of his speech, contrasted the present safety, prosperity, and unparalleled glory of his country with the national bankruptcy, distresses, difficulties, and crimes of France. Lord Holland, having risen for the purpose of explanation, made the following remark of what had been said by the noble lord, who spoke last, in praise of the spirit and enthusiasm

of the country, manifested in the voluntary contributions, and the payment of the triple assessment of last year. "Unfortunately this panegyric is broadly denied by the bill now before the house: the preamble to which tells the world, that the reason for introducing it was, the shameful evasions practised last year." The noble lord, he observed, had brought forward observations not very closely connected with the subject, but such as the ministers and their adherents knew well how to introduce into every debate. To prepare their lordships' minds for the adoption of their unconstitutional measures, some rant on French atrocities must always be introduced. He would only say, that if, from a measure well intended, evil consequences might afterwards arise, this should not be fairly imputed as a fault to the framers of the measure. Where there was no evil intended, there could be no fault. And here he would not hesitate to say, that had he been a Frenchman, he would have felt it the pride of his life to have been concerned in that great event: but, though he felt that such would have been his ambition, in such a situation of his country as that of France then was, he was far from thinking that there could be any justice in making him answerable for the consequences that might ensue.

Lord Grenville, with regard to the French revolution, said, it was a subject which he could not imagine to be introduced for any other purpose than that of calling away the attention of the house from the arguments of his noble friend, lord Auckland. As it had, however, been introduced, he would again state the opinion which he had uni-

formly professed respecting it, from its commencement to the present moment. He had been asked whether, if his majesty's ministers had foreseen the present posture of affairs, and had known that the course of events would have led to the extension of the dominion of France, they would have advised his majesty to commence hostilities against the government of that country? He would, for himself, repeat it a hundred times over, that, had he been perfectly assured, beforehand, of all the events which had happened, the subjugation and pillage of Italy, the conquest of Holland, the massacres of Switzerland, or even the murder of the king of France: these things, aye, and ten times more, he would have sacrificed, to stem the tide of those vicious and false principles, fantastically called philosophy, but, in truth, no other than the effusions of revolutionary madness.

The duke of Bedford observed, that the present bill embraced two important principles; the one, the principle of raising a considerable part of the supplies of the year within the year; the other, the principle of effecting that measure by the means of a tax on income. As to the first, it was a mere speculative question, and could not be treated in the same manner as that which had stood the test of trial, in repeated instances, ever since the establishment of the funding system. There was, however, the constant and uniform practice of our ancestors against it; nay, and of the present minister himself, during five years of the present expensive war. In the outset of a war, the duke admitted, that this method might have one good effect: it might make

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [187

make the people cautious how they plunged themselves into war without due consideration. But whether, after being actually engaged in war, and, in five years, created a debt greater in its amount than the whole of what had been incurred during the hundred years preceding, we should adopt this mode now, was a question of extreme doubt. If the general principle of raising the supplies within the year were recognized, it might be hereafter contended, that, by adopting the present bill, they recognized the principle of taxing income. It had been the general practice of taxation, to levy as great a portion as possible of the sum wanted upon articles of luxury and consumption: and, so long as that practice could be continued, it would never be considered as materially unjust in its operation. Although the whole community might not pay towards it in equal proportion, still, as it was optional, it could not be considered as fundamentally wrong. If it was abandoned, it would be a confession, that we could not go on in the most equitable course of taxation. His grace entered into a minute detail of the bill, and gave his reasons for thinking it injurious, unjust, and impolitic.

The lord chancellor observed, that the present chancellor of the exchequer, who had proposed the bill, was the very person who had advised and effectually supported the plan of annually setting a part of the supplies of the year aside for the useful purpose of reducing the national debt. From this plan the public had derived, and still continued to derive, the most important advantages. It was reasonable, therefore, to infer that the present

measure of raising a tax, amounting to ten millions on income, would be found practicable, and answer the end proposed. As to a tax on capital, preferred by the noble duke, there was an absolute impossibility of ascertaining what the capital of individuals, respectively, amounted to. A noble person, a friend of the chancellor's, had a conversation with a tradesman, on the subject of the bill, who said his income might amount to about three hundred pounds a year, and declared that he thought it hard to pay thirty pounds out of it for this tax. The tradesman, however, who was a barber and hair-dresser, on a little reflection, said, "But, perhaps, if I did not pay the thirty pounds, so many of my present customers would not have their heads on their shoulders to shave and dress."—"This," said the chancellor, "was the true defence of the bill." With regard to tythes, the abolition of which had been recommended by the noble duke, and who had affirmed that all were agreed as to the expediency of this measure, provided a proper substitute could be found, to be given to the clergy in lieu of tythes, he begged leave utterly to deny that assertion. There was, perhaps, no one question on which such a variety of opinions prevailed, nor was it the clergy alone who held tythes: many of the laity held tythes; and held them by as good a tenure, as the free-holder held his estate. The question being put, was carried without a division. The bill was then read a third time. The bill, as above stated, having undergone all its amendments, was brought up, on the fifth of April, from the house of commons to that of the lords, where, after a short discussion, it was  
also



also passed, and afterwards received the royal assent.

Mr. Pitt, who, as already observed, had deferred bargaining for the whole of the loan in the beginning of the session, on the twenty-second of February, 1799, moved, in the house of commons, that it is the opinion of this committee, that, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of three millions be raised, by way of loan, on exchequer-bills. This sum was voted.

On the sixth of June, Mr. secretary Dundas brought a message to the house of commons, from his majesty, acquainting them "that he had, some time since, concluded an eventual engagement with his good brother and ally, the emperor of Russia, for employing forty-five thousand men against the common enemy, in such manner as the state of affairs in Europe, at that period, appeared to render most advantageous.\* Though his majesty had not yet received any account, that the formal engagements to that effect had been regularly concluded, he had the satisfaction of knowing, that the same promptitude and zeal, in support of the common cause, which his ally had already manifested in a manner so honourable to himself, and so signally beneficial to Europe, had induced him already to put his army in motion to the place of its destination, as now settled by mutual consent. His majesty, therefore, thought it right to acquaint the house of commons, that the pe-

cuniary conditions of this treaty would oblige his majesty to pay the sum of two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds in specified instalments, as preparation money; and to pay a monthly subsidy of seventy-five thousand pounds, as well as to engage for a farther payment at the rate of thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds per month: which last payment was not to take place till after the conclusion of a peace, made by common consent.† His majesty relied on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons to make good these engagements, as well as to continue to afford the necessary succours to his ally, the queen of Portugal; and also to give timely, and effectual assistance, at this important conjuncture, to the Swiss cantons, for the recovery of their ancient liberty and independence." On June the seventh, the house resolved itself into a committee of supply. His majesty's message having been read,

The chancellor of the exchequer stated that the precise sum necessary for defraying the expence of two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, to be advanced as preparation-money, and the monthly expence of seventy-five thousand pound, for eight months, or to the end of the year, was eight hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. The committee were aware that there was an addition to this, after the conclusion of a peace, by mutual consent, of thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds per month:

\* See provisional treaty between his majesty, the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, under the head of State Papers, in vol. xl. (1798) of this work, p. 223.

† This subsidy is stated in the treaty, at 44,000*l.* sterling; and it was to be continued until the return of the Russians into their own ports. See the treaty in this volume.

but the sum of eight hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds was the only specific vote that it was his intention to propose; accordingly moved, "that it was the opinion of the committee, that the sum of eight hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds be granted to his majesty, to enable his majesty to make good his engagements with Russia, in such a manner as might be best adapted to the exigencies of the case. Mr. Tierney hoped that the honourable gentleman, learning a lesson of policy in the system of subsidies, and from his knowledge of emperors, had declined paying before-hand. But the difference was not very material: nor was it worth while to trouble the house with particulars. The great subject of debate was the subsidy: the time of payment, and other matters of detail being merely of a secondary nature. He trusted, that, whatever differences might have formerly arisen, ministers now had but one opinion, and that they were all agreed that the safety of England should be the main object. Deeply impressed with this truth, he would not vote any sums for a purpose he did not understand, in aid of a power whose object he did not know, and which might be appropriated to his own views exclusively, and to the injury, instead, of the welfare of England.

Mr. Pitt replied, that there was no ground to fear, lest that magnanimous prince should act with infidelity in a cause in which he was so sincerely engaged, and which he knew to be the cause of all good government, religion, and humanity, against a monstrous medley of tyranny, injustice, vanity, irreligion,

ignorance, and folly. That magnanimous and powerful prince had undertaken to supply, at a very trifling expense, a most essential force, and that for the deliverance of Europe. "I must still use this phrase, notwithstanding the sneers of the honourable gentlemen; does it not promise the deliverance of Europe, when we find the armies of our allies rapidly advancing in a career of victory the most brilliant and auspicious, perhaps, that ever signalized the exertions of any combination? Would it he regarded with apathy, that the wise, provident, vigorous, exalted, and god-like prince, who now, fortunately for the world, swayed the Russian sceptre, had already, by his promptness and decision, given a turn to the affairs of men? From the praises of Paul, Mr. Pitt passed to those of the people of England. "There is," said he, "a high-spirited pride, an elevated loyalty, a generous warmth of heart, a nobleness of spirit, a hearty hilarity and manly gaiety that distinguish our nation, in which we are to look for the best pledges of general safety, and of that security against general usurpation, which other nations, in their weakness or their folly, have nowhere found. With respect to that which appeared so much to embarrass certain gentlemen, the deliverance of Europe, he would not say particularly what it was: whether from the infection of false principles, the corroding cares of a period of distraction and dismay, or the dissolution of all governments, and death of all social order and religion. But while the spirit of France remained what at present it was, it its power to do wrong at all remained

maintained, there did not exist any security for this or any country in Europe. He did not confine his views to the territorial limits of France. He saw in the principles, character, and conduct of France, the issues of distraction, infamy, and ruin!

Mr. Tierney said, "I have received an answer and it does carry the conviction that we are now about to embark in a seventh year of the war, aiming at an indefinite object, warring against system, and fighting with English blood, and English treasure, against French abstract principles, without the smallest regard to the burdened state of the country." Many explanations, replies, and rejoinders now took place on those trite subjects, the object of the war, and the deliverance of Europe: in which Mr. Windham took a part, and declared his well-known opinion, that nothing could be more desirable to this country than the restoration of the monarchy, which, notwithstanding all its defects, could never do us any serious injury, compared to the incalculable mischiefs which the present system was peculiarly fitted to produce. And this appeared to him not only the most desirable, but the most probable change that could happen, because it was that which the people of France preferred.

Sir W. Pulteney begged to say a few words in consequence of what had fallen from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham. The former had stated, that even if we were to drive the French within their own territories, still we should have a great deal more to do. This declaration he thought, not only unnecessary but highly imprudent. It might induce the people of this country to relax

in their efforts. It would furnish the directory with a new argument to persuade the people of the necessity of continuing the war. The other right honourable gentleman had commented on the advantages that would result from a restoration of the French monarchy. He wished to know whether it was likely to produce a favourable effect for us in France, to have it known, that we were discussing, in our senate, the form of government they ought to have? Sir William made every allowance for sanguine temperament; but it was very wrong, he said, to suffer ourselves to be elated with prosperity. We ought to proceed firmly and manfully in the contest. But language, which seemed to breathe something more than exultation, and even defiance, was to be avoided as impolitic, and, indeed, not very consistent with firmness, and true dignity of character. The question for the supply to Russia was, after some farther discussion by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Windham, carried in the affirmative.

Mr. Pitt then moved that the sum of three millions be granted to his majesty to enable him to make good such farther engagements as his majesty might deem it expedient to enter into: which was agreed to.

The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Pitt recapitulated the supplies, which he had stated to be necessary for the service of the current year, on the third of December, with the farther supplies since required. The amount of the whole, after certain alterations in the sums voted in December, was

30,947,351*l*.

# HISTORY OF EUROPE. [191]

30,947,351*l*.\* besides the vote of credit for 1799, which was an increase by more than 1,600,000*l*, of that brought forward at Christmas, as the total of the supply was then stated at 29,272,000*l*. ways and means were provided or devised for raising the supplies to the amount of 31,000,000*l*.† There was no provision made for exchequer-bills to the amount of 3,000,000*l*. These he left ultimately to be funded: expecting that they would be so on more advantageous terms, than by

adding that sum of three millions to the loan. Mr. Pitt next stated the terms of the loan. Three of the most respectable houses agreed to pay for 125*l*. in the three per cent. consols. 69*l*. 4*s*. 4*d*.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . and for the reduced 28*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*. making 97*l*. 6*s*. 10*d*.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . which, with the benefit of the discount at 2*l*. 6*s*. 6*d*. gave 99*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . instead of *l*o*n*u*s*e*s*, the bargain had been concluded at the price of the day, when it was considerably under the actual value of 100*l*. As to the interest

## \* RECAPITULATION OF THE SUPPLIES.

NAVY . . . . .	£13,653,000.
Deduct diminution of navy debt and saving extracted in 1799 . . . . .	1,403,000.
ARMY . . . . .	250,000.
Vote of credit, 1798 . . . . .	8,840,000.
Extraordinaries, 1799 . . . . .	1,000,000.
ORDNANCE, exclusive of sea-service . . . . .	2,500,000.
Miscellaneous services . . . . .	1,570,000.
Deficiency of land and malt tax . . . . .	3,264,351.
Subsidy to Russia . . . . .	498,000.
National debt . . . . .	885,000.
	200,000.
	<u>£30,947,351.</u>

## † RECAPITULATION OF THE WAYS AND MEANS.

Sugar, tobacco, and malt . . . . .	£2,750,000.
Luxury . . . . .	200,000.
Surplus of consolidated fund in January and April, 1799 . . . . .	521,000.
Growing produce of ditto . . . . .	3,229,000.
Exports and imports . . . . .	1,500,000.
Ten per cent. on income . . . . .	7,500,000.
Installments on aid and contributions, 1798 . . . . .	650,000.
From the ten per cent. on income, and these installments, amounting together to 8,150,000 <i>l</i> . deduct half a year's interest on	
3,000,000 <i>l</i> , 1798 . . . . .	240,000
Ditto one year 5 <i>l</i> . 11 <i>s</i> . per cent. . . . .	588,000
	<u>828,000</u>
there remains . . . . .	7,300,000 <i>l</i> .
Loan first . . . . .	3,000,000.
Loan second . . . . .	12,000,000.
	<u>£31,000,000.</u>

## 192] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

to be provided for by the new taxes, it was no more than 315,000*l*.\* The foundation of the whole of the present system of finance, was the same which he had offered to parliament last year, namely that there should be no loan contracted for, during any year, greater than what the amount of the sinking fund could pay off. The resolutions moved by Mr. Pitt on the supplies for the year, with ways and means, were agreed to, carried through the usual forms of the house, and after undergoing several amendments, some of which were suggested by Mr. Tierney in a string of resolutions which he proposed, were early in July passed into a law.

We now proceed to give some account of East India expenses and revenue.

On the 12th of March, Mr. Dundas stated first, what might be properly called India accounts, as peculiarly regarding the state of India

itself: secondly, the home accounts, as respecting, particularly, the company's concerns here. Under the first of these heads were to be found a financial statement of the condition of the respective places; accounts of the expenses incurred; the amount of the debts in India; a deduction of the general surplus not applicable to the payment of these debts; the sums which remained to be expended; with many other items in the estimate not necessary for his present purpose to be specified.† On the whole, taking a general view of the company's affairs at home and abroad conjointly, it would seem to be worse 413,220*l*. than it was at the close of the last session of parliament. He was obliged to confess that there was a farther sum of 200,000*l*. which did not appear on the face of these accounts, but the reason of that arose from some circumstances attending the quick-

### \* RECAPITULATION OF THE NEW TAXES.

In many parts of the kingdom there was an extensive circulation of small bank notes, or notes under 40*s*. amounting, as was computed, to 1,500,000. A tax of 2*d*. ed each, according to that number, would produce 62,000*l*. But in a matter of so great uncertainty, he supposed the amount to be considerably under that sum, and therefore reckoned it among other articles of taxation as follows:

750,000 annually, at 2 <i>d</i> . each	£42,000
British sugar, left for home consumption, 1,700,000 cwt. at 3 <i>s</i> .	56,000.
Clayed sugars from British plantations, in addition to all other duties, 200,000 cwt. at 4 <i>s</i> . per cwt.	40,000.
British plantation sugar exported: withhold 2 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> . per cwt. of the drawback, in addition to 4 <i>s</i> . now retained on 358 cwt. East India sugars exported 76,000 cwt. at 6 <i>d</i> .	62,000.
Foreign plantation-sugar exported, 2 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> . per cwt on 111,600 cwt.	14,000.
Refined sugar exported, 4 <i>s</i> . per cwt. of the bounty now payable to be withheld on 196,000 cwt.	39,000.
Coffee exported in 1798, exclusive of 327,000 cwt. at 4 <i>s</i> .	65,000.
	<hr/> 316,000.

† See a general view of these accounts, copied from "An Abstract of Statements, relative to the affairs of the East-India company, 1798, presented to parliament in 1799." Appendix to the Chronicle, page 200\*.

ness of the passage which some of the ships had homeward. This sum would apparently swell the balance against the company, but when the accounts came fully to be examined, it would be found covered by the increased amount of their assets.— With respect to the 413,220*l.* in which the state of the company's affairs appeared worse now than last year, that was a matter which he would better and more fully explain at a future period. Meanwhile he called the attention of the house to the disputed debt of one million between the East-India company and the nabob of Arcott. Before that claim was established, it was impossible that it could come into the statement of the company's affairs; and, though it appeared upon the account now, it was no new debt, and in fact, could not be included as a defalcation in the produce of the last year. So far otherwise, the company's affairs would be 600,000*l.* better than in last year, were not that million included. All circumstances considered, he saw nothing in the present statement by any means alarming. On the contrary, on a full retrospect, there would be found the strongest grounds for consolation and satisfaction. And he was entitled, he said, to make that conclusion, from the immense improvement in the company's affairs, since they had been under his own management. After all, the company's debt was certainly beyond what he could have wished it to have been. But, as it had been contracted, for the purpose of purchasing investments, it was of course to be found in the increase of the company's assets at home. They might naturally be induced to

swell their estimates and sales at home, by bringing home as large cargoes as possible.

Mr. Dundas now touched on a subject, alarming (though it would seem unreasonably) to the East-India company, but highly important to the British nation, and which, in the natural progress of events and ideas, must one day force itself on the serious attention of the British legislature. The company, Mr. Dundas said, should recollect that they were not merely a commercial body, but that they were also trustees for the imperial revenues of India. The wealth and commerce of the East-India company was, no doubt greatly increasing, and there was no want of sufficient funds for extending it.— But great and opulent as they were, there was no man living who must not be sensible that all the commerce with India, and all the wealth that might be brought home from our East-India settlements to this country was far beyond the power or the means of the East-India company. The export of the wealth of India to Europe, as stated to him, amounted to no less a sum than five millions sterling. If this was true, and that the capital of the company, whether consisting in exports, or in the surplus of the revenue of India, could bring home only two millions or under, the general interest would require, that in some shape or other, as much as possible of the three millions should be brought to British ports in British vessels, and not suffered to go straggling in other vessels to other ports of Europe.— Mr. Dundas, on this subject, made a very just, as well as obvious, distinction between what was so much talked of, the clandestine trade, or the

the traffic carried on for the private emolument of the company's own servants, and the merchandize brought home by ships of neutral nations: articles which the company either was not able or willing to bring. The resolutions moved by Mr. Dundas were agreed to, and carried through all the usual forms.

Various difficulties having occurred in executing the act of last session, for the sale and redemption of the land-tax, Mr. Pitt, on the sixth of December, moved for leave to bring in a bill, to enlarge the time limited for the redemption of the land-tax, and to explain and amend the provisions of the bill introduced last session for that purpose. It was

the general object of the present bill to facilitate the execution of the act of last session, and extend its benefits by a wider and more equal operation. Leave being granted to bring in the bill, it was read and agreed to, and, through the usual forms, passed into a law.

A bill, brought in by Mr. W. Dundas, on the third of April, was passed, for amending so much of the acts for the redemption of the land-tax, as far as they related to Scotland, likewise for extending the time for redemption, and for empowering the proprietors of certain estates to sell a part of those estates for the purpose of redeeming the land-tax.

## C H A P. XI.

*Measures for the external Defence and internal Tranquillity of the British State.—Motion against any Negotiations that might prevent or impede a Negotiation for Peace.—Negatived.—Bills for continuing the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—Digression to the State Prison in Cold-Bath-Fields.*

FROM the business of finance, or the supplies, and the great object to which they were directed, we proceed, agreeably to our plan, to the measures adopted by the legislature for the external defence and internal tranquillity of the state. But, it may not be foreign to the design of an Annual Register to notice also some of the measures proposed for those ends, and that were under discussion, though not adopted by the legislature.

On the eleventh of December, Mr. Tierney moved "that it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to advise his majesty against entering into any negotiations which might prevent or impede a negotiation for peace, whenever a disposition should be shewn, on the part of the French republic, to treat on terms consistent with the security and interests of the British empire." He was induced to think that the pacific disposition, which, soon after the conference at Lisle, was manifested by his majesty's declaration, had been abandoned, and that a new spirit had begun to rise up, leading to an extensive connection. It might be said that this motion was an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown. But, as a member of

that house, he had as good a right to say, that the supplies should be granted exclusively for England, as to say, that there should not be any supply. It might be said that this motion had a tendency to damp the spirit which was now rising in Europe. There was no symptom rising in any quarter, from principle: on which alone, the value of any spirit and even the duration of it could be founded. After a review of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and the Ottoman Porte, he could see nothing like a systematic course of opposition to the ambitious projects of the enemy in general. A great confederacy against France, and that at a time when she did not possess the advantages of a settled government, had already been formed and discomfited. What produced the discomfiture of the confederates? The skill of the French or the jealousy and indecision of the allies? On either supposition the conclusion, from experience, would be the same. Could it really be believed that France, after having got Mantua, Luxemburg, and other places, was more easily to be driven within her ancient limits, than she was before she made these acquisitions? He should think it



an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown were he to say what is, and what is not, for the security, the honour, or the interest of the British empire. But ministers had put into his majesty's mouth, on the rupture of the conferences at Lisle, words tantamount to the spirit of his motion. He quoted his majesty's declaration to that effect. "His majesty looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may shew a disposition and spirit in any degree corresponding to his own. And he renews even now, and before all Europe, the solemn declaration that he is yet ready (if the calamities of war can now be closed) to conclude peace on the same moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before proposed." Mr. Tierney did not propose any thing that should bind government as to terms. He was anxious only to renew the spirit of a declaration, which did honour to his majesty's councils at the time it issued. If ministers departed from the spirit of that declaration, and adopted any other, they should assign a reason for so doing. There could be but two:—the aggression of the French in Switzerland, which was not a novelty, as Venice witnessed, and the victory of admiral Nelson. This was unquestionably great and glorious: but, it should be recollected that the declaration, after the conference at Lisle, was made after the brilliant victory of lord Duncan. As to the objection, that this motion might operate as a notice to France that we could not any longer co-operate with our allies, he did not say any thing of the terms on which peace should be made, and we might and ought

still to co-operate as last year, with our allies, by our naval exertions.

Mr. Canning expected from the honourable gentleman rather some solid reasons, for the measure he had proposed, than an anticipation of the objections which he thought might be brought against it. As to the point of constitutional form, he was not inclined to lay the greatest stress on any objection on that ground. The motion, though extraordinary, was not wholly unprecedented. Examples were not wanting. But he presumed that it would be farther necessary for Mr. Tierney to shew, as had been shewn or attempted to be shewn in all former instances, that some necessity existed which called for the interference of the house of commons. Mr. Canning summed up the substance of a long, yet lively speech (though dotted, after the manner of young men, with quotations) by stating that the motion appeared to him to be founded on no principle of necessity: since, if it was intended for a censure on ministers, it was unjust; if for a controul, nugatory: as its tendency was to impair the power of prosecuting war with vigour, and to diminish the chance of negotiating peace with dignity, or concluding it with safety.

Mr. Jekyll asked whether, in the moment in which we stood, on the proud eminence of such a victory as that at Aboukir, was not the moment to think of peace, in what state of our affairs could we turn our attention to that great object with propriety? This country, however, was again to be embarked on the ocean of continental politics, without knowing the purposes for which, we were engaged, or the extent to which we might be involved.

involved. On the authority of Bolinbroke, sir Robert Walpole, and lord Townshend, he recommended an adherence to our insular policy, and an avoidance of continental connections.

Sir James Murray Pultney observed, that the situation of the continent was such as to oblige the French to make great preparations, both on the Rhine, and in Italy: which might be considered in some measure as equal to a campaign: a circumstance which must have operated greatly in favour of this country. He was not quite sure, if Europe had been quite tranquil, and France had seen all the continent at her feet; if the enemy had kept up a great force on their coasts, and expended the sums they had spent in military preparations by land, on their marine; but it might have been more difficult and dangerous to detach so large a division of our navy to the Mediterranean, by which the splendid victory of lord Nelson was achieved.

Mr. Tierney's motion was negatived without a division.

On the twentieth of December, Mr. Pitt having premised, that the circumstances, which at first rendered it necessary to suspend the habeas-corpus act, being still so forcible, as to prevent the necessity of his enlarging on the subject, moved for leave to bring in a bill for continuing the suspension of the habeas-corpus act, for a time to be limited. Leave being given, the bill was read a first time. On the second reading, the following day, Mr. Courtenay took occasion to enumerate the benefits of the habeas-corpus act. A number of persons were arrested last year, he believed, not less than seventy or eighty. To have arraigned

and convicted those persons, would have been the best reason that could have been urged for continuing the suspension of the *habeas-corpus* act. Had there lately existed any symptoms of rebellion, or had any informations taken place in any quarter of the country? On the contrary, no period since the revolution, Mr. Pitt would bear witness; had displayed more loyalty and attachment to government. There was another reason why Mr. Courtenay thought the suspension of the habeas-corpus ought to cease. The persons imprisoned under the act, now proposed to be continued, were most cruelly treated. Having visited the prisons, he found the prisoners without fire, and without candles, denied every kind of society, exposed to the cold and the rain, allowed to breathe the air out of their cells only for an hour, denied every comfort, every innocent amusement, excluded from all intercourse with each other, and each night, locked up from all the rest of the world. He supposed it was scarcely necessary to inform the house, that the prison, of which he had been speaking, was that in Cold-bath-fields, known by the name of the *bastille*. He understood that some reverend gentlemen were among the magistrates, who managed it: and who, no doubt, kindly subjected their prisoners to so much pain in this world, that the less punishment might be inflicted on them in the next. It was not to persons suspected of state crimes alone that the usage he had described was extended. A disorderly woman, as she was called, that is, one of those unfortunate creatures who walk the streets, was confined in a cold damp cell,

though not convicted of any felony, and smarting under the virulence of a disease with which women of the town are frequently afflicted. In another dismal cell he found a boy confined there for disobedience to his master. Mr. Courtenay lamented that an honourable gentleman, celebrated for his humanity, had not visited that prison. His principles of vital Christianity (principles which he had indeed read in his book) would have induced him to exert all his eloquence for ameliorating the condition of those unhappy people.

Mr. Dundas said, that the points urged to night, having no *earthly connection* with the bill before the house, might as well have been urged at any other time, or on any other occasion, as the present. If there existed any abuse in the management of goals, there was an easy remedy: as they were all of them under the management of some magistrate or other. In order to shew that the suspension of the habeas-corpus should not now be continued, Mr. Courtenay should shew that there did not now exist any treasonable seditious spirit any where in the country. Did he mean to say that there was nothing of that kind discovered at Maidstone?

Mr. Tierney observed, that a message was brought down from his majesty, last session, stating, that there was an imminent danger of an invasion, aided by disaffected and treasonable persons in this country; and that a bill of indictment had been found by a grand jury, at Maidstone, against five persons, for high treason.—Combining these two circumstances together, he could not deny that

a case was made out which warranted a temporary suspension of the *habeas-corpus* act. The situation of the country was now, however, completely altered. No one, who had read the king's speech, at the opening of the present session, could suppose that his majesty's ministers had now any apprehension of an invasion. The number of persons arrested, in consequence of the suspension of the habeas-corpus act, had been stated to be between seventy and eighty, who were now all discharged, except a few, and these were not brought to trial, though detained in confinement since last April. This seemed to indicate that there was not much reason for continuing the measure: and it was certainly but fair that some new motive should be shewn, before the house was required to agree to the bill. Had the gentlemen, who visited the Cold-bath-prison, procured their inquiries in a proper manner, the sheriffs must have been applied to, and other persons examined, whose local situation rendered their information indispensable to a conclusive opinion. If the sheriffs had been found to blame, it would have been a grave point to proceed upon, but nothing of this sort was alleged. He wished the house to reflect on the close alliance in principle between the United Irish and the French. The Irish, like the French, had their executive directory. In Ireland, as in France, there was a government within a government, seeking the ruin of their country, but audacious enough to promise the deluded people of Ireland succour, from the sale of the estates of the gentry of Ireland. United Irishmen could make United Britons.

Britons. If, as a society, they did not correspond with societies here, they propagated mischief as individuals.

Mr. Burdon said, that when he went to visit the prison, so far from perceiving the parties sent there by warrant by the secretary-of-state, to suffer by any rigorous confinement, he saw them walking about with each other, and perfectly undisturbed. They had the means of enjoying both air and exercise at proper hours: nor had they any reason to complain, as to the means of subsistence, having an allowance from government of 13s. 4d. per week. Sir Francis Burdett, while he still asserted, that there were many circumstances in the state-prison, in Cold-bath-fields, tending to grievous suffering and disease, and that, in many instances, the prisoners had been treated with unjustifiable severity, admitted, that those matters were not strictly in point, on the consideration of the bill before the house. But no ground had, in his opinion, been stated, on which the house could surrender so important a bulwark of the liberties of the subject.

The solicitor-general gave a sketch of the origin and history of the suspension of the habeas-corpus-act. It originated in the reign of king William. In the year 1715, when this suspension was renewed, the most salutary consequences had followed. This precaution having been omitted in 1745, lest the country in a much more dangerous state than that in which it was in 1715. The society of United Irishmen was that which enabled the conspiracy to diffuse itself, till at length it burst forth in acts of open rebellion. Strong attempts had been made to establish similar societies in this

country. Corresponding societies had been formed, with their executive committees: an *imperium in imperio* had been introduced, which was nothing else than a germ of treason and rebellion. Now such sort of treason was not easy to be brought home to the conviction of a jurymen, because actual treason was concealed in the matter that was to bring it forth. And it was with great difficulty, that minds not habituated to consider the subject with the greatest attention, could be led to see the danger that surrounded them! The executive government, assuredly, would not have done its duty, had they not made use of all lawful means to thwart the designs of persons who had engaged in such combinations, and to break the strength of such confederacies.

Mr. Mainwaring said, that the reports of abuses in the management of the Cold-bath-prison, were wholly void of foundation. There was not a more comfortable place of the kind in the whole country, or one in which, in proportion to the numbers confined, there was less sickness. Every thing was provided for the state-prisoners in the most liberal manner. Mr. Wilberforce, too, vindicated the management of that prison. He had visited it himself, and had very satisfactory accounts from a correspondent, of the state of the prison, as to the health and treatment of the prisoners. Mr. Ellison spoke ardently in praise of ministers, who had so well exercised the powers with which they had been invested; and most heartily gave his vote to the bill. The attorney-general, in reply to something that had fallen from sir F. Burdett, said, that in supporting the measure, he was not

actuated by any such unworthy motive, as a wish to keep men in confinement: he considered the measure not as an act of severity, but of mercy. The trials at Maidstone, and the confinement of those now in prison, arose from the suspension of the habeas-corpus-act having been suffered to expire. Mr. Combe thought that twenty-five men, the number now in prison, under the act, could not, if let loose on society, do any harm, in the present state of the public mind. Mr. Western said, as no grounds had been stated to the house to shew the necessity of the measure, he could not support it.

Mr. Pitt expressed the warmest satisfaction at hearing it stated from all quarters, that the situation of this country, both with respect to its foreign and domestic affairs, had been so greatly improved. But he reminded the house, that this change, now so universally acknowledged, had been obtained by the adoption of those measures, by a perseverance on the part of government in that system, which some of those gentlemen, who now exulted in our safety, had represented as calculated to produce disaster abroad, and to destroy the constitution at home. Did the honourable gentlemen think that because, through the wise and vigorous measures adopted by his majesty's ministers, they had so fortunately escaped the perils with which they were menaced, they might now, with safety, abandon their efforts and relax their precaution? The people of England had learnt enough of the nature of jacobinism, not to know, that while the principles of it existed, the most unremitting vigilance and the greatest firmness were

necessary to oppose it. This was the answer he should give to those gentlemen, who thought present security a ground for future negligence. He trusted that the success, which had hitherto attended vigorous measures, would be an argument for their continuance. Mr. Tierney said, "the right honourable gentleman has now let the house into his intentions: it now appears, that this suspension is to be made into a system." The house then divided. For the bill 96, against it 6.

The suspension of the habeas-corpus-act was moved in the house of lords, on the fourth of January, by lord Grenville. It was opposed by lord Suffolk, who said, it was highly necessary that ministers should assign some reason for the renewal of this bill before it was proposed by the house. His lordship complained much of the cruel treatment of colonel Despard, rigorously confined; under great severities, in the Cold-bath-prison, for six months, without any specific charge against him. Lord Grenville thought the reasons formerly given for passing this bill, and which remained in full force, sufficient to induce their lordships to continue it. As to the harshness with which colonel Despard had been said to be treated, he did not know any thing of the matter. Something of the kind had been complained of, but it had been immediately discountenanced by government. Lord Holland, after a representation of the important tendency and effects of the habeas-corpus-act, said, that the most imperious necessity, only, ought to induce the house to abandon so strong a bulwark to the liberty of the subject. The habeas-corpus act.

act was so excellent a law, that nothing less than the detection of a conspiracy to overturn the government could overturn this measure. Besides, before so much of the liberty of the subject was taken away, we should be very careful to whom it was intrusted. But, it was asserted, that there had existed conspiracies of a deep and insidious kind. Several persons, his lordship observed, had been brought to trial on charges of high-treason; and the crown had exerted all its strength for their conviction: but what was the result? Why, that the accused were honourably acquitted, by a jury of their countrymen; and that the treasons and seditions, of which ministers had spoken so much, disappeared in a moment. There was but one case, he said, in which the measure proposed could be necessary: which was, if there actually existed those conspiracies, and some of the persons concerned in them were in custody, but could not be brought to trial without the risk of giving the alarm to the rest. Lord H. after a summary review of the state of Ireland, denied that the rebellion in that country justified new rigours in this. Had the government of Ireland ameliorated the condition of the people, by removing their grievances, rebellion would never have broken out. The system of ministers was to keep the attention of the public upon its own danger, instead of the incapacity or corruption of ministers. When he considered the failure of the objects of ministers in public affairs, the zeal and loyalty manifested by the people, the treatment they had experienced, and the conduct they had observed, he was

astonished that their rulers should so calumniate them, as to affirm that the bill was necessary.

Lord Grenville despaired of convincing the noble lord of the propriety of the measures of any of the king's ministers. But, although they had not been favoured with his approbation, they had repeatedly received the approbation of the house. As to the trials of persons acquitted at the Old Bailey, were we now to learn, that the acquittal was not a proof of innocence? So far from this, it tended to confirm the existence of the conspiracy, by proving the existence of the corresponding society! Was the existence of a conspiracy, and the necessity of the measure proposed, disproved by the person so honourably acquitted at Maidstone? Had not that traitor, O'Connor, since his honourable acquittal, thrown himself on the mercy of that gracious sovereign, whom he had basely attempted to dethrone? O'Coigly, one of his confederates, had also been convicted of treason; and it appeared beyond a doubt, that a communication was to be made to the directory; not from any society in Ireland, but in England. All these things proved the existence of a conspiracy in both countries. A design, also, had been long conceived, for separating the kingdoms from each other. On the whole, Mr. Pitt was persuaded, that the public would consider the bill not as intended for the destruction of their liberties, but its protection.

Lord Holland was of opinion, that the tranquillity and safety of the country would be best consulted by the removal of grievances and colourable pretexs for rebellion.

C H A P



## C H A P. XII.

*Union with Ireland.—Message from his Majesty, relative to that Subject.—Resolutions preparatory to an Union. Debates thereon, in both Houses of Parliament.—Conferences between the Lords and Commons.—Joint Address, from both Houses, to his Majesty.—New Arrangements respecting the Militia Volunteer, and Provisional Cavalry.—Slave-Trade.*

IN proportion as the enemies of our country laboured to effect an entire separation between Great Britain and Ireland, the British government became anxious to draw them closer and closer together, by uniting them not only under the same crown, but the same legislature.

Ireland had, for many centuries, formed one dominion with England: and, allowing to this country a superiority in the nomination of her king, she claimed and enjoyed, in every other respect, an equality of rights with Englishmen. As the rights of subjects in both kingdoms were the same, the king's prerogatives were also the same. The king had his courts of wards in Ireland as well as England: and, at his command, the possessors of landed property, in both kingdoms, then military tenants of the crown, were bound to take arms in the national defence. This martial system, corrupted in all its branches, through the lapse of time, and retaining scarcely any thing but the name, was finally swept away by the act, in the twelfth of Charles II. for the abolition of tenures.

Among the king's ancient prerogatives, the right of regulating com-

merce appears to have been one, and of imposing duties on merchandize, exclusively, *jure Coronæ*: but this, like the other feudal rights inherent in the crown, gradually suffered alteration. The parliament gradually interfered in that power: and, one precedent of their interference justifying another, they at length wrested from Charles I. his consent to an act which placed that right in the supreme legislature.

What the English parliaments were doing in England, the Irish parliaments imitated in Ireland; and thus, unobservedly, a wall of separation was raised between the two kingdoms, to the prejudice of both. Commercial concerns, which, in the beginning, were directed by a law of uniformity, came thus to be directed by a law of diversity. As different interests, and different views, predominated in the parliament of each kingdom, different commercial regulations followed of course, and the opposite shores of the Irish channel became, by degrees, mutually inimical. These different interests, and different views, were fortified in each kingdom by the predilection of drawing a public revenue from port-duties: and on this principle, together with

that

that of the unity of dominion, the English parliament thought itself entitled to controul the commercial proceedings of the Irish parliament, as far as, in their judgement, it prejudiced, or might prejudice, the revenue of England, which was the chief support of government! The Irish, acquiescing in this legislation, gave themselves a kind of indemnification, by withholding their proper proportion of the public supplies.

Usages, long acquiesced in, form a constitution as well as written stipulations; examples of which we have in the prerogatives claimed by each house of parliament, which, though no where written, are generally understood and acknowledged. Accordingly, for want of a more regular and more defined system of connection between the two islands, since the abolition of feudal tenures, this undefined supremacy of the English parliament, over Ireland, was regarded as the sole remaining anchor that held Great Britain and Ireland together; as the only principle that made them one in political power and dominion. However imperfect, however impolitic, this system was, it was nevertheless considered in both nations as a constitution, by which, in many instances, for many years, the parliaments and the tribunals of Ireland were conducted. From this constitution innumerable evils certainly flowed, both to Great Britain and Ireland. But many more grievances having been attributed to it than could actually be laid to its charge, it became doubly odious, and at length, sharing the fate of the feudal tenures, was in May, 1782, abolished. When the Irish constitution was thus dissolved, the people of Great Britain and Ireland ex-

pressed a wish, almost unanimous, that the two islands might still continue to be connected by such political principles as should make their interests, their constitutional privileges, and their power one, in a more complete manner than they had ever been before. The motion, which passed into a law, for the abolition of the old constitution, was followed by another motion, declaring the absolute necessity of forming a new constitution.

The formation of this new constitution, though acknowledged by both houses of parliament to be of indispensable necessity, was nevertheless put off, by what has been called the coalition ministry, *fine die*. Yet, lord North, on the occasion of proposing, in 1783, a new act relative to the postage of letters, acknowledged it to "be very certain that Great Britain and Ireland had become to each other, in point of political power, as foreign nations." The relative situation of the two islands was thus both new and alarming. The two countries were liable to be separated by a thousand accidents, which no human foresight or wisdom could prevent.

The three great objects to be accomplished, for the formation of a constitutional connection between two nations are an equality of interests, an equality of privileges, and a unity of power. The two first of these objects were already in a great measure provided for, and very little remained indeed that could be urged by any peaceable and well-disposed Irishmen, as a subject of complaint against the British government. But the unity of power, or unity of defence between Great Britain and Ireland, remained



remained unsettled in 1799; when on the twenty-second of January, a message on that subject was received from his majesty by both houses of parliament. His majesty, after advert-  
ing to the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevered in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, recommended it to the lords and commons to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating that design, by disposing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they should judge the most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment, as might best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources, of the British empire—on the following day, when this message was taken into consideration, Mr. secretary Dundas, having laid on the table several papers relative to the proceedings of certain societies in Ireland, and the rebellion in that country, moved an address to his majesty, the substance of which was, “That the house would proceed with all due dispatch to the consideration of the several interests, recommended in his majesty’s gracious message, to their serious attention.”

Mr. Sheridan said, that before ministers recommended to the house of commons to take measures that led inevitably to the discussion of some plan of union, it was incumbent on them to have shewn, that the last pledge of the English parliament, to the people of Ireland, by which their independence was recognized, and their rights acknowledged, had not produced that unanimity, which the parliaments

of the two countries sought to cherish. The parliament of Ireland was an independent parliament.—There was no power whatever competent to make laws for that country. He was persuaded that such of his countrymen as really loved national liberty, and who recollected that auspicious period when independence came upon them, as it were by surprise, when the genius of freedom rested on their island, the whole of the Irish, in short, would come to this second adjustment, with a temper that would not augur tranquillity, but disquietude; not the suppression of treason, but the extension and increase of plots, to multiply and enlanguine its horrors! He admitted that there was something informal in this way of treating the question immediately before the house. But his dear country, Ireland, had claims upon him, which he was not more proud to acknowledge than ready, to the full measure of his ability, to liquidate. He could see the possible danger of adding to the discontents of the people of Ireland. But these dangers were to be apprehended only, as innovations and encroachments on the rights of the Irish people, as forming an independent nation. He did not know how to admit, that to reject the measure of an union were to invite the separation of the two countries by a French force. His opinion was directly the reverse of this. Situated as Ireland was, without having in one instance manifested a wish to unite, but, on the contrary, having unequivocally declared herself hostile to the proposition of an union: he thought that, if it should be effected, it would be an union accomplished by surprise, fraud, corruption,

corruption, and intimidation, and which must place the people of Ireland in a worse condition than they were in before. Having established, as he trusted, two propositions, first, that the measure proposed was decidedly an infraction and violation of the acknowledged independence of Irish legislation; and, secondly, that union could not prevent the separation of this country by France, Mr. Sheridan offered to the consideration of the house a third proposition, namely, that it was not possible, in the present state of Ireland, that people could declare and act upon their genuine sentiments. Was it possible that the free, fair, and unbiassed sense of the people of Ireland could be collected, at the present time, on that question? The English force in Ireland was, at once, an answer to that question. What would be said if France acted in a similar manner, not to a country neutral or merely in alliance with her, but to a country dear to her on every account, and whose sons were fighting her battles in every quarter of the globe? would it not be said, that it was the greatest perfidy? The king of Sardinia gave his consent that the French should take possession of Piedmont: but it was the effect of force. He heard much of French principles, but he wished that gentlemen would not so closely follow French practices. With respect to the enemies of the British government, it had two enemies in Ireland, "poverty and ignorance," and unless it could be shewn, that the present measure could remove these, he could not agree to the measure. If, said Mr. Sheridan, the people of Ireland be active and industrious in every country but their

own, it must be the effect of their government. First remove the causes of their misery, and then invite them, if you will, to a closer union. Mr. Arthur Young has attributed the evils that afflict the poor of Ireland to the progress of French principles. But I am quite convinced the misery of that unfortunate class has had its origin, and continues to increase with the exactions and imposts of their overgrown landlords. He concluded with moving the following amendment: "At the same time to express the surprize, and deep regret, with which this house now, for the first time, learns from his majesty, that the final adjustment, which, upon his majesty's gracious recommendation, took place between the two kingdoms in 1782, and which, by the declaration of the parliaments of both countries, placed the connection between them on a solid and permanent basis, has not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement; and farther, humbly to express to his majesty, that his majesty's faithful commons having strong reason to believe that it is in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to propose an union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding the said final and solemn adjustment, feel it to be their bounden duty, impressed as they are with the most serious apprehensions of the consequences of such a proceeding at this time, to take the earliest opportunity humbly to implore his majesty not to listen to the counsel of those who shall advise or promote such a measure at the present crisis, and under the present circumstances of the empire."

Mr. Canning admitted, that in the resolutions, entered upon the journals

journals of the house in 1782, the words *final adjustment* were made use of: but the resolutions, to which Mr. Sheridan referred, were immediately followed by another resolution, evidently of a prospective nature, which declared the necessity of establishing some more permanent system, by which alone the tranquillity and importance of Ireland could remain uninterrupted, and continue to be improved.— With regard to the posture of affairs in Ireland, he said, it was notorious that a rebellion had existed in that country. This, though checked, was not perhaps, effectually quelled. The object of the traitorous machinations, which gave rise to that rebellion, was not any partial change of men or measures, but a total subversion of the existing government and constitution of the country, and the complete destruction of all connection between the sister kingdom and Great Britain.— Mr. Canning urged the expediency of an union, from the authority of a doctor Dugghenon, who had shewn in a publication, intitled “An Answer to Mr. Grattan,” either that the plan of union must be adopted, or that some other must be devised for the fortification of the protestant ascendancy. As to the intimidation which, it had been alleged, would be impressed on the public mind in Ireland, and the restraint which it would impose on the free-will and voice of the nation, on the subject of the union: when once the union should be effected, the necessity of keeping up a large army there would be removed; and thus the union would, in fact, remove one of the objects of Mr. Sheridan’s own censure and complaints. But where did that inti-

midation appear? both the liberty of speech, and the liberty of the press had been pretty freely indulged on the present subject. Was it the parliament of Ireland that English soldiers were to ‘coerce and restrain? a parliament fully armed with every constitutional power to control that or any other army? In recommendation of an union with Ireland, Mr. Canning said, that it would satisfy the friends of the protestant ascendancy, without passing laws against the catholics, and without maintaining those which were yet in force. Mr. Canning, in the course of his speech, expatiated on the influence of the French revolution. As to what had fallen from Mr. Sheridan respecting the incorporations made by France, for the farther aggrandizement of her already gigantic dominions, in what possible point of view could such a comparison be instituted between the conduct of France and Britain? did France attempt to incorporate other countries for the purpose of extending their common commercial interests? Had the French been the authors, not of contributions and confiscations, but of means of wealth and prosperity to the conquered countries? and had they only required of them to bear a common share, on common terms, for the defence and advancement of a common cause? did the countries, which they endeavoured to incorporate, resemble France in constitution and law? and in other points which he specified.

Mr. Jones was of opinion, that the measure now suggested, instead of crushing the rebellion, would have the opposite tendency. It appeared to him to have all the characteristic marks of French inter-

nity. He was far from supposing that troops were sent to Ireland for the purpose of over-awing the deliberations of the parliament of the country; but, certainly, while they were there, they might be considered as having the effect of an intimidation, with respect to the people at large.

Mr. Sheridan said, that he had heard Mr. Canning's speech with much satisfaction, because it was so little applicable to the question. He had not stated that the Irish parliament deliberated under intimidation; but that there was a kind of negative intimidation, while so great a military force remained in the country; and, that Ireland was placed in a situation in which she could not help herself. Offence had been taken at the term French incorporation, and it was said that the countries, which the French compelled to unite with them, were not admitted to the participation of such advantages as were held out to Ireland by an union with Britain. But the question was, not a comparison of blessings, but the mode in which the measure was to be carried into effect. Would it be said that this country was to compel Ireland to agree to an union, because we were certain that it was for their advantage?

Mr. Pitt, though he did not think it necessary to enter fully into the important details, which the subject before them naturally suggested, could not pass over with indifference some topics which had been alluded to in the course of Mr. Sheridan's speech. The honourable gentleman, in bringing forward his amendment, appeared to Mr. Pitt to furnish but one argument in support of the conclusion which he had la-

boured to establish, namely, that there was no power which could make the result of the deliberation, for adjusting the reciprocal interests of both kingdoms, effectual. If the parliament of Ireland had no right to incorporate with the legislature of this country, without the sense of the people of Ireland, as little had the parliament of Great Britain a right to follow the same measure with that of Ireland; as little had the parliament of Scotland a right to agree to the terms of the union, which had been effected; as little had the parliament of England a right to ratify that union under which England had so eminently flourished. The honourable gentleman had talked of a wish to carry the measure proposed by surprise, Mr. Pitt hesitated not to say, that, if any blame was imputable to ministry, it was that of having acted with too much caution. It had been distinctly recommended, from the throne, to adopt such salutary means as might improve and perpetuate a connection essential to the common security and interests of both countries. His majesty's ministers, in conformity to that communication, had only stated the time of laying before the house the materials necessary for forming an opinion, and added, that a proper interval would take place before they took the sense of parliament. "In short," said Mr. Pitt, "the question now is, shall we, after the expiration of a proper interval, discuss and come to a determination on the subject; or shall we, in the first instance, and on the mere outset of the business, without taking a just review of the considerations on both sides, positively declare that the measure is either unnecessary, or so impracticable

impracticable as to prevent any hopes of realizing it?" The evils with which Ireland was afflicted, Mr. Pitt observed, lay deep in the situation of the country. They were to be attributed to the manners of its inhabitants, to the state of society, to the habits of the people at large; to the unequal distribution of property, to the want of civilized intercourse, to the jarring discord of party, and above all, to the prejudices of religious sects. This deplorable situation of the country was not to be remedied by any act of the Irish parliament, but by gradual, sober, and dispassionate improvement and civilization; by the circulation of capital, by the social intercourse naturally flowing from trade and commerce, by the diffusion of social habits, by the dissemination of liberal sentiment, by removing party distractions, by suppressing factious associations, by allaying hereditary feuds between two nations subsisting in the same island, and by the extinction of religious prejudices. For such remedies we must look to the provisions of an independent legislature, removed from the immediate seat of the complicated disease, which should not be partial to either party, but the fair arbiter and kind parent of both; which should not be liable to local influence, nor subject to popular incitement, and which should be fully competent to make head against the lawless inroads of destructive innovation and anarchy. Mr. Pitt did not deny that even the deformed resemblance of the British constitution was superior to any proceeding from the new system; but, the imperfection of the Irish constitution was admitted, and to that the complicated grievances and defects in the state of the country at large.

With respect to the confinement of property in a few hands, the extraordinary disparity of rank, and the scanty means of social improvement, all producing in a proportionate degree misery in one extreme, and oppression in the other, how could these grievances be remedied but by a closer connection with Great Britain? The situation of Ireland must also be remedied by an influx of capital, and the circulation of wealth: and whence were these necessary ingredients to be supplied, but by assimilating it with Great Britain? He did not merely say, let Ireland be united; let her be blended with us, let her partake of every solid benefit, of every eminent advantage that could result from such incorporation. In answer to what had been said by Mr. Sheridan, about a final adjustment. Mr. Pitt undertook to state that this final adjustment was made under the pretence of redressing grievances, without looking to future consequences, or taking a general view of circumstances: it was dictated by the spirit of momentary popularity, and was not founded in the solid interests of the country. Having created two distinct parliaments, equally able and competent to decide and dictate, on questions of peace and war, and all points of trade and commerce—it left them as divided on all material points, about which nations might contest, as any two powers on the continent.

When the act was passed, Mr. Pitt observed, which gave independence to Ireland, it was accompanied by a resolution, stating that it was the opinion of the house, that the connection between both kingdoms should be consolidated by future measures or regulations, founded on

on the basis of mutual consent.—

The existence of the resolution being proved, by extracts from the journals of the house, Mr. Pitt, on the authority of that resolution, assumed it as an established fact, that no final settlement, in 1782, had, as was alleged, been made with Ireland. And nothing, he added, had been since attempted to provide for that defective settlement, but the partial and inadequate measure of the Irish propositions, which were defeated by the persons who framed the resolution, but who found no substitute in their room. Was there no probable case in which the legislatures of both kingdoms might differ? Had not one case actually arisen, and that within the short space of sixteen years? He meant that of the regency. The difference of principle was evident, for the Irish parliament decided upon one principle, and the British parliament upon another. They both led to the appointment of the same person, but that was accidental, for that person must have governed the two kingdoms upon different principles. The office of regent, on grounds equally justifiable, might have been vested in two distinct persons. Could any man, with so instructive an example before his eyes, talk with sincerity of a final adjustment? Would Mr. Sheridan pretend to maintain, that, when the habit of discussing the foreign relations of the empire should take place, the parliament of Ireland might not, as it might naturally think itself entitled to do, proceed to inquire into treaties and alliances. And, on a supposed difference of local interest, was it impossible that the parliament of Ireland might take one step in giv-

ing advice to the sovereign, and the parliament of Great Britain another? If, in the present contest, the opposition were to have as much influence in Ireland as they formerly had, a vote for peace might be passed, and the efforts of Great Britain paralysed? Ireland, in such a case, might neutralize its ports, prevent the raising of recruits for the army and navy, and endanger the very existence of the empire.— It was true that the influence of the opposition party in Ireland had been less prevalent than ever. The influence of the great patriot of Ireland was extinct, nearly in the same way that the reputation of the other great patriots here in England had expired. But if the house wished to render the connection between Great Britain and Ireland perpetual, and to make the ties indissoluble, they would not do their duty to either country if they neglected to bring forward some proposition, that might provide for the safety and prosperity of Ireland, and remedy the miserable imperfections of the arrangement made in 1782.

Mr. Martin thought, that if, on the future discussion of the subject before the house, it should appear that an union with Ireland was a measure which would contribute to the advantage of both countries, it ought to be agreed to. As the house seemed to acquiesce in the opinion, Mr. Sheridan withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was put and carried. Soon after this, intelligence was received by the British government, that the proposal for an union, which had been laid before the Irish parliament, had been rejected.

On Thursday, January 31, 1793, the order of the day, for taking

his majesty's message, relative to an union with Ireland, into consideration, being read, Mr. Pitt rose and said, that when he proposed to the house that measure the last time, in order to fix the present day for its farther consideration, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication, to the parliament of Ireland, would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed, of its speedy accomplishment. But while he admitted and respected the rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt, that, as a member of the parliament of Great Britain, he also had a right to exercise, and a duty to perform. That duty, was to express, as distinctly as he could, the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his conscience, he thought would tend, in the strongest manner, to ensure the safety and happiness of both kingdoms. If parliament, after full explanation, and mature deliberation, should be of the same opinion, he would propose that its determination should remain recorded as that by which the parliament of Great Britain were ready to abide, leaving to the legislature of Ireland to reject or adopt it hereafter, upon a full consideration of the measure. Mr. Pitt proceeded to expatiate, at great length, on the topics on which he had touched in his former speech on this subject: the competence of the Irish parliament to accept or reject a proposition of this nature, the necessity of an intimate and perpetual connection between Great Britain and Ireland, to the interests of both countries; the defects of what had been called the final adjustment of 1782; the impediments now existing to the prosperity of Ireland, and the advanta-

ges which that country would derive from an union with Great Britain. He then remarked that the union with Scotland had been as much opposed, and by much the same arguments, prejudices, and misconceptions, creating the same alarms, and provoking the same outrages, as had lately taken place at Dublin: yet the advantages, which that part of the united kingdom had derived from the union, were abundantly apparent, from the general prosperity of the capital, manufacturing towns, and the country in general. The resolutions, the principles and tendency of which he had now in general explained, but of which he wished a more detailed discussion to be reserved to a future day, were,

" First, That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

" Second, That it appears to this committee that it would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*.

" Third, That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united

united kingdoms shall continue limited and settled; in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

"Fourth, That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be presented in one and the same parliament, to be styled the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons as shall be hereafter agreed upon, by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland, previous to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take, and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declaration as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made, by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Fifth, That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

"Sixth, That, for the same purpose, it appears also to this commit-

tee, that it would be fit to propose that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties, as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles, which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts; that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect: and that all other matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon, for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective



kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

“ Seventh, That, for the like purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the charge, arising from the payment of the interest or sinking fund, for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively. That, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom, in peace or war, shall be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon, previous to the union.

“ Eighth, That, for the like purpose, it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within the respective kingdoms, shall remain, as now by law established, within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require.

“ That the foregoing resolutions be laid before his majesty, with a humble address, assuring his majesty that we have proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended to us in his majesty's gracious message :

“ That we entertain a firm persuasion, that a *complete and entire*

*union* between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce of the respective kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and domestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources, of the empire.

“ Impressed with these considerations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before his majesty such propositions as appear to us best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his majesty's wisdom, at such time and in such manner as his majesty, in his parental solicitude, for the happiness of his people, shall judge fit, to communicate these propositions to his parliament of Ireland, with whom we shall be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as may be found most conducive to the accomplishment of this great and salutary work. And we trust, that, after full and mature consideration, such a settlement may be framed and established; by the deliberative consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inseparably in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and invaluable constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of

of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire."

Mr. Sheridan, in a speech of considerable length, in reply to Mr. Pitt, went over the same ground on which he had expatiated formerly on the measure, when it was first announced to parliament. This speech he prefaced by many compliments to Mr. Pitt, as an orator, and remarks on the power of eloquence, at the present period. The whole world, he said, knew that there was never a time when fine speeches more powerfully affected the public, or when from fancied security, or habitual indifference, it appeared less eager profoundly to examine any question. Easy tempers were easily influenced by bold and ingenious sophistry. It was not every one who could distinguish between the flowing and rapid elocution of an admired orator, and the steady and well-tempered voice of unaffected reason.\* Seeing the manner in which the present subject was brought forward, and its fate in the Irish parliament, it might have been doubted whether the right honourable gentleman would persevere in the measure: but he continued to set all experience at defiance, and, in the face of the Irish nation, to spurn the assertion of her rights, to sawn and flatter her guileless and pure mind; and, by seeming to respect her declared opinion, to lull her into inactivity, the more successfully to enslave her for ever. Let his majesty's ministers, he said, grant to Ireland those advantages of which they boasted: they might be conceded to her without union:

they might be improved by her without abjectly surrendering her independence. Mr. Sheridan vindicated Mr. Fox from the accusation of not having followed up the resolution of 1782. He remained but two months after in office. But did Mr. Pitt himself, when he succeeded him in power, attempt to bring forward the objections which he this night so triumphantly urged? Had he not now been fifteen years a minister without ever endeavouring to do that, which from the first he deemed to be indispensably necessary? It was not Mr. Sheridan's intention to oppose going into a committee, but he would first move two resolutions, which, in case of Mr. Pitt's propositions being carried, he would wish to have placed before them, for the purpose of taking off, in some degree, that jealousy which the Irish parliament would be apt to entertain of their passing this house, after the measure of an union having been so decidedly rejected in the house of commons of Ireland. Mr. Sheridan then read the following resolutions: "That no measures can have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity and connection, now existing between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis the manifest, fair, and free consent and approbation of the parliaments of the two countries."

"That whoever shall endeavour to obtain the appearance of such consent and approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government, for the purposes of corruption or intimidation, is an

\* We have, on a former occasion, ventured to predict, that the abuse of oratory, which has, on some occasions, been carried the length of continuing a speech for several successive days, would, by and by, put long and flowery speeches out of fashion.

enemy to his majesty and the constitution."

Lord Hawkesbury remarked certain inconsistencies in the parliamentary conduct of Mr. Sheridan; but, as these, though sufficiently authenticated, could not be urged with propriety against his present propositions, and as our limits confine us very much to points of importance, we forbear to enter into any details on that subject. Mr. Sheridan, lord Hawkesbury observed, had somewhat more than insinuated, that the people of Ireland were against an union. The people of Cork, and the people of Limerick, had expressed themselves in favour of it: and when it once came to be duly considered, the whole people would view it in the same light. His lordship, by the same arguments that had been used by Mr. Pitt, justified the vote he should give for the present propositions being submitted to a committee of the whole house, by way of recording what they were willing to do for promoting the interests of Ireland.

Dr. Lawrence considered the proposed union in the light of a marriage: which was a matter of that delicate nature, that if the parties contracting it were not agreeable to each other, the closer they were drawn together by the bond, the farther, in fact, they were put asunder as to every beneficial and happy effect which might be expected to result from so tender and intimate a connection. As the number of members proposed to be introduced from Ireland was really very great, he could not help thinking that it might produce a very considerable degree of embarrassment in the business and debates of the house. How, indeed, they were to dispose

of them, he was at a loss to guess. The last debate in Ireland, on the present question, had lasted for twenty-two hours. If a majority of the Irish members should bring over their inclination for public speaking, and their speeches came to be added to those of their countrymen and others who were in the habits of making frequent and long speeches already, he could not avoid foreseeing many embarrassments which would necessarily attend so very considerable an addition to the numbers already possessed of seats in that house. He dreaded that, in the present seeming temper of Ireland, the propositions would add inflammation to a disposition already teeming with far too much irritability. On a division of the house, there appeared for the speakers leaving the chair, ayes, 112; noes, 15. The resolutions having been read in the committee, the house was resumed, and the committee was appointed to sit again on Thursday next.

On that day, the seventh of February, Mr. Sheridan, observed, in the committee, that, according to the rules and ordinary proceedings of the house, Mr. Pitt could, undoubtedly, claim the privilege of moving the order of the day before he (Mr. Sheridan) could attempt to move the resolutions, of which he had thrown out an idea and an intention of moving them, on a former occasion. If, therefore, that motion was insisted on, he must postpone his motion for the present. Mr. Pitt waved his privilege, and gave precedence to Mr. Sheridan, who promised to the house to take up as little time as possible now; and only to urge a few of the many reasons which might be advanced in support

support of the resolutions he intended to move. The question now before the house was, whether they were willing to second the pledge of devoting his life to this favourite project. That pledge would produce much irritation, and inflame all those discontents, which had already occasioned so much misery in Ireland. If the house sanctioned the present project, the two houses of commons of Great Britain and Ireland would be placed in opposition to each other, and the situation of these nations would be more alarming and frightful than that in which any two countries professing amity to each other. If Mr. Pitt did not succeed in his measure, on the present occasion, the people of Ireland would be convinced that he only waited for a more favourable opportunity, when Ireland should be more weak, to carry his favourite project, and that the engines he intended to use were intimidation and corruption. There was much to be done in the way of reform and improvement in Ireland: but, in order to do this, it was not necessary to pull down the credit and authority of parliament. He denied what had been so positively asserted, that we had no alternative but separation or union. The real alternative was, the Irish government should no longer continue to be a corrupt English job. Was it meant to be asserted that there is some innate depravity in the character of Irishmen which rendered them unfit to have a parliament of their own? No! the cause of the corruption that had been complained of lay not in the character of the worthy people of Ireland. But the government of Ireland had been made a job of, for the advantage of English

ministers. This was the corruption, this the will that had pervaded it from first to last. But, before Ireland should be required to surrender her independence, it was fit that a trial should be made of what could be done by an honest parliament; a parliament uninfluenced by a British minister, having the interest and happiness of Ireland for its object, and looking to Irish prosperity and gratitude for its reward. Mr. Sheridan having moved the two resolutions, already specified,

Mr. Pitt observed that his only discussion had been upon general principles not now before the house, and already amply debated and decided upon. As to his particular motions, the first, as Mr. Sheridan himself had stated, was a truism. But that argument, which the honourable gentleman had adduced in favour of his motion, was a decisive argument against it. If a thing was true, there required no declaration to give it effect, and all such attempts were useless and nugatory. With regard to his second motion, "that whoever should, by corruption or intimidation, attempt to carry the question, was an enemy to his country," it evidently insinuated that such a conduct had been pursued. It undoubtedly alluded to the case of a high officer in the sister kingdom (sir John Parnel, late chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland) who had quitted his situation on account of his disagreement with his colleagues in an important fundamental measure of government. If many gentlemen were connected together with the honourable intention of acting for the service of their country, it was necessary, in order to preserve a unity of action, that they should agree in their system; and it

was an error to suppose that either the resignation, or even the dismissal of any one, was a system of corruption.

Mr. Grey admitted that a difference of opinion, among persons acting together on fundamental points of policy, must arrest the progress of public business: yet this principle did not justify the dismissal of a member of parliament from an office in the state, on account of his vote on a particular question, while he agreed, perhaps, with his colleagues in all other points. Was Mr. Pitt's doctrine, respecting dismissals from office, now maintained, the uniform and unvaried opinion which ruled his public conduct? Was there not a time, when a question, as important as the union with Ireland, and as essential in the opinion of the right honourable gentleman at that time, to the interests and well-being of good government, he meant parliamentary reform, which he brought forward, and which, he solemnly promised to exert all his influence, as a man and a minister, ultimately to bring into effect? Where, then, are his fair and honourable intentions? Has he manifested them in the removal of those who opposed that measure? or of those who opposed another measure, to which he had professed himself to be a warm friend, the abolition of the slave-trade? Mr. Sheridan admitted that his first resolution was a truism. But was it not also true that the parliament of Ireland could not give a free and fair consent when he held out, that those who voted against the measure would be turned out of their places? There were, in the Irish house of commons, one hundred and sixteen placemen. Two great examples being made, in the dismissal of the

chancellor of the exchequer, and the prime serjeant, the others would remain staunch and true out of fear. Mr. Sheridan said that he should certainly divide the house on the question before them. But the previous question, moved by Mr. Pitt, was carried by 141 against 25. A motion for the speaker's now leaving the chair, and for the house going immediately into a committee, for the farther consideration of the king's message, was opposed by Mr. H. A. St. John. Many comparisons, he observed had been made, between the probable effect of this, and the certain effect of another union, he meant the union with Scotland. The union between England and Scotland, it was stated, had produced mutual strength. But it did not appear, nor had any body attempted to shew that Scotland might not have improved, if the union had not taken place.

But this was a point he was not called on to discuss. The question before the house was simply this, whether, in the present situation of affairs, the house of commons, in Ireland, having declared its sense against considering the measure at all, any good could result from the agitation of it at this moment, in this country. To do this, in his opinion, might irritate the house of commons of Ireland, and induce them to adopt some measure for manifesting their resentment at such a measure as this. It would be better to let the whole question rest for the present calmly, and, the parties being left to cool on the subject, and to bring it forward hereafter, if it should appear to be necessary at a proper season.

Mr. Grey, in the course of a speech on this subject, in which he considered

considered it in the same light, and opposed the measure of an union on the same grounds that had been taken by the members on his side of the house, made a distinction that tended more directly to a refutation of one of the most essential positions of the ministers than any that had been made by any of the other speakers, who had preceded him in the debates on the present subject. Mr. Pitt had affirmed, that there could not have been a final settlement or adjustment in 1782, because it was even expressed, that something was left to be done. But, said Mr. Grey, "he knows well enough, and he ought to have the candour to acknowledge, that there may be a final adjustment of one thing, and another left to be settled, and which indeed was the case. The final adjustment, in 1782, referred to the political independence of the Irish legislature: but the point to be settled was one that related to trade." Mr. Pitt, in order to shew the inconveniency of two independent parliaments, had quoted the case of the regency. But what, Mr. Grey asked, was the case of the regency? The parliament of Ireland vested, in the heir apparent, the full power of a regent, without any restriction. The parliament of this country voted the same person, but with certain limitations and restrictions. But, were the situations of the two countries alike? By no means. In this country there is a vast deal of power and influence accompanying sovereignty, independent of that which is properly called government: in Ireland there is none. When, therefore, the Irish parliament voted a regent, they had nothing but the power of government to give. The

case was otherwise in this country, and, therefore, the one having given the whole without restraint, and the other restraining, did not, in reality, differ, as might have been thought, on the first view of the matter.

Mr. secretary Dundas observed, that the last honourable speaker had dwelt with much minuteness on the discussions of 1782, and on the commercial and political situation in which Ireland was then placed, and had since, in consequence of those discussions, continued. But grants made to Ireland at that period had nothing to do with the question now before the house. The present proposition did not contain any suggestion derogatory to the acknowledged independency of the parliament of Ireland. It was a proposition for the incorporation of the two legislatures into one, without infringing the liberty or independence of either. To put an end to all cavil, he was ready to admit, that, by the transactions of 1782, the Irish parliament was placed on the same footing of independence, in relation to Great Britain, as Scotland was, with regard to England, before the union of the two kingdoms. As to the proposition itself, he undertook to prove, by a reference to the affairs of Scotland, at and after the union, that a similar measure would be attended with similar benefits to Ireland. He assumed it as a fact, that there existed in Ireland, at this time, a spirit of dissention and clamour, of treachery and treason, which menaced the overthrow of the present government. Conspiracies were so widely extended, their influence was so deeply infused into the minds of the people of Ireland, and the connection between the

two countries thereby so much endangered, that without the immediate and active interference of government, the result might have been a total separation of Ireland from this kingdom. It was the duty of his majesty's ministers, viewing Ireland in this perilous situation, to extricate her from the intrigues of the common enemy, by preserving and improving the connection which had so long and so happily subsisted between that country and Great Britain. A more appropriate remedy for the disease, which poisoned the peace and happiness of Ireland, could not be imagined, than the incorporating union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms. The Protestants would lay aside their jealousies and distrust, and the Catholics would be confident that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered by a united parliament: the great body of which would be relieved from apprehensions, jealousies, and inveterate animosities, interwoven into the frame and constitution of the separate parliament of Ireland. An incorporated parliament, partly English, partly Scotch, and partly Irish, would be better calculated for managing the affairs of the British empire, than separate parliaments in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The powers of a parliament so constituted would be more extensive and effectual than when acting separately in different places. It should be recollected, that the Irish parliament, with all its boasted independency, could not give vigor or effect to its acts, till approved by the third estate, whose residence was in England. The controuling power was properly vested in the sovereign of this coun-

try, who was also the sovereign of Scotland and Ireland; therefore the parliament of Ireland was not intirely independent. In support of this proposition, he referred to the authority of Mr. Grattan, the champion of Irish independence, who says, "The parliament of Ireland cannot act independently; for, in all cases of peace or war, it must implicitly follow the parliament of Great Britain." The parliament, constituted by the union, had not deprived Scotland of any of the privileges enjoyed previously to its incorporation with England. The union had increased the privilege of the Scotch members: for, instead of confining their deliberations to the affairs of Scotland, they were empowered to take part in discussions respecting the affairs not only of England but of the whole British empire; and, so far as related to the third estate, had even an interference with the affairs of Ireland. The parliament of Ireland, incorporated on the same principles, would have the same privileges. It was a mis-statement of facts, to talk of destroying the parliament of Ireland; for an union would place the Irish members in the same situation as the members of the British parliament. He condemned the operations of personal vanity. He wished that gentlemen would direct their pride and honour to acts of laudable ambition. They would evince greater patriotism, by a due attention to the interests of both countries. If considerations of personal vanity and self-independence were to be allowed to operate on this subject, let gentlemen recollect, that if their genius were ever so acute, their eloquence ever so splendid, all these wonderful powers

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [219

powers were confined to one little island. Let the Irish parliament accept of a participation of all the rights of the British parliament, and they would find, that their eloquence would not be confined to England or any other country. They would be heard not only in Europe, but in Asia, Africa, and America. In considering the present question, it was impossible not to turn our eyes to the state of Scotland before and since the union, and to contemplate the advantages which had resulted from it to that part of the united kingdom. Having exhibited a statement of its augmented commerce and population since that period, he observed, that the increased improvements and the increase of trade, were not confined to any particular part of Scotland. They were experienced in every corner of it: and there was not now an inhabitant of any spot in all Scotland, who had not cause to rejoice at that event.

On that memorable occasion, many melancholy pictures were presented to the public view, in the shape of prophecies. Among other false prophecies, was a great part of that celebrated speech of lord Belhaven's, on which Mr. Dundas requested permission to make a few remarks. His lordship, in a kind of prophetic, or rather poetic vision, fancied many evils, the very reverse of which had actually come to pass: as Mr. Dundas shewed by an appeal to facts. And, in opposition to the prophecies of lord Belhaven, and other opponents of the union, he brought under the recollection of the house the following passage in a letter from queen Anne to the Scottish parliament, recommending to them to take the

articles of union, which had been agreed on at London, under their consideration. "The union has long been desired by both nations, and we shall esteem it as the greatest glory of our reign to have it now perfected, being fully persuaded, that it must prove the greatest happiness of our people. An entire and perfect union will be the solid foundation of lasting peace. It will secure your religion, liberty, and property, remove your animosities among yourselves, and the jealousies and differences betwixt our two kingdoms. It must increase your strength, riches, and trade, and, by this union, the whole island being joined in affection, and freed from all apprehensions of different interests, will be enabled to resist all its enemies, support its interests every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe." From this remarkable passage, said Mr. Dundas, it was evident that her majesty was a true prophetess: for not one syllable of her predictions had failed. It had been asked, Mr. Dundas proceeded, what right we had to impute all those advantages to the union, and why it was not to be supposed that Scotland, like other nations, would have advanced in prosperity from the various causes which had contributed to the modern wealth of other states? There were a multitude of answers that might be given to this question, founded on the local situation of Scotland, her internal policy, and her relation to other nations, which must for ever have debarred that kingdom from participating in that prosperity which had marked the progress of other states in Europe. But, in place of consuming the time of the house by reasoning to which



it might justly be imputed that it was influenced by subsequent events, he would give more satisfaction by using the words as well as arguments of a cotemporary statesman, who was one of the commissioners for treating with England for an union. Here he read over Mr. Seton, of Pitmedden's speech, on the first article of union being brought under the consideration of the Scottish parliament, in which he considered the three different ways in which it had been proposed to retrieve the languishing condition of the Scottish nation: which were, that the Scots should continue under the same sovereign with England, with limitations on his prerogative as king of Scotland; that the two kingdoms should be incorporated into one; or that they should be entirely separated. Mr. Seton pointed out inseparable objections to the first and the third of these modes. On the subject of the last, he concluded, from various considerations, "that the Scottish nation, by an entire separation from England, could not extend its trade so as to raise its power in proportion to other trafficking nations in Europe; but, that thereby they might be in danger of returning to that gothic constitution of government, wherein their forefathers were, which was frequently attended with frauds, murders, depredations, and rebellions." Thus, said Mr. Dundas, spoke Mr. Seton, of Pitmedden, at the time when he had no resources from which to draw his conclusions, but those of his own enlightened understanding, and the view he could take of the existing state of the other nations of the world. But his reasoning was solid, and I should only weaken its effect, by saying

more on the particular points which he has so ably treated. I shall, however, add one fact, which, in my conception, proves beyond a doubt, that the rapid progress of prosperity in Scotland sprung from the union. Where did the prosperity of Scotland make its first appearance, and most early progress? In the western parts of the kingdom, owing clearly to the circumstance of those parts being locally the best situated for taking the benefit of the colonial trade.

A question had been triumphantly asked, "why not give all those advantages to Ireland without an union?" without an incorporating union they would be of no avail: for the strength and resources of both countries must be consolidated, in order to enable Ireland to reap the full advantage from such concessions. It is from confidence in the strength of government alone that a communication of capital and other advantages can arise. In addition to this it might be observed, that the English government could not, consistently, with the duty they owed to their British fellow-subjects, make such concessions to Ireland under its present constitution and separate legislature. Concessions of such a nature could not be safely granted until an imperial parliament possessed the control over the resources of the empire at large, and the power of applying them to imperial purposes. Much, if not the chief force of the arguments, by those who opposed the measure under consideration, had been laid on the opposition which was made to it by the parliament of Ireland. But Mr. Dundas, when circumstances were attended to, could not refrain

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [221

from stating, that this view of the subject was given in very erroneous colours. Two estates of the legislature of Ireland, the king and the lords, had pointedly expressed their desire that the subject should be entertained and considered: and the contrary opinion had been carried only by a very narrow majority in the house of commons. Under such circumstances it was idle to talk of this as a solemn decision of parliament. Sound reason and good sense would ultimately prevail: and he could not help auguring well, to the ultimate success of the measure, when he contemplated the clamour and violence by which the consideration of it had been resisted. These were not the weapons by which truth and solid reasoning maintain their empire over the understandings and hearts of men.

When gentlemen pretended to think highly of the sacrifices of Scotland to the union, compared with those of Ireland, they did not recollect that Ireland had not, for many centuries, been free, or independent of England; but that Scotland never was completely subdued or under the control of England: that Scotland gave up what Ireland could not give up, an independent legislature of king, lords, and commons; and that Scotland gave up, what Ireland could not give up, an independent and separate crown. The Scots undoubtedly surrendered those honours at the time with reluctance, and evinced the greatest hostility to the union, until experience had made them acquainted with its blessings. Mr. Dundas could not help noticing the vast unpopularity of the duke of Queensberry and other commissioners who favoured the union, while the zeal and activity of the duke of Hamil-

ton, and lord Belhaven, were the theme of every tongue. The duke of Queensberry, the nobleman who took the most active part in carrying the union into effect, and was her majesty's commissioner for the purpose, narrowly escaped, in several instances, with his life. But the union soon became so popular, that the pretender, having pledged himself to a repeal of the act of union, excited such a fermentation against him, that he was obliged to expunge this promise from his manifesto. This change of sentiment happened in the year 1715, eight years after the union. It ought to afford a salutary lesson to those false patriots who chuse to rest their character and fame on the short-lived clamours of the day: and it ought also to afford a heart-felt consolation to those who have the magnanimity to disdain such mean and paltry arts, trusting that their real patriotism, founded on a consideration of the real interests of their country, will not fail ultimately to secure them that solid and permanent fame, which is alone worthy of possessing.

With regard to the final adjustment of the year 1782, it was a misapplication of terms to call it final. It was also to little purpose to the opinions, on that occasion, of Mr. Grattan, who was only the mouth-piece of the volunteers.—The whole of the business was evidently done in a hurry, and could be considered only as a temporary expedient to serve the purposes of the moment. However that might be, the parliament of Ireland afterwards succeeded in obtaining every thing it desired; and he was so far from denying a particle of its independence, that he admitted it in its fullest extent, and even founded  
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thereon no small part of his present arguments. Had the adjustment in 1782 not taken place, it might have been said that the Irish parliament could not now treat fairly. But its present independence gave it the same competency to treat that was possessed by the parliament of Great Britain.

In various periods of our history attempts had been made to effect an union between England and Scotland, and till the beginning of the eighteen century, as often frustrated. Henry VIII. offered his daughter Mary to James V. of Scotland, holding out such inducements as the Scottish king was inclined to listen to. But the plan was defeated by the intrigues of the French and the popish faction. Edward VI. of England, in pursuance of his father's design, offered himself to Mary, queen of Scotland: and, though it was agreed to by the parliament of that country, the interference of the same faction rendered this treaty as fruitless as the former. Though, in the reign of James I. of England, articles of union were agreed to by commissioners of both countries, assembled at Westminster, and ratified conditionally by the Scottish parliament, yet the jealousy of the high churchmen, at that time, caused them to be rejected in England. The plan of an union was again brought forward in the reign of Charles I. but ended in some unavailing conferences amongst the commissioners appointed to manage it. In the reign of William and Mary, the proposition for an union came from the Scottish convention; and, on a recommendation from the crown, the English house of peers passed a bill for appointing commissioners to treating of an union of the two

kingdoms; which bill was thrown out by the commons. Thus the matter rested till the reign of queen Anne, at whose accession the project of an union also failed through the high church influence. But some reverses in the progress of the confederate war, and some events, which took place in Scotland, made England take the alarm, and be as anxious for the accomplishment of the union, as it was before forward in rejecting it. Now, Mr. Dundas, having glanced over the history of the attempts for an union between the two British kingdoms, wished it to be recollected, that when propositions to that effect failed in Scotland, it always happened through French influence and French intrigue. What was then the situation of Scotland, had now become, by various accidents, that of Ireland. France laboured, by every means, to form a connection in that country, and had in a great measure succeeded, as recent and unfortunate events testified. An union was proposed by Great Britain, as the surest way to put an end to that dangerous conspiracy, by a consolidation of the whole powers of the empire. If such a plan had been discussed and confirmed by the parliaments of both countries, in 1782, it was more than probable that we should not now have had to lament the acts of outrage and rebellion which had so recently convulsed and despoiled the sister kingdom. It was the lamentable deficiency of such a principle of union, in the compact of 1782, that gave rise to the most dangerous passions and animosities. It, in fact, presented Ireland with more resentments to satiate, and less authority to control them. While then the house deplored the late abominable excesses,

excesses, it was their duty to prevent the return of the sanguinary scenes, by an union of national interest, likely to reconcile and command the affections of the people. From every consideration, Mr. Dundas was induced to vote for the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Sheridan contended that the French had never built their hopes, in the smallest degree, on the separation of the two legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland, as had been inferred by Mr. Dundas; but, on the contrary, had all along rested their hopes on the desires and discontents of the great body of the people; which the present resolutions, pushed forward at the present time, could only serve to heighten. With regard to the great point, the competency or incompetency of the Irish parliament to discuss and decide on the matter in question, he said, there was a sovereignty in abeyance in the people. If there was not, the present family on the throne were usurpers. The practice of the revolution clearly showed the force of this argument. When king James II. abdicated the crown, the parliament did not proceed to do any act itself for settling the crown, but expressly called a convention, which the lord mayor of London, and fifty commoners, were invited to attend. All the members who had sat in the parliaments of Charles II. were also summoned; and every step that could be taken, in the pressing exigency of affairs, was actually taken, to shew, that the appointment to the crown was in the people, and in them only.

Mr. Windham said, that Mr. Sheridan had all along proceeded on a mistake, and appeared to imagine that union was sought for the advantage of England and not of

Ireland. He did not know what England had to wish from such a connection, for she commanded already all the commerce of the world, and amply possessed the means of defence. As to the measure proposed being an innovation, Ireland was in a state politically to require amelioration; it was right that something should be done to correct whatever was vicious in her system. He maintained that the disorders of Ireland grew out of the Irish constitution, established near a century and a half. The government was situated, as it were, in a garrisoned town. Government regarded the people with jealousy, and the people, in their turn, regarded government as an usurpation, or worse.—But the seeds of the mischief were in the constitution itself; which contained not one principle by which the ignorance of the people could be removed, or their ferocity suppressed. The proximate or immediate evil, however, was French principles. This evil had withered the aged, vitiated the youthful, polluted the sources of thought, and given to the whole system of manners and morals a malignity of character, a grossness and laxity, which had rendered the obligations between men little else than nugatory. The cure of the disorders, with which Ireland was convulsed, could be found only in the improvement of the manners of the lower orders of the people, by the introduction of British customs and British commerce, which, in his opinion, an union bid fairer to do than any other means that could possibly be devised. He would not now discuss the point which Mr. Sheridan had agitated towards the close of his speech. He thought it enough to say, that the people had

no political right to change the government, or to resist it: whatever might be the moral right that a people might be allowed speculatively to possess. The right of resistance was not a right acknowledged by, or known to, the British constitution.

Mr. Tierney did not think that the measure proposed would prevent the attempts of the enemy, because it was now seen that its effects would be to create still greater divisions than exist even at present in Ireland. It had been said that there are many instances in which the competence of parliament had been tried, and the case of the Scottish union had been alluded to. Parliament could do every thing but destroy themselves, and in the case of the Scottish union, the parliament did not destroy themselves. This Mr. Tierney thought was a very obvious distinction.

Mr. W. Grant divided the arguments against the proposed union, into three heads: 1. That the present was not the proper time, because the free assent of the people of Ireland could not be obtained to the measure. 2. That the project of the union was not only nugatory now, but would be so at all times. And, 3. That after what had passed in Ireland, its discussion was unnecessary and improper. Mr. Grant argued against all these positions with his usual ingeniousness and precision. As to the grand question of the competency of the Irish parliament to decide such a question. It was in fact but a treaty between two independent parliaments, who had a power to do whatever the constitution had not forbidden. The competency of the parliaments was not more a question than the competency of their elec-

tors to whom in fairness the question must first be referred. From the electors it must go to the people at large, who must be assembled in convention on Salisbury Plain and the Carragh of Kildare. But even when there assembled, every individual vote must there be collected, and a majority must decide the question. Gentlemen would see to what ridiculous lengths their theoretical dogma must be carried, and he must think that they saw its fallacy. He concluded with giving his hearty support to the motion.—The house then divided, for the speaker's leaving the chair, 149; against it 24. The house then went into a committee *pro forma*: but, as it was a late hour the committee on the union reported progress and asked leave to sit again on the fourteenth of February. The order of the day, for farther consideration of his majesty's message, relative to the union with Ireland, being read, and a motion made, that the speaker leave the chair, a debate ensued, in which a part was taken by Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. J. Jones, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, and one or two other members against the union, and by Mr. Peel, lord Belgrave, lord Temple, lord Morpeth, Mr. Rider, Mr. Hawkins Brown, and Mr. Sylvester Douglas, for it. Mr. Hobhouse contended with great energy against the union, as tending to take away former checks on the conduct of ministers, and to furnish them with new means of corruption.

General Fitzpatrick said, that the union of Ireland with Great Britain was a constitutional point, and therefore so far inconsistent with the settlement of 1782. For fifteen years following the resolutions there had no doubt been entertained upon the independence of the Irish legislature,

legislature, in a constitutional point of view. With respect to the terms of the proposed union, he did not mean to say any thing, because he looked on the whole business to be a flagrant breach of faith.

Mr. Ryder said, there could be no doubt but that the settlement of 1782 was not considered as final by the parliament of 1783, who passed an act for completing what was left imperfect in the only point which was then not settled. Still less could it have been the opinion of the parliament of 1783, who adopted the commercial propositions, involving not only the regulations of trade, but the most important questions of navigation and revenue.

Mr. Pitt asked the right honourable general whether he could maintain that any recognition of the independence of the Irish parliament in 1782, made Ireland more incapable of treating of the question of union, or of any other grand political consideration, than any other country whatever? The power assumed by the English over the Irish parliament being laid aside, by the repeal of what was called the declaratory act, passed in the reign of Geo. I. An address was carried to his majesty, praying him to take such farther measures as might appear to him to be proper, for strengthening the connection between the two countries. His majesty's most gracious answer was, that he would take measures for that purpose. With this view the duke of Portland was sent to Ireland, with the right honourable general as his secretary. Mr. Pitt wished to ask the general whether there were not instructions given to the duke for the accomplishment of

farther arrangements. And he maintained that the primary object of the duke, when at the head of the government of Ireland, was directed to the establishment of a new system, calculated to promote and perpetuate the connection between the two countries. From this consideration, it was evident that the measure of the union grew out of what was improperly called the final adjustment.

General Fitzpatrick said, that though he certainly had access to the official dispatches to the duke of Portland, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland, it could not be supposed that, after a period of sixteen years, he could speak with accuracy to their contents. But this he could assert, that the object, which the duke of Portland, at that period, actually had in view, as far as he was acquainted with them, did not relate to any imperial constitutional points. Mr. Dundas wished to ask the general whether, at a period subsequent to the address alluded to, when a resolution was taken to prorogue the Irish parliament, that measure had not been delayed, in consequence of the duke of Portland's saying that he entertained some hope of being able to obtain a settlement of those points, which the independence of Ireland made it necessary to arrange? General Fitzpatrick had no recollection of the circumstance. Mr. Sheridan contended that the house had recognized Ireland to be independent by an act as solemn as the bill of rights. He concluded a speech, in which he repeated his former arguments, placing them however in some new points of view, by urging the danger of agitating the present question

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at the present time.—On a division of the house, there appeared for the speaker's leaving the chair, 131—against it, 19. The house then resolved itself into a committee *pro forma*, and asked leave to sit again the next day.

February 12:—When the order of the day being read, for the house going into a committee on his majesty's message, respecting the union with Ireland, the speaker left the chair, and the house went into a committee on that subject. The report of the committee was brought up on the fourteenth of February, when all the resolutions, with some amendments, were agreed to: and sent up to the house of peers. On the eighteenth of February, a message from the commons was delivered, by earl Temple, to the lords, requesting a conference, respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connection between the two countries. The address of their lordships, on the subject of an union with Ireland, was taken into consideration on the twenty-second of April. A motion was made by Mr. Pitt, "that the house do concur in the said address," which, after various observations by different speakers, was agreed to. A message was sent to the house of peers, informing their lordships, that the commons had agreed to the address, and filled up the blank with the words "and commons."

The message from the king, relative to a closer connection with Ireland, was brought, on the same day, as already observed, to the commons and to the lords: by whom also, as well as by the commons, it was taken into consideration, on the twenty-third of January. An address was moved by lord Grenville

to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communication, and expressing their lordships readiness to concur in any measure that might be found necessary or expedient towards the consolidation of the general interests of the British empire. The address was voted *nem. dis.*—On the eighteenth of February, the message from the commons, desiring a conference being read, and the lords informed that the members deputed by the commons waited for them in the painted chamber, they went thither, and immediately returned with a copy of the resolutions voted by the house of commons, on the subject of the proposed union with Ireland. These, being read by the clerk, were ordered to be printed. Lord Grenville gave notice, that when the resolutions should be printed, and on the table, he intended to move that they should be taken into consideration on that day sen'night.

Lord Auckland said, there were certain papers, of which it would be necessary that the house should be in possession, previous to any discussion that might take place on those resolutions, that their lordships might be able to make up their minds on every part of the merits of so important a subject.—These papers would shew how great were the sacrifices in regard to capital and manufactures, which had been made by this country to Ireland, and what commercial benefits it was in the power of Great Britain to withhold from that country. He therefore moved "That there be laid before the house an account of the imports and exports of Great Britain during the four last years, specifying those articles, together with the amount of the same, exported

exported to and imported from Ireland in that period." The question on this motion was put and agreed to.

On the 19th of March, lord Grenville moved the order of the day to be read, for summoning their lordships, for the purpose of taking into their consideration the various papers before them, relative to the situation of Ireland. He entered at large into a recommendation of an union, and answered the objections that had been made to that measure. With regard to the supposed existing bond of connection between the two countries, he was not afraid to say it was *absolutely null*: not that it was imperfect or inadequate but *absolutely null*: if the two parliaments were suffered to remain in their present state, if the countries clung together by no other bond than the present, the connection, he repeated, was absolutely null. And if this was suffered, many evils would be necessarily entailed on their descendants, if they did not fall on themselves. He should move that the resolutions of the house of commons be read *pro forma*; he should then move that the house do agree with the resolutions of the house of commons, and lastly move that these resolutions be read before his majesty in the form of a joint address from both houses, with a humble request, that his majesty would lay them before the parliament of Ireland, at what time his majesty should deem most proper. Earl Fitzwilliam objected to the discussion of the subject under the present alarming situation of affairs, which he attributed to his never having received orders, when at the head of Irish affairs, from the government of Great Britain, to

bring forward the question of catholic emancipation.

The marquis of Lansdown was sorry that earl Fitzwilliam's system for Ireland was not proceeded on. But he contended that there was no use in making a comparison between the proceedings of 1782, relative to Ireland, and those of the present time. The former had for their object the separation of the two parliaments; the latter had for their object the union of the two parliaments. He had no doubt but that both the landed and commercial interest would be benefited by an union, not only in some local respects, but on a general scale. For these reasons, he was inclined to adopt all the resolutions alluded to by the noble secretary of state, except that for the addition of one hundred members for the house of commons. However, if others were satisfied, he should have nothing farther to say.

Earl Camden reminded the house, that before the earl of Fitzwilliam left Ireland, there were disturbances in the county of Cavan, and that the kingdom was quiet for nine or ten months after: a proof that the public mind was not affected by the recall of the earl.—Lord Hobart, thought that an union was essential to the preservation of a connection between the two countries, because, while three-fourths of the people of Ireland were catholics, a protestant parliament could never be a satisfactory government for the kingdom.

The marquis of Townshend said, he would give his vote for the union; but there were many other things to be done before Ireland could recover from its present distressed situation. There ought to be resident



magistrates, in order to enforce a due obedience to the laws; one very great evil was, the itinerant clergy, who went about the country granting absolution for the most enormous offences. But the grand and direful source of the calamities of Ireland, was, the excessive monopolization of the land, and the number of bankers, squires, stewards, tacksmen, and other persons, between the landlord and the tenant.

Lord Moira said, there was no person who would more heartily concur in the measure proposed than himself, were he sure that it was founded in the wishes of a majority of the people of Ireland. But the opposition to it was not limited to the Irish parliament only. It had been treated by the nation at large with an abhorrence amounting almost to a phrenzy. What could be more calculated to add fuel to the flame than our persevering in the proposal after it had been so strongly reprobated?

Lord Holland, on the argument for an union, taken from the present prosperity of Scotland, remarked that it was forty years after the act of union before the commerce of Scotland began to revive from the shock it had received. There was another subject, on which he could not avoid saying a few words.—Nothing astonished him more than the apathy with which the proposition, for adding one hundred members to the house of commons, was received. This invasion of the constitution was looked to with the most perfect indifference. This proposition, he said, was also incompatible with the opinion of all those who wished a parliamentary reform.

The earl of Kinnoull thought the protestant ascendancy in Ireland

was absolutely necessary, as it was not to be supposed that a Roman Catholic parliament would not annul the forfeitures of the estates of their ancestors. But that ascendancy would be best secured by an incorporating union. The earls of Carlisle and Westmoreland, both formerly lords-lieutenants of Ireland, did not consider the arrangements of 1782, about which so much had been said, as final, but merely as suited to the circumstances of the times, and calculated to remove present grievances. The two countries did not intend to bind posterity and to legislate for future generations. The duke of Portland, too, said, that the settlement of 1782 had not been considered by him, or any of the cabinet, as a final settlement.

The resolutions, moved by lord Grenville, were then read and agreed to. And their lordships, having been summoned, convened on the eleventh of April, when lord Grenville moved the address to his majesty.

Lord Auckland rose with peculiar satisfaction to give his support to an address to his revered sovereign of the two kingdoms, for the purpose of communicating their resolutions to the lords and commons of Ireland. Before he proceeded to the commercial considerations, he examined the nature of that independence, which, as some advisers of the people of Dublin asserted, would be subverted and destroyed by the consolidation of the two legislatures. He thought it important to ascertain the value of what Ireland was told she would lose, before he proceeded to appreciate what it was that she would gain. He recongnized the independence of the Irish nation,

nation, abstractedly considered, as secured by the arrangement of 1792. But we could not shut our eyes against the truths presented by the map of Europe, and by the relative situation, size, and population of the two islands. What then was, in fact, the independence of a country, which had no means of defence, or security, or self-preservation, but through the protection and aid of its more powerful neighbour? If two countries, so circumstanced, took adverse lines of conduct, a struggle must ensue, and either the weaker must be overruled, or confusion and all the evils of war must follow. If, on the other hand, there should prevail between the two an uniform system of conduct, in leading points of common concern, the weaker must be presumed thus far, virtually and habitually, to have sacrificed its exercise of independent power. This dilemma lord Auckland applied to the point in question. Had Ireland, or could she have, the power of negotiating, controlling, or even rejecting treaties? Had she the means of protecting her own commerce, or of establishing colonies, or of making and holding conquests? Had she, or could she have any naval force? And was not the direction of her military force conformably to the opinion of British ministers, responsible only to the British parliament? Had she, in short, or could she have any controul whatever, any interference, or even any concern, otherwise than in a visionary and abstract claim, respecting the imperial transactions of peace and war, alliances and confederacies? Had she, even in the exercise of legislation, any access to the royal sanction, otherwise than through British

ministers, not amenable to her parliament, and under the great seal of the British chancellor? But waving all these considerations, and supposing Ireland to have every advantage possessed by Great Britain, and in an equal degree, still however, with one executive power, and with separate and independent legislatures: would any individual of a sound mind assert, that the entire union of two countries, such as now described, would be degrading or detrimental to either? It would be grating, lord Auckland observed, to the feelings of all their lordships to state to Ireland that she was chained down, though by her own prejudices, to a weak and inefficient independence, subject to incessant collisions, and inseparable from misfortune and humiliation. It would be ungenerous, he said, to make such a statement, if it were not in his power to present to her, at the same time, a real and permanent independence, accompanied by a full participation of British opulence, British greatness, and British freedom, with its best companion, British security. It was impossible to open and contemplate the papers on the table without exultation of mind at so brilliant an exhibition of the increasing prosperity of Great Britain, and of her unexampled pre-eminence among nations. These papers would give their lordships, what had never before been attempted, the true valuation of our whole commerce, according to current prices and other documents, the accuracy of which was incontestible. It appeared that the total value of our exports and imports, in the year 1798, was ninety-five millions sterling: above twenty-two millions

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higher than the average value of the four last years of peace. But, notwithstanding all the exemptions from duties and other encouragements indulged to Ireland, that country, with a population equal perhaps to one-third of the British population, had a trade equal to not more than one-ninth of the trade of Great Britain. It would be idle to imagine that, in a British parliament, this great question could be debated with flattery, and complaisance and reserves, and on Irish interests only. The people of Ireland ought not to be kept in ignorance, that numerous and essential benefits are conferred on them without reciprocity: but that those benefits, without union, remain liable, on any eventual disagreement, to a sudden explosion, with the utter ruin of all the Irish interests dependent on trade and manufactures. Could it be expected, that capitals and commercial credit should be transferred to a country, struggling under an anomalous, incompetent, and disturbed government, and maintaining a claim of right to adopt, at any time, adverse connections and interests. Nothing less than an union could satisfy these questions. They would not, said lord Eden, rest on the flimsy and undefined protestation, so often repeated and so imperfectly realized, that "the affections of Ireland are unalienable, and that both kingdoms shall stand or fall together." Let the union take place, and all commercial distinctions, and all political jealousies would be annihilated. What were the multiplied and inestimable benefits which the propositions and address held out to Ireland? The preservation of her

actual advantages, the extension of capitals, the increased employments of her people, with the cultivation and softening of their minds and manners; and, above all, the introduction of a middle class, one of the great wants of Ireland, and the most important link of security between the highest and lowest orders: still leaving to her the same constitution, the same liberties, the same laws, and the same privileges, which she now enjoyed." "My lord," said lord Eden, "in this awful period of crimes and calamities, amidst the subversion of states and empires, the fabric of British liberty stands unshaken and unmoved. We offer to Ireland the full security of our happiness and security. And unless Providence shall have withdrawn from her all mercy and protecting influence, unless its dispensations are to be such as to number her among the wrecks of nations, she will gladly and gratefully receive our offers, and will become an integral part of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland."

The bishop of Landaff, *multa de se predicans*, gave his hearty approbation and cordial support to the proposed union. He was afraid lest he should be considered by their lordships as a man vexing the reluctant ear with a dull repetition of a tale that had, as it were, been thrice told. But his heart was so much in that business, and his mind had so long been accustomed to contemplate it as an object of the first political importance, that he must intreat their lordships indulgence whilst he explained his sentiments upon it. From seventeen to sixty-one, his life had been pleasantly, and he hoped not unprofitably, spent.

spent, in the pursuit of knowledge, and in abstract reasoning on a variety of topics. He had occasionally and incidentally reasoned on political subjects; but this, he presumed, might be forgiven in a churchman, who, at the present advanced period of his age, could boldly and honestly declare, in the hearing of their lordships, that all his political speculations were ever founded on what appeared to him the broad basis of public utility. Many others understood the subject better than he did. But he was not ignorant of it. He had not considered it slightly. His opinion upon it was this: that a cordial union would be much more advantageous to Ireland than to Great Britain, but that it would be eminently useful to both countries. It would enrich Ireland without impoverishing Britain. It would render the empire, as to defence, the strongest in Europe. The strength of every state principally depended on the number of its people. The lands of Great Britain and Ireland, if cultivated to their full extent, to the extent to which this measure would carry cultivation in half a century, would support a population of thirty millions at least: not to mention the unbounded increase of population that might arise from the improvement of our fisheries. Thirty millions of people would afford five or six millions able to bear arms. We might then be more indifferent than we could hitherto have prudently been to continental politics. "I will speak," said bishop Watson, "my whole mind on this point. Ireland, as a graft inserted into the stock of the British empire, may throw out branches in every direction, and bear fruit on every twig;

but if you separate it from this connection, and plant it in a soil by itself, it will neither strike root downwards, nor bear fruit upwards, for a hundred years, though it should be left to itself, free from the annoyance of its neighbours; but this Irish graft cannot be left to itself, it will either be stunted and overshadowed by the mighty branching of the British oak, or it will be poisoned by the pestilential exhalations of the trees of liberty, which France will plant around it; trees which have hitherto produced no fruit in Europe, or in the world, except the apples of Sodom,—alluring to the eye, but bitter and poisonous to the palate. Ireland cannot stand alone. Would to God! that there was moderation and justice enough, in great states, to permit lesser states to enjoy their independence, and to prosecute their interests in a state of separation from them: but this is a system of politics more to be wished than expected, in the present condition of Christian morality.

Ireland cannot stand alone; she must, of necessity, be connected; nay, she must, for her own safety, in the present convulsed state of European politics, in the present progress of strange political opinions, be united either to Great Britain or France. She is not, indeed, at liberty to make her choice, without withdrawing that allegiance, which the wisest and best men in Ireland have not, I am convinced, any disposition to withdraw; but if she were unfettered by any bond of connection; at full liberty to make a choice; is there a man in all Ireland, of a good heart and a cool head, who could hesitate in preferring an union

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with Great Britain to one with France? United with Great Britain, Ireland will soon become a lusty, well-looking, well-fed, limb of the British body politic: united with France, she would be a withered, shrivelled, palsied, starved, excrescence, which might be cut off and thrown aside whenever interest or caprice should render a separation necessary.

I foresee, with great satisfaction, the time when, if this union takes place, the whole state of Ireland will be changed. The overflowing of British capital will, on a peace, instead of finding its way into France or America, settle in Ireland. It will, in time, convert the bogs of that country into corn-fields; it will cover its barren mountains with forests; it will dig its mines, cut its canals, erect its fabrics, explore new channels of commerce, and improve the old ones; in a word, by supplying labour, it will render the people industriously enlightened, contented, and happy. I, my lords, shall not live to see the effects of this measure, for great objects do not attain their full perfection at once, but our posterity will see them, and will have cause to bless the enlarged policy of two legislatures, which, rising superior to petty jealousies, which, sacrificing partial interests on the altar of general safety, have coalesced into one, for the benefit of both." There was a question, bishop Watson observed, of great importance, whether the British constitution would or would not undergo some change, and if any, what change from the introduction of Irish members into our two houses of parliament. On these and similar questions, as well

as on commercial advantages and disadvantages attending an union, he could speak at some length: but he purposely declined it, partly from a persuasion that his advice would not be needed, but principally to his dislike to the appearing forward in obtruding his political speculations on the attention of the house, having no ambition whatever to affect the character of a statesman: a character, indeed, when wisely and honourably sustained, of the highest importance to human happiness, but which did not besit a retired and unconnected churchman, who wished to spend the remainder of his days in contemplations of quite a different tendency. When the late duke of Rutland, whose memory would ever be dear to the bishop, was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he honoured him with his confidence, and conversed with him on subjects of political importance. In writing to the duke, about the time when the Irish propositions, as they were called, were under discussion, he perfectly well remembered having said to his grace, "you and your friend, the minister of England, would immortalize your characters, if, instead of a mere commercial arrangement, you could accomplish, by honourable means, and on equitable terms, a legislative union between the two kingdoms. The duke's answer to this suggestion was so singular, that he should never forget it. He wholly approved the measure, but added, that the man who should attempt to carry it into execution would be tarred and feathered. Whether his repugnance to an union was at that time the general sentiment of the Irish nation, or which he suspected of

of a few leading individuals only, he had no means of ascertaining, nor was it now of any use to inquire. He mentioned this circumstance to shew, that the vote he should give this day was founded on an opinion not rashly or recently taken up, but deliberately formed many years ago, when his mind was neither heated by resentment against rebellion, nor disturbed by the apprehension of danger, and when he was much more in the habit of considering such subjects than he had been of late years. In detaining their lordships so long, he had probably done as much violence to his own feelings as their patience; for he felt a daily increasing reluctance to the mingling in public political debate. But this great subject had compelled him to come forward.

Lord Boringdon, on the trite question of the supposed *final adjustment* of 1782, referred to Mr. Fox's speech on the commercial propositions of 1785, in which he declared, that the resolution of the house of commons, on the seventeenth of May, 1782, in no wise referred to commerce, but solely to objects political and imperial.

Lord Minto said, that it was not only for the advantage, but necessary to the security and preservation of both countries, that there should subsist between Great Britain and Ireland a close connection of some kind; and the only mode of connection, that could perfectly remove the evils of separation, and fully confer the benefit of union, was a perfect identity and incorporation of their governments. Federal connections were, in their nature, very inadequate to the purposes of union, and of very precarious du-

ration. As to the competency of parliament to decide on the present question; if parliament was not competent, where could there be found a more adequate authority. For whatever the whole nation could do, if there were no parliament, could be done by the regular and fundamental powers of parliament.

He analyzed the idea and sentiment of true patriotism; which, he shewed, consisted not in a fond attachment to one nation, merely as it stood in a state of distinctness from other nations, but in doing real and actual good to one's country.

Did our limits, which we have already somewhat transgressed, and were it our object to exhibit specimens of logical reasoning, and just and fine composition, we should insert in this sketch the whole of lord Minto's speech on this interesting subject, which appears to us to be a happy medium between the speeches of the last century, or rather the first part of it, drawn from history, the law of nations, and maxims of jurisprudence and philosophy, but overloaded with quotation, and, in many instances, degenerating into an affectation of learning; and those clumsy and desultory, though sensible remarks, on one hand, and those animated sallies and effusions on another, that characterize many orations well received in our times. At the same time, as we have been led to assume the province of the critic, it may be proper to observe, that lord Minto's speech was not more consolidated by a sound and enlightened judgement, than enlivened by many delicate and pleasing contours of a fine imagination. It was the

the oratory of *Fletcher, of Sallown*, employed in an opposite and more auspicious cause. The question on the address being put, was carried *nem. con.* Lord Grenville, lord Auckland, the bishop of Landaff, and lord Minto, were named as a committee, for drawing up an address, conformably to the motion, which, after a conference with the commons, was presented to his majesty, as the joint address of both houses of parliament.

That the various proceedings in parliament, of most importance, might be contemplated with the more interest, as well as order, we have thought it proper to view them not in the connection of adjournments, from time to time, but under the four heads of finance, measures of external defence, measures of internal tranquillity, and measures of political economy.\* The union with Ireland may be referred to either the second or third of four general heads, or more properly to both. To both, also, may be referred a bill, proposed in February, and passed in the course of the session, for reducing the militia and regulating the provisional cavalry. The supplementary militia was now almost trebled. If fully completed, under the present laws, it would amount to 106,000. It was, however, deficient of that number, and did not exceed 82,000. This last number of 82,000 supple-

mentary militia, combined with our other forces, being considered as perfectly adequate to every purpose, was not to be increased, but continued as it now stood. The clause in the bill, relating to the provisional cavalry, was founded on the same principle as that respecting the supplementary militia, viz. a wish not to increase our force beyond what was actually necessary. And it was judged the more particularly expedient to do so, at a season of the year when so many hands would be wanting for the purposes of agriculture. The volunteer and yeomanry cavalry had risen from 5,000 to 30,000. By this vast augmentation, the provisional cavalry-act being superseded, it was thought unnecessary to call forth that part of our intended force.

On the first of March, Mr. Wilberforce made his annual motion for the abolition of the slave-trade. A new and interesting circumstance varied the usual topics and arguments, this year, in the debate on this subject: an army of negroes, under Toussaint, in St. Domingo, and democratical, or, as they were at this time called, French principles, supported and encouraged by that striking revolution, striving hard to make their way into the very heart of the British colonies. Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost, by 84 votes against 54.

\* Finance might certainly be arranged under the head of political economy: but we here apply this term to measures for the improvement of the general state or condition of the empire.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Treaty of Campo Formio suddenly formed.—Disregarded and mistrusted by both Parties.—Military Preparations.—General Jourdan receives Orders to begin the Campaign.—Immense Scale on which War is now carried on.—Force and Position of the French and the Imperial Forces.—Plans of the French.—Situation and Views of the Austrians.—The French Army occupies Mannheim.—Lays the Palatinate under Contribution.—And advances into Suabia.—Contributions there also.—Jourdan appointed Commander-in-chief of the Armies in Germany and Switzerland. Positions of the Austrians in the Country of the Grisons and in the Vorarlberg.—Massena summons General Auffenberg, and attacks him at the same Time.—And takes him, with the greater Part of his Troops.—The French Masters of Chur, and almost all the Valley of the Rhine.—Plan of the French to complete the Conquest of the Country of the Grisons.—Massena repulsed in the Vorarlberg with much Loss.—The French General, Lecourbe, seizes on the Upper and Lower Engadine.—The French General, Desjollès, attacks and gains the Post at Bormio.—The Army of the Archduke Charles passes the Lech, and advances in Suabia.—Movements and Positions taken by the Austrian and French Armies.—Battle between the Austrians and French.—The French defeated, and forced to repass the Rhine.—The Austrians in Possession of almost all Suabia.*

THE treaty of Campo Formio proved, as was very generally foreseen, no more than an armed truce, during which, the opposite parties were less animated by the hope or the desire of permanent peace, than by those of being in a condition to renew the war. That treaty, though favourable to France, was scarcely more favourable than what her splendid success in arms, according to the criterion of political morality, might seem to justify. It was, in fact, such, that if it had been formed after long and leisurely discussion, and after the parties had duly reconciled their minds to it by habitual reflection, it might have been the basis of a general pacification,

and of a new system of the political balance in Europe. But it appears to be an universal law, in nature, physical, moral, and political, that nothing sudden is permanent. The preliminaries of Leoben were signed at a moment pregnant with danger to the French army, as well as with ruin to the house of Austria. The French and Austrian governments, in proportion as that moment of danger, was removed, and thrown into the background of the picture of Europe, recovered their habitual views and passions. The treaty of Campo Formio appeared as a dream, a preternatural intrusion into the great affairs and interests of nations. The French directory, by the



the most overt acts of the most violent injustice and oppression, manifested still a disposition to extend their principles and conquests. The Cæsars of Vienna could not, without a sigh, behold their long-loved Italy, as well as Switzerland and Savoy, a prey to French influence and domination; by which means, also, the Austrian dominions were stripped of that natural boundary and barrier, which they derived from their geographical situation, and a way was opened to the heart of the empire. Yet it is not improbable that the two governments had it in contemplation to avoid the dangerous consequences of war, and to gain their respective objects by the magnitude of their preparations, and mutually presenting to each other a front of defiance. By these, the Austrians especially, after the march of the Russians, for their aid, to Germany, hoped to restore the independence of Switzerland, Naples, and the papal territories: by these, also, the French hoped still to retain them in subjection. Be this as it may, military preparations, during the congress at Rastadt, were continued, with unremitting activity, by both parties; each of which had an interest in the gaining of time, by prolonging the negotiation for peace. The directory had begun to lose the confidence of the French nation. The recruiting of the French armies, by means of military conscriptions, went on but slowly. It required some time to train the recruits, and incorporate them with the exhausted battalions. Nor could the movements of troops, notwithstanding the possession of Switzerland, be made without delays, amidst the rigours of winter. The directory,

therefore, did not think it advisable to open the campaign till the spring, favourable, in all circumstances, to the execution of great military plans, especially in mountainous countries. The imperialists, on their part, had similar motives for temporization. Their army, for the purpose of recruiting, was dispersed in Bohemia, and other provinces, at a distance from Suabia and the Bavarian frontier; with the exception of those stationed in Friuli, and the newly acquired Venetian states, which were to be preserved from the revolutionary fermentation, and retained in a state of obedience and submission, only by the presence of an army. The march of the Russian troops, in different divisions, and halting at different places for refreshment, could not be other than slow. And besides all this, a plan of co-operation, between the imperial armies of Germany and Italy, could not be carried into execution before the season of communication by the Tyrol. Thus, in the negotiation of Rastadt, there were, on both sides abundant motives for procrastination. Towards its conclusion, it became a kind of diplomatical war, in which the respective plenipotentiaries were only spies on each other, and set themselves only to consider and determine the point to which party its rupture or prolongation would be of the greatest advantage. On that point the directory had no longer any doubt, when they were certain that the Russians were destined to co-operate with the imperial army in Italy, and when they saw the formation of a great Austrian army, under the command of the archduke Charles, between the Lech and the Danube. On the other hand, it be-  
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## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [237

came as little a question to the court of Vienna, when they perceived the movements of four French armies, namely that of Italy, that of Switzerland, that of the Danube, and that of observation; and when the French, threatening to cross the Rhine, peremptorily demanded the retreat of the Russians from the confines of Germany.

For many centuries, the nations of Europe, as by a tacit compact, had occasionally made war on one another, on a scale suited to their respective finances, and other regular resources. And many speculative men, concluding that the progressive complexity of the machinery of war, and of a concomitant spirit of calculation, as well as the advancement of civilization, would contribute to the interests of peace and the happiness of the human race. But, towards the end of the most enlightened century, and in the most refined country in Europe, an explosion broke forth, which justified all those auspicious anticipations. The ardent genius of the French nation, roused to action by the revolution, incapable of repose, and finding aliment only in war, exhibited movements similar to those of barbarous nations, in former periods, when, quitting their native soil, and setting fire to their huts, they precipitated themselves in quest of new settlements on their cultivated, peaceable, and luxurious neighbours. The very deficiency of their finances, and the impoverished state of France, impelled them, as in a mass, to arms: for what they wanted at home, they sought and found in other countries. It was a strong proof of the strength of the antagonist governments,

when even a few of the European monarchies could make head against so numerous, accomplished, and energetic a people, become a military republic. The armies of France, instead of laying siege to particular forts and towns, attacked whole countries. Fortresses, which heretofore arrested, occupied, and consumed whole armies, were passed with unconcern; isolated, as it were, by the enormous mass of the French armies. To this extension of the naval theatre of war, they were invited by their numbers, by the superiority of their artillery, and the provision that was made by their moveable columns, for the celerity of their motion; which, to speak in the language of physics, being multiplied into the quantity of their matter, formed a lever fitted to subvert states and empires. Yet the Austrians, seconded by the wealth of Great Britain, met the French with great courage and glory on the whole extent of that ample field. It will not be expected, that, in this brief sketch of Europe, for 1799, we should give any other than a very general account of military operations so vast and various. Nor were a full account permitted by the limits either of our plan, or capacity and information, would it be desired, as we conceive, by the generality of our readers. Military men, to whom alone such details could be interesting, will not, for learning the art of war, we presume, be disposed to have recourse to an Annual Register. They will find much more satisfaction in the perusal of such books as the *Precis des évènements Militaires*,\* and the *History of the Campaigns from 1796 to 1799*,

\* Published by Debrett.

*both inclusive,\** to whose luminous views, we take this opportunity of making our acknowledgements, and to which we beg leave to refer the military reader, rather than to put them off with any compressed abridgement of their narratives. Our object, in this general history, is not to enter into a full detail of military operations, but rather to mark situations, designs, and results, and the principal means, whether prepared or accidental, by which plans were accomplished, on the one hand, or failed on the other.

Of the three hundred and twenty thousand, who, at this time composed the French army, forty-five thousand under the orders of general Massena, occupied Switzerland and the left bank of the Rhine, almost from its source, to the western extremity of the lake of Constance, and from that point, the two banks of the river as far as Basle. Between that town and Dusseldorf were stationed about 65,000 men, commanded by general Jourdan, and forming what was called the army of Mentz. They occupied the fort of Kehl, on the right bank of the Rhine, lined the left bank, from the frontier of Switzerland to Mentz, and from the latter town to Dusseldorf, possessed all the country upon the two banks. The corps, in the latter position, amounting to about twenty thousand men, was called the army of observation. The plan of the directory was the same that had been pursued in 1796, and 1797; namely, the invasion of the hereditary states of the house of Austria, and the junction of the French armies under the walls of Vienna. For this end it was ne-

cessary that the army of observation should take possession of Philipsburg, the only fortress remaining on the Rhine to the empire; that the army of Jourdan should cross that river, traverse the defiles of the Black Forest, extend itself into Suabia, turn the lake of Constance, and the southern part of the Tyrol; that the army of Switzerland should drive the Austrians from the country of the Grisons, attack the Tyrol in front, and seize the vallies of the Lech and of the Inn, while the army of Italy should penetrate into Germany, either through the Tyrol or Friuli. Thus the Austrian troops, posted on the lake of Constance, in the country of Regentz and that of the Grisons, would have been encompassed by Jourdan's army, and that of Massena; and those which defended the Italian Tyrol and the Veronese, between Massena's army and that of Italy. The situation and the views of the Austrians were as follows:

More than sixty thousand were concentrated under the archduke Charles, on the Lech. Twenty thousand were collected in the Palatinate, in the environs of Aberg, or at Wurtzburg, under the orders of general Sztarray. A like number was under those of general Hotze, in the Voralberg, and the country of the Grisons. Near twenty-five thousand, commanded by general Bellegarde, were on the frontiers of the last-mentioned country and the Tyrol. The army of Italy, part of which was on the Adige, and the rest in Friuli and Carinthia, was reckoned to be more than sixty thousand strong. Thus the emperor had to oppose to the

French, one hundred and eighty-five thousand fighting men, ninety thousand of whom were in a situation for acting against Jourdan and Massena. But, determined as the Austrians were to let the odium of recommencing hostilities fall on the French, their first operations could only be defensive, and dependent on those of their enemies. Generals Hotze and Bellegarde could do nothing but watch the motions of the French, and fortify and defend, as well as possible, the posts occupied in Suabia, Tyrol, and the country of the Grisons, as likewise those held on its frontiers, in the Valtelline and in Italy. It was the business of the archduke, on his part, to confine himself, in the first instance, to preparations for the passage of the Lech with all his army, the moment he should hear that the French had passed the Rhine, and, in that event, to advance so rapidly as to come up with them, not only before they should arrive on the Iller, but even before they could push beyond the lake of Constance.

On the second of March, a detachment of the French army of observation took possession of the town of Mannheim, in consequence of a capitulation. On the same day, general Bernadotte presented himself before the town of Philippsburg, which, in consequence of the treaty of Campo Formio, was garrisoned only by the troops of the empire, commanded by the rhingrave of Salm. To an insolent letter of summons from Bernadotte, in which he stated that the garrison was ready to revolt, and denounced the most terrible punishment to those who should oblige him to give orders for the assault, the rhingrave, neither received nor intimidated, returned

a spirited though moderate answer, "Surely, general," said he, "it must be your own opinion that I should be culpable, were I to deliver up a fortress, the command of which has been intrusted to me by the commander-in-chief of the army of the empire. The situation of the fortress under my command is not such as you appear to believe, nor do I know of any discontents among the garrison. I must, therefore, declare to you that I will not receive a French garrison into the place, nor commence hostilities, though I will resist any attack." This foldierly, and gentlemanlike reply to Bernadotte, was justified by the conduct of the garrison, composed of nearly two thousand chosen troops of the empire, who had served with distinction in the preceding campaigns. The officers, imitating the zeal of their leader, protested with indignation against the dishonourable views imputed to them by the French general. The inundations, which form the principal defence of Philippsburg, prevented the French from approaching near enough for the purpose of reducing the place in a short time. These local circumstances, with events which took place about this time in Suabia, compelled him to turn the siege into a blockade, and even that he was obliged to raise soon after.

General Jourdan's army, continuing to advance in the direction it had taken, was beyond the mountains of the Black Forest. Its right was at Rhinberg near Schaffhausen, and its left at Rothwell. The army of observation, at the same time, spread itself into the country of Hesse Darmstadt, and the Palatinate, and was busily employed in repairing the fortifications

at Manheim. The different corps of Jourdan's army met with no impediment in their march, as the Austrians were still at a great distance, and the duke of Wurtemberg, the only prince who could have thrown any obstacles in their way, observed the strictest neutrality; to which he was compelled by the armistice subsisting between France and the empire, by his own military weakness, and still more by the dread of giving the French a pretext for effecting a revolution in his states: to which the French plenipotentiaries, taking advantage of their residence at Rastadt, and of differences then existing between that prince and his subjects, had applied themselves, with their usual assiduity and address, to dispose them. That the entry of the French into the duchy of Wurtemberg did not produce a revolution in that state, is to be attributed to the hope they entertained of being able to detach the princes of the empire from the cause of the emperor. They contented themselves with preying on that country, notwithstanding all the fine promises of general Jourdan, and treated it almost as badly as the Brilgaw, on which they levied all kinds of contributions. Their amity with the new elector of Bavaria did not protect even the Palatinate from their rapacity. The absolute necessity, under which the French government lay, of subsisting its armies, and the impossibility of doing this at their own expense, outweighed every other consideration. The district of Rastadt was alone respected: the circumstances of its being almost separated from Germany, by the advance of the French armies, and having, besides, but a very precarious and limited commu-

nication with the rest of the empire, enlivened the hopes of the directors of realizing its project of a partial pacification. The name of the army of Mentz, after it had penetrated so far into Suabia, was changed into that of the army of the Danube; and Jourdan was appointed commander-in-chief of the three armies of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and of Switzerland, under his superior direction. The first of these armies was commanded by Bernadotte, the last by Massena.

In order to form a junction, according to the French plan, on the eastern side of the lake of Constance, between the armies of Jourdan and Massena, the former general had only to march through countries without defence, but the latter, in the very outset, to encounter the Austrians, in spite of their opposition, to pass the Rhine, to drive them from the country of the Grisons and the Voralberg, and to force them to retreat into the Upper Tyrol. The difficulties attending these operations, rendered it necessary for Massena to begin his attack before the archduke could oppose the march of Jourdan, and find time to send reinforcements to the lake of Constance. A body of Austrians, to the number of about 'six' thousand, under the command of general Auffenberg, and stationed in different posts, communicated along the left bank of the Rhine, with the army of general Hotze, from which it had been detached, and which lay, part at Fieldkirk, and part at Bregentz, and the intermediate places. In this manner were the Austrians shut up in a narrow valley, having the Rhine before them, and behind them a chain of extensive mountains, rendered impassable,

table, during almost the whole year, by flow. Although they had but an inadequate force, and the position afforded but few local resources in case the passage of the river should be effected, yet they still possessed many means of impeding that passage, which was to be forced only through great difficulties and dangers. General Massena, with a great part of his army, took post on the evening of the fifth of March along the left bank of the Rhine, from the point where the two sources of that river unite, as far as the lake of Constance. Before day-break, on the sixth, he sent a summons to general Auffenberg to evacuate the country of the Grisons within two hours; but, without waiting for an answer to this demand, and with which it was even physically impossible, had Auffenberg been willing to comply, he made a general attack through all the line, flattering himself, that by this mode of conduct, he should avoid the odium of having begun the war without declaring it, and, yet secure to himself all the advantages of surprise. Massena, at the same time that he made a shew of an intention to attack the Austrians in the whole extent of their line, and threatened to pass the Rhine in several places, threw a bridge over the river at Almoos, opposite the narrow pass of the Lucien-steig, and marched to that point with 5000 or 6000 men. The possession of this post being the principal object the French had in view, it was there that they united the greatest force, and the engagement at that point was very obstinate during the whole day. The Austrians had the superiority in position, and their enemies in numbers,

VOL. XLI.

with the additional advantage of having concerted before hand, all their measures. This circumstance, in the end, turned the scale, and towards the evening of the sixth, the French made themselves masters of the passage and fort of Lucien-steig, which commands the fort from Chur, called otherwise Coire, to Bregentz. While things were in this state of progression in the centre, the French had likewise gained ground on the right above Chur, and their left, commanded by general Oudinot, which had forded the Rhine at Hag, near Wordenberg, kept general Hotze in check near Field-kirk, and prevented him from sending reinforcements to the troops which defended the country of the Grisons.

The loss of the important post of the Steig having entirely interrupted the communication between the corps of general Hotze and Auffenberg, the latter had no other source than to concentrate his remaining forces for the defence of Chur.—After several combats, during the night and the morning of the seventh, he had reached the heights near Chur, when he found another column of the enemy advancing on his rear. Attacked on all sides, he still endeavoured, notwithstanding his inferiority in number, and the fatigue of his soldiers, to defend himself in vain. He was obliged to surrender with all his forces. In the meantime, general Hotze, in order to carry assistance to general Auffenberg, made every effort to penetrate into the valley of the Rhine, but he was obliged to return to Field-kirk with the loss of several pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of men. General Massena estimated the loss of the Austrians in those two days

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at

at 5000 men taken. The Austrians computed that of the French, in killed, wounded, and several hundred prisoners taken by Hotze, at 4000. The Austrians had flattered themselves that they should receive from the Grisons powerful assistance, which had certainly been promised by their chiefs. But it was a very small number of individuals only that took up arms in favour of the Austrians.

There is not a principle better established in the science of politics, if it may be called a science, or in that of war, than that it is extremely dangerous to hazard any plan of operations in any country, or a reliance on the co-operation and support of the inhabitants. Yet there certainly is a strong and inveterate propensity in human nature to place such a reliance, though its slipperiness has been so often experienced, and, in the present war, on one side almost uniformly. It is the passion for liberty alone, rightly or otherwise understood, or rather the spirit of innovation, and a fond expectation of some unknown good, that can animate a whole people to any general system of constant exertion. The Grisons had invited the Austrians to save them from the tyranny of the French, but it is said that the manners of those Germans were by no means such as to conciliate the affections of the inhabitants, who probably began to think that they had only exchanged one master for another. Massena transferred the government of the capital, and what he had subdued of the country of the Grisons, into the hands of some expelled patriots, whom he had brought back with him, and whose individual wishes were declared, as on former occa-

sions, to be the joint and collective wishes of the whole Grison people.

However advantageous the possession of the valley of the Rhine might be to the French, that success could neither lead to others, nor even be secure as long as the Austrians were masters of the Voralberg, and of the upper country of the Grisons. It was necessary to drive them from those positions, in order to attack the Tyrol with advantage, and to complete the execution of the great design. It was not permitted, by the situation and force of the army of Italy, that it should act at the same time against the Voralberg, the country of Pludentz, and in the southern parts of the country of the Grisons. It was determined, therefore, that the latter part of this task should be undertaken by a body of troops detached from those which occupied the Valtelline and the Italian Bailiwicks; that Massena himself should attack the Voralberg, and that his right wing, under Lecourbe, acting between the two, should attack the west side of the Tyrol: in a word, it was by the three vallies of the Rhine, the Inn, and the Adige, that the French hoped to penetrate into that Austrian province.

Massena, being nearest to the enemy, began his attack on the eleventh, but he found the position of Field-kirk so well fortified, that all his reiterated efforts against it were fruitless. The division, under Lecourbe, in twelve days made themselves masters of almost all the valley of the upper and lower Engadine, on the course of the Inn. Encouraged by these first successes, he advanced in the valley of the Inn to the frontier of the Tyrol; and on the fourteenth in the morning at-

attacked the Austrians at St. Martinbruck, and at Finster-Munster; but was obliged to retreat with the loss of several hundred men. General Loudon, who had been beaten by Lecourbe three days before, with a loss of about 2000 men, taken prisoners, resolved to take advantage of the French general's line being weak, and so much extended, to beat the enemy, and on the same spot. Having procured reinforcements, partly of regular troops, and partly of Tyrolese volunteers, having sent a detachment to Zernetz, and concerted measures with the officer who commanded the post of St. Martinbruck, on the fifteenth in the morning, he unexpectedly marched down the mountains, and fell upon some companies of grenadiers and light infantry who occupied the village of Schulz. Thus surprized, they were driven from the village and put to flight. General Mainoni and a great part of them were taken prisoners. This corps would probably have been destroyed, and the French expelled from the Engadine, if Lecourbe had not, at that moment, been accidentally on his way to Schulz, and very near it. He rallied the fugitives, and having supported them with a fresh battalion, again made himself master of the village. But he could not retake Mainoni and the horses which had fallen into the hands of the Austrians, who had time to carry them off into the mountains. We come now to the detachment from the Italian army which occupied the Valtellino and the Italian Bailiwicks. Desolles, who commanded this detachment, who had begun, on the thirteenth, his march in the Valtellina, vigorously attacked the Aus-

trians in the morning of the sixteenth near Bormio, without being able, however, even after repeated efforts, to dislodge them from their position. Next day, the French having returned to the charge, in greater force, drove the Austrians from the important valley of Bormio, the possession of which opened the road to the conquerors to that of the Adige. On the same day Lecourbe renewed an attack, which had failed on the fifteenth, on the Austrian post at St. Martinbruck, while another column, by descending the mountains, between Finster-Munster and Neuders, endeavoured to turn it. None of these attacks succeeded. General Alciati, who commanded in those parts, made so good a use of his position, of the small number of regular troops that he had, and of the Tyrolese peasants who had joined him, that he made a successful resistance on every side. After a desperate engagement of several hours the French were obliged to abandon the attack, leaving a great number of dead in the field, and 400 prisoners in the hands of the enemy. This check, though balanced by the success of Desolles, retarded the operations of Lecourbe, forced him to take new measures, and delayed for some days the invasion of the Tyrol.

The archduke, whose headquarters were at Friedberg, was informed of the passage of the Rhine by the French, on the night between the second and third of March. He immediately, ordered the whole of his army, cantoned on the Lech, to prepare to pass that river. On the very next day, 6000 men, part of the vanguard pushed forward, by forced marches, and on the morning of the fifth reached Ulm, whi-



ther also the whole of the imperial army arrived on the sixth. This was a strong point of support which the archduke wished to secure on the Danube, and from which, as from an extensive fortress, he meant to cover all the approaches to the hereditary states. A military proclamation, by prince Charles, in answer to that of Jourdan, already noticed, inspired one sentiment of indignation against the French, and one desire of fighting them. The head-quarters of the archduke were, on the ninth, fixed at Mammingen. His vanguard, 15,000 strong, commanded by general Nawendorf, pushed very far on, and, on the eleventh, took post near Ravensberg, while the corps, which had occupied Ulm, was sending detachments along the two banks of the Danube. The line possessed by the Austrians, between Bregentz, and Ulm, had already frustrated the first part of Jourdan's plan, which was, to gain the flank of the Tyrol by mere marches. The French general, with a view of concentrating the force of the armies of Switzerland and the Danube, and to give more concert to their operations, of which the common object was to drive the Austrians from the Tyrol, placed the right wing of his army on the lake of Constance, near Marchdorf, his centre and head-quarters at Pfullendorf, and his left at Mengen. In the mean time the archduke, with all possible celerity, brought up the main body of his army, that had remained considerably behind the vanguard, which had advanced with great rapidity to cover the Tyrol; and to support general Hotze. It had already, on the sixteenth, pushed some parties as far as Stock-ach. The main body

of the army, at this period, was not far distant from the vanguard. It occupied the space between the Federsee and the lake of Constance, and like the French, had placed the greatest part of its force on this latter point. This part of southern Suabia was the ground which the French were the most interested in seizing, and the Austrians in defending. Jourdan's aim was to get between the archduke and general Hotze: the prince's to separate Jourdan from Massena. Neither could attain his end without beating his adversary. The space occupied by the two armies, between the Danube and the lake being too confined for great manœuvres, and the advanced posts almost touching each other, both sides prepared for a battle, which had become unavoidable.

Not a shot had yet been fired in Suabia, and the French, acting in conformity to Jourdan's proclamation, but in direct opposition to the attacks in the country of the Grisons, continued to aver, that they had no other view than to take positions of safety. The directory, however, seeing that there no longer remained any hopes of reaping fresh advantages from its gross artifices, had thrown off the mask, and, on the thirteenth of the same month, had caused war to be declared by the legislative body against the emperor and grand duke of Tuscany. General Jourdan, informed of this, on the nineteenth, disposed his army in order of battle, the very day after, and posted it on the two small rivers of Aick and Ostrach: thus occupying all that space which lies between the lake and the Danube, from Buckhorn to Mengen. Having taken these measures, he sent an

an officer to general prince Schwartzberg, who commanded a part of the Austrian vanguard, to ask whether the answer expected from the court of Vienna, relative to the sending back of the Russians had been yet received. That officer, being told that no answer had been sent, announced that the armistice was at an end, and declared war, on the part of the directory, against the king of Bohemia and Hungary. No sooner was he returned than an attack, by orders of Jourdan, was made on the Austrian vanguard, which was obliged to fall back; but, which meeting with reinforcements, repulsed the French in its turn, and regained the ground it had lost:— On the same day, the main body of the archduke's army had arrived near to Sulgau and Althausen, being then distant only one day's march from the French army. This consideration induced the archduke to concentrate his force, in an encampment on the heights adjacent to these two places.

General Jourdan, encouraged by the slight success of his vanguard, and by the nature of the ground, determined to come to action on the twenty-first. The archduke, wishing to take the advantage of the enthusiasm of his troops, and not to give his adversary time to reinforce himself with the corps on the other side of the Danube, was before hand with Jourdan. He divided his army into three columns: that of the right, commanded by the prince of Furstenberg, was to march along the Danube towards Mengen, and to dislodge the left wing of the French army from that place, or at least to keep it in check. General Wallis, with the left wing or division followed the

road to Althausen, and directed his march upon Ostrach, while the archduke, with the centre, advanced on the same point, along the causeway of Sulgau. The united columns of the Austrians overthrew the advanced posts of the enemy in their march, though in this they suffered very considerable loss from the batteries erected on the heights and commanding the roads by which they were obliged to advance, attacked the bridge of Ostrach in front, which was at length forced, after a brave defence. The centre of the French army, having thus lost its principal support, was obliged to fall back, suffering greatly in its retreat, from the Austrian cavalry, to Pfullendorf, where it took up a position on the heights in front of that place. The right wing, which had not been attacked, followed the motion of the centre, and fell back to Salmensweiler. The left wing, which, from the very beginning of the day, had been hotly engaged with the Austrians, and had defended itself well, also in the end retreated along the Danube, placing itself in a line with the rest of the army. The Austrians calculated the loss of the French as amounting to 5000 killed, wounded, or prisoners. The latter estimated the loss of the victors at 4000 men.— This day was very honourable to the archduke, who again displayed the bravery and military talents of which he had given such repeated proofs three years before. The first success in all campaigns is of great importance. But it was of more than usual importance in a war depending so greatly on public opinion; and by which, in its turn, public opinion must be powerfully influenced. The engagement of the

twenty-first, to which no name has as yet been appropriated, and which we shall therefore call the battle of Ostrach, stopped, in the very outset, the execution of the plan adopted by the French; repaired the bad effects which the misfortunes in the country of the Grisons had produced in the minds of the people; increased the confidence of the Austrian army in its chief, and formed to Europe a presage of events yet more fortunate. The French commander assured, from the position which the Austrians had taken on his right, that it was their intention to attack him on the morrow, in the night, between the twenty-first and twenty-second, retired from a post which he did not consider as sufficiently strong for sustaining an attack, towards Stock-ach, where he fixed his head-quarters: the right of his army being on the lake of Constance, near Fridingen. Retiring again from this position, the day after he established his right at Hohen-Tweil, his centre in front of Engen, where he had his head-quarters, and his left on the heights of Tuttlingen, near the Danube.

The archduke, in pursuit of Jourdan, drove the republicans every where before him. On the twenty-fourth he passed his vanguard to the very line of the enemy, who were forced, with loss, from several posts on their right and centre. On the same day, the whole of the Austrian army had taken up a position in the rear of Stock-ach. However well chosen this position might be, in the present circumstances, and course of action, it was not without its advantages, and was far from being secure, as the Danube, being nearer to the lake of Constance, towards its source, than in the rest

of its course, Jourdan could more easily occupy the space, lying between that river and the lake, than the archduke, who, although obliged to have a more extended front, was yet unable to turn his adversary, while the latter could easily turn the position of the Austrians.

Whilst the archduke, by the disposition of his cavalry, and directing attacks to be made on certain posts of the enemy, was employed in correcting the unavoidable defects of his position, Jourdan was considering how he might take advantage of them. All the efforts which that general and Massena had successively made to effect a junction of their forces, beyond the lake of Constance, had miscarried. There remained, therefore, no other means of realizing the plan adopted for the campaign by the French than to gain a decisive victory over the archduke: and Jourdan accordingly determined to hazard a battle. The plan, which he formed, was to bring his left against the right flank of the Austrians, in hopes that they, seeing themselves in danger of being turned, might weaken their centre, and thus enable him to break through this, and separate the archduke from the lake of Constance. Having formed his army into three principal columns, he directed these, at break of day, on the morning of the twenty-fifth, to three points of attack. The archduke, who had proceeded to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, and was then in the village of Aach, seeing that the attack on his army became general, instantly made the best dispositions that the circumstances would admit. Having placed some battalions and artillery on the heights of Nellemberg, a central point, which he intended

tended to make the principal support of his whole position, he set out himself, with reinforcements, drawn from that wing, to assist the right, which the enemy had begun to attack on two sides, while another column was endeavouring to turn it by Mofs-kirk, and to cut off its communication with Pfullendorf. On that side fortune had favoured the French since the beginning of the day, and victory seemed already within their grasp. Nothing remained to be done, but to dislodge the Austrians from some heights which they still occupied. The archduke lost not a moment to extricate himself from so critical a situation. He directed an attack on the right and left sides of the road of Tuttlingen, at the same time. The prince of Furstenberg, while bravely conducting the second attack, in the midst of a most deadly fire, was killed by a grape shot, and colonel prince Anhalt Bernburg was mortally wounded. These commanders were replaced by general Hapfchütz, who was also wounded, and by prince Anhalt Coethen, who, dismounting from his horse, offered to lead the infantry to the charge. The excellence of the new dispositions, made by the archduke, and the heroism of some regiments, stopped, for a while, the progress of the French, who retreated occasionally, only, however, to return with additional fury to the charge. The infantry of the two armies struggled, a long time, with unspeakable obstinacy; and the carnage was great on both sides. Still, however, the victory remained undecided, till the archduke sent some battalions of grenadiers, which had just arrived from the left wing, to make another attack on the left of Tuttlingen

road. These battalions, advancing to the wood occupied by the French, took them in flank, and made a demibrigade prisoners. This well-timed manœuvre, executed with vigour, and supported by the co-operation of the other columns already engaged with the enemy, decided the fortune of the day in favour of the imperialists. The French, driven from the wood, soon gave way on all sides, and were pursued on the road to Lypptingen, till victors and vanquished were overtaken by darkness. While victory was thus snatched, though with difficulty, from the centre of the republican army, the column that had advanced to Mofs-kirk, with the design of turning the right of the Austrians, was vigorously repulsed by the prince of Wurtemberg, and escaped certain destruction, only by crossing the Danube, over the bridge of Sigmaringen. The right of the republican army was not ultimately more successful. In spite of several vigorous attacks, first upon Nellenberg, and afterward on the village of Wallenwies, it could make no impression on the Austrian position, but was held in check the whole day by general Staader, who commanded that wing of the imperialists. In that quarter also night put an end to the battle, which had lasted along the whole line from break of day, with an unexampled obstinacy, and great loss to each of the armies. General Jourdan, whether he still retained a hope of being able to force the archduke's position, or, what is more probable, that he wished to disguise his defeat, by continuing to act on the defensive, again attacked, before break of day, the right of the imperialists, on the twenty-sixth,

near Wallenwies; but his reiterated efforts were unsuccessful. Seeing all his projects frustrated, having been twice beaten in the space of five days, and finding himself unable to resist the attacks which might be expected from the archduke, he commenced his retreat in the night, between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, and, after some sharp encounters with the Austrians, by whom he was followed and observed, rather than pursued, in the vallies of the Necker, the Kintzigg, and Hell, repassed the Rhine, with his centre and right, in the first week of April. His left also was driven from Schaffhausen across that river, on the thirteenth.

The archduke, at first, occupied the places abandoned by the French army, fixing his head-quarters at Stockach. But, on the seventh of April, the Austrians advanced beyond the mountains, into the valley of the Rhine, and pushed their left as far as Weill and Raichen, before Basle; and their right nearly to Rastadt. Suabia was thus almost entirely freed from the French, who, after having remained six weeks in that part of Germany, again saw themselves very nearly in the same position which they had occupied before their invasion. Jourdan proceeded from *Straßburgh* for the re-

*establishment of his health*, to Paris; where, meeting with the reception that is usually given by popular governments to unsuccessful commanders, however blameless, and even worthy of praise their conduct, he was stripped of the command of the army. He would have been a just object of respect, as well as sympathy, had he born this with a dignified silence; instead of attributing his defeats to the generals serving under him; devoting himself more and more to the jacobins, the usual resource of the republican malcontents; and extenuating, in an apologetic publication, his own force, while he greatly exaggerated that of his adversary. In that publication, entitled, *An Abstract of the Operations of the Army of the Danube*, he did not scruple to affirm, that he had only 34,000 men, and that the archduke had 80,000: whereas, it is well known, that the republican army was about 40,000 strong, and that the imperial troops, which had any share in the action, amounted, at most, to 45,000. He complained bitterly, not only of several of his generals, but of the minister of war, and of the directory. Jourdan certainly proved, what every one was already convinced of, that the military means of the directory were far from being adequate to its projects.

## C H A P. XIV.

*The French pass the Rhine.—Positions of the Austrians in the Country of the Grisons, and in the Vorarlberg.—Complete Conquest of the Country of the Grisons, by the French.—The Austrians, under the Archduke Charles, pass the Lech, and advance into Suabia.—Nearly the whole of which falls into their Possession.—The French fall back to Stock-Ach and Engen.—Are forced to repass the Rhine.—Make themselves Masters of the Vallies of the Inn.—The Inhabitants of the Tyrol take up Arms against the French, who, being defeated, are obliged to evacuate that Country.—Proclamation of the Archduke Charles to the People of Switzerland.—Massena appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Rhine, the Danube, and of Observation.—Breaking up of the Congress at Rastadt.—Inult offered to Bernadotte, French Ambassador, at Vienna.—Conferences at Seltz.—Assassination of the French Deputies to the Congress at Rastadt.—General Situation of the Allies.—The French are entirely driven out of the Country of the Grisons, and the Austrians take Possession of the left Bank of the Rhine.—Massena evacuates the Eastern Parts of Italy.—General Bellegarde, having reduced the Valtelline, embarks, with the greater Part of his Army, on the Lake Como.—The French driven from St. Gothard.—Strong Position taken by Massena, in Front of Zurich.—Situation of the Archduke, and Causes of his Inaction.—Respective Forces, and Forces of the opposite Armies in Switzerland.—Political Measures of the Allies.—The Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Wurtemberg enter into the Coalition.—Plan of a general Attack on the Allies formed at Paris.—Particular Plan of Massena.—The Austrians attacked on the whole Extent of their Line.—And entirely driven from the Cantons of Schwitz and Uri.—The first Division of the Russian Auxiliary Army arrives at Schaffhausen, and proceeds to Zurich.—Measures taken, by the Archduke, to stop the Progress of the Republicans.—The French Army of the Rhine passes that River on several Points.—The Archduke, with his Army, quits Switzerland.—After obtaining some Successes, obliged to fall back, and return to Mentz.—The Allies, on the 25th of September, attacked on the whole of their Line the Linth and the Limatt.—Zurich surrounded.—The Russian General, Korsakow, who succeeded to the Archduke in the Command of the Allied Forces, in Switzerland, retreats.—Marshal Suwarrow marches from Italy, into Switzerland.—His March, Progress, and Retreat to the Country of the Grisons, one Series of Battles, or a continued Engagement.—Action at Constance.—The French, on the 4th and 5th of October, pass the Rhine.—Take Possession of all the Country between the Maine and the Lake.—They are compelled to withdraw into the Angle, formed by the Necker and the Rhine, and completely to repass this River.*

**T**HE archduke, setting proper bounds to the desire of profiting by his victory, with mature judgement, did not make it his first object, immediately to drive the French beyond the Rhine, but remained for some time, with the greater part of his force, near the lake of Constance, rightly judging, that if he abandoned that point, and advanced into the Brisgau, his left and rear would be exposed to the incursions of Massena. All his thoughts were now bent on the invasion of Switzerland. The French had made that country a kind of strong hold, from whence they intended to fall on Germany. It was necessary to drive them from it, in order to be able, in his turn, to menace their own country. Switzerland was a two-edged sword, which could be made use of either against France or Germany. This prince Charles resolved to seize, and commenced his preparations for that great purpose. But the time that elapsed, before he could execute his design, permits us to look back on the central war which was carried on, in the country of the Grisons, and the frontiers of the Tyrol.

It has been already seen, that the French, on the seventeenth of March, were almost entirely masters of the Grison country, and that their plan was, to advance along the three vallies of the Inn, the Rhine, and the Adige. That this plan might be completely executed, it was absolutely necessary that Massena should drive the Austrians from the Vorarlberg. The French general Oudinot, seized on a height, which commanded the Austrian position at Field-kirk, guarded only by six thousand regulars, and en-

deavoured to establish a battery upon it. The Austrian artillery rendered that impossible, and the Austrian general Jellacheick, who commanded there, having attacked him, sword in hand, drove him from the height which he had occupied. As Field-kirk might be considered as the key of the Tyrol, Massena renewed, in person, the attack, next day, with the brigade of general Oudinot, reinforced with six thousand grenadiers, the flower of the army. After a very obstinate and bloody battle, which lasted all the day, he was not only obliged to relinquish the attempt, but to re-pass the Rhine, with the loss of three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Austrians, who had not lost above one-third of that number, advanced to the Rhine: while general Oudinot took post at Rhein-neck, and Massena entrenched himself on the other side of the river, having his head-quarters at Chur. This general, having in vain made an effort for penetrating into the north of the Tyrol, determined to send his left wing into the west of that province. The generals Desolles and Lecourbe, on the twenty-sixth of April, attacked the Austrians, in the vallies of the Inn and the Munster, reduced them under their power, and took a great many prisoners. These successes, which rendered the French masters of two of the principal entrances of the Tyrol, occasioned great alarms in that province, the south of which was threatened, at the same time, by the French army in Italy. General Bellegarde, with the assistance of the Tyrolesian peasants, who, at his call, rose in a mass, obliged the French, on the

the fifth of April, to evacuate the Tyrol.

The short stay of the French, in that country, was marked by the most horrid excesses. They profaned the churches, insulted the women, distressed the inhabitants in general, wasted the fields, pillaged the houses, and even reduced several villages to ashes.

The retreat of generals Lecourbe and Desolles, the bad season, and, above all, the defeats which the French had met with in Germany, and in Italy too, as shall, by and by, be related, left no longer any fears for the Tyrol, and therefore general Bellegarde, thought less of regaining the country of the Grisons, by force of arms, than of promoting the success of operations, which would reduce the French to evacuate it, or which, at least, would render an attack much easier. The formidable line of the French, on the Mincio, had just been broken, and the superiority of the Austrians, soon to be augmented by Russian auxiliaries, enabled them to attempt every thing in the plains of Lombardy. But, so long as the French were in possession of the Valtelline, and of that part of the Upper Alps, which commands the passages into the Brescian and Bergamese, they could send reinforcements to their army in Italy, or attack, in flank, that of the Austrians. General Bellegarde, therefore, detached three columns, which, under the orders of generals Vukassovitch and Aliciani, and colonel Strauch, were commissioned to dislodge the French from the upper parts of the Brescian and the Bergamese: in a word, from all the country between the lakes of Garda, Jaro, and Iseo.

After fifteen days of inaction,

which had been imitated by Lecourbe, and which was rendered necessary by the snows, which covered all the valley and passages of the Julian Alps, general Bellegarde resolved to attempt the attack of the country of the Grisons, in order more and more to facilitate and secure the progress of the allies, in Italy, and at the same time pave the way for the execution of the designs which they had formed against Switzerland. He therefore, on the twenty-second of April, sent several small columns to reconnoitre the passages on the frontiers of the Engadine, and the Breittgau. One of these, pursuing with too much ardour the out-posts of the enemy, whom they put to flight, was overpowered, and the greater part, with major Schmidt, who commanded it, taken prisoners. This small check, but still more the impassable state of the vallies, obliged general Bellegarde to delay the attack of the country of the Grisons.

To the Swiss nation the archduke addressed a proclamation, calculated to destroy the effect of those absurd views, which the French had never ceased to attribute to the Austrians, and by which they were enabled, in some measure, to revive the former hatred of the Swiss against them. It had, likewise, the more secret object of exciting insurrections among the inhabitants of Switzerland, and of preventing their arming in favour of the French. Twelve months of servitude had not yet extinguished the love of liberty in the hearts of the Swiss; the strong passions of hatred and vengeance, not being yet succeeded, by the indifference and cowardice which follow corruption. Scarcely had the law for forced enrolments been proclaimed,



proclaimed, when insurrections broke out in several cantons, and particularly in the smaller ones, in which the French had not been able to establish their dominion so firmly as those which lie nearer France. This state of things, however, did not discourage the French from proposing to the Helvetic directory, to declare war against the emperor: but the councils, subjected as they were to the will of the directory, and the bayonets of Massena, could not be induced to accede to their proposal. They consented however to a decree for arming all the unmarried men, without distinction, from the age of twenty to that of forty-five, and of all the married men under thirty. The punishment of death was enacted against all who should refuse to enrol themselves, or who should oppose the measures of government either by actions or words. The national troops, which were at the disposal of the directory, were employed for the execution of these laws. A vast number of persons were arrested in the principal towns, and that of Berne was put in a state of siege. Such was the state of things when the archduke announced his intention of entering Switzerland, and followed up his declaration by reducing the town of Schaffhausen, and forcing the French, in those parts, to retire entirely to the left bank of the Rhine, as above related.

The Austrians, the day after that on which the town of Schaffhausen

fell into their hands, drove the French from the small town of Petershausen, situated opposite, and on the narrowest part of the lake of Constance. Some entrenchments were forced by general Piffack, while a flotilla of gun-boats, fitted out at Bregents, and commanded by colonel Williams,\* aided his attack by their fire. Petershausen being taken, the French were summoned to evacuate Constance, their refusal was followed by a cannonade, which had no other effect than to injure the town, and to sink part of the boat which the French had collected on the left bank of the lake. The Austrians having, about the same time, got possession of the posts of Stein, and of Eglisau, the Rhine, from Bregentz to Basle, became the line of division between the two armies. These events, with some skirmishes, in Suabia, and on the banks of the Neckar and the Maine, where the inhabitants, to the number of some thousands, took up arms against the French, about the middle of April, were the only military occurrences which took place in that month, between that of the archduke and those of the French in Germany, and Switzerland. This inactivity on both sides, occasioned much speculation, and various conjectures.

Jourdan, having lost the command of the army of the Danube, Massena was appointed, first, *ad interim*, and then finally, to the chief command of that army, which

\* Colonel Williams, a native of England, and at first employed in the naval service of his country, entered into that of Austria, at the beginning of this war. He was charged with setting up all the flotillas, either on the Rhine, or the lakes of Constance and Garda. This able and active officer is at the head of the new imperial marine, in the Adriatic gulph.

united with those of observation, and of Switzerland, formed altogether but one, under the name of the army of the Danube. Thus invested with the full power of generalissimo over all the French forces, from the frontiers of the Tyrol and Italy to the palatinate, Massena repaired, early in April, to the reorganization and the movements of that great machine. He left about 3000 men at Manheim, placed two divisions in front of Kehl, forced the left bank of the river, from Strasburg to Balle, with some light troops, and marched two other divisions into Switzerland to increase his force there, and to replace some troops which he had sent into Italy by the St. Gothard. On the twelfth of April he fixed his headquarters at Balle, as the central point of that long line which he had to defend. A new campaign, if we may call it so, now opened on the whole theatre of the war. Massena had then, from Manheim to the source of the Adige, about 100,000 men; and the archduke, on the same, but a less regular line, above 110,000. It was from this time that the war assumed a more decided character, and that all the hopes, which the French directory and some princes of Germany had founded on the congress of Rastadt, vanished. The victories of the archduke had confirmed the deputations of the empire in their resolution to refer to the diet of Ratisbon, for an answer to the categorical demand of the French deputies, in consequence of the march of the Russians into Germany. On the seventh of April, the imperial com-

missioner announced officially, to the congress, that he had orders to quit it, to revoke all the concessions which he had made, but with the reserve, that they should not be valid till ratified by the emperor, and to declare that matters should thenceforth be considered as being in the same state in which they were before the opening of the congress. This declaration, which was soon followed by the departure of the imperial commission, and of the greatest part of the deputies of the empire, notwithstanding the efforts of the French plenipotentiaries to continue the conferences with the deputies of the empire, gave a mortal blow to the congress at Rastadt.

It may here be proper to take notice of some events, which, in the history of that ridiculous and fatal council, the sport of France, and the disgrace of Germany, may be considered as a kind of epilogues.

On the thirteenth of April, 1796, the mass of the people of Vienna had voluntarily taken up arms to defend their city, and the palace and person of their monarch, against the attack of the French army, then supposed to be on its march towards Vienna. This mark of loyalty and attachment was recorded among the public acts of government, and orders were given, by the emperor, that its anniversary should be celebrated with ceremonies of civil pomp and religious solemnity. On the evening of that day, 1798, and during the ferment of those sentiments among the people, the three-coloured flag was displayed, for the first time, in triumph, on the balcony of general Bernadotte's,\* the

\* The conduct of Bernadotte, as well as that of his suite, was marked by an uncommon degree of insolence, from the day of their arrival in Vienna. Bernadotte imitated the

the French ambassador's hotel.— The populace demanded, with loud and repeated cries, that it should be taken down. The flag was torn to pieces, and the standard, to which it was attached, burnt. The resentment of the people, once excited to action could not stop here. They burst open the gates of the hotel, threatening to sacrifice the ambassador and all his suite to their vengeance. Every thing they found on the ground floor of the hotel, they demolished, laying hold of two of the ambassador's carriages they dragged them, the one to a neighbouring square, the other to the court of the palace, and broke them to pieces. While they were thus employed, a considerable detachment of military arrived, and availing themselves of the absence of the mob, who had gone to attend the public sacrifice of the carriages, occupied the entrances into the street in which the ambassador's house is situated, and prevented their return. At the same time, the baron Dagelman was dispatched to Bernadotte, by the minister baron Thugut, to express the concern with which the Austrian government had learnt what had happened. Next morning, he dispatched one of his secretaries with a letter to the emperor, requiring as conditions of his continuing at Vienna:—1st. The dismissal of the minister Thugut. 2. The punishment of the mayor of Vienna. 3. The establishment of a privileged quarter in the city of Vienna, for the French mission, and its compa-

trials. 4. That the emperor should repair, at his own expense, the flag, and flag-staff, and the picture of the French arms. These demands being peremptorily refused, Bernadotte quitted Vienna.

For the ostensible purpose of explanation, and preventing any disagreeable consequences that might arise from this popular explosion, though it was evidently not chargeable on the court of Vienna; a secret conference was opened at Seltz, on the Rhine, opposite Rastadt, between the count Cobentzel, on the part of his imperial majesty, and Francis Neufchateau, on that of the directory. The count declared that, although his imperial majesty was ready to grant ample satisfaction for what had happened in regard to Bernadotte, yet, from a due regard to the sentiments of the people of Vienna, it was necessary to conduct this business without precipitation, and without noise. The interests of both countries, he said, seemed to require that the conferences at Seltz should be chiefly devoted to the settlement of some more material points, which called for a definitive arrangement. Neufchateau having acquiesced in this proposition, count Cobentzel went a step farther, and proposed that, as the congress of Rastadt was a mere farce, acted on the part of the empire under the imperial cabinet and ecclesiastical courts, the negotiation for peace should be carried on entirely, and brought to an issue at Seltz, at the close of which it

the conduct of Joseph Buonaparte, at Rome, by demanding that the quarter of the city where he resided should be free, and that all Frenchmen, residing in Vienna, should be amenable to him only for their conduct. He was in the habit of conversing with the Austrian private soldiers and non-commissioned officers, and remarking to them that it was only under a republican government that a man could rise from the ranks, as he had done, to be a general officer, and an ambassador.

would

would be easy to force Prussia and the empire to submit to what had been agreed on between Austria and France. By command of the directory, Neufchateau rejected the latter proposition, but entered into the discussion of other propositions, the first of which was, "that, as the cession of Bavaria, stipulated in the secret articles of Campo Formio, seemed to meet with great obstacles, even in regard to the guarantee promised by the directory, Austria would, for the present, desist from this cession, on the condition that such parts of the borders of Bavaria, and the upper Palatinate, as were necessary for the conveniency and safety of the Austrian frontiers, be ceded to Austria, together with Saltzbürg, Passau, and Betscholdsgaden, and all the possessions, without exception, formerly belonging to the Venetian republic." This being also rejected, the count offered a second proposition, wherein "he demanded, once more, the cession of the remainder of the ancient Venetian dominions, together with the three Roman legations, and the duchy and fortrefs of Mantua. The treaty of Basse to be rescinded; and neither Prussia nor the house of Orange to receive any indemnification in Germany: on which condition, Austria engaged also to relinquish her claim of being indemnified by a part of the German territory." This being also declared to be inadmissible, a variety of other propositions were made, in none of which, the cession to Austria, of all the Venetian territories, and the duchy of Mantua, was forgotten. But after the negociations had been continued for six months, Neufchateau was directed to confine

his negociation, to the sole point of satisfaction, for the insult offered to Bernadotte, and to declare, that, as all the propositions made on the part of the imperial court, tended merely to aggrandize Austria, at the expence of other powers, unless count Cobentzel could and would agree to give the promised satisfaction, the conferences at Seltz should be broken off: which, as the count declined all satisfaction of any kind, they were accordingly.

After the French ministers had notified, to the deputation of the empire, that they should depart in three days from Rastadt, the baron d'Albini, one of the imperial ministers, wrote to the colonel Barbaczy, commanding the cordon of the Austrian advanced posts, demanding escorts for the deputies of the empire, who were ready to depart, and safe conduct for the French plenipotentiaries. The commander, in a note dated at Gernbach, the twenty-eighth of April, said that, as it did not accord with military plans, to tolerate citizens of the French republic, in countries possessed by the imperial and royal army, they should not take it ill if the circumstances of the war, forced him to signify to them to quit the territory of Gernbach and the army in the space of twenty-four hours. At the same moment, four hundred hussars, entered Rastadt, and took possession of the posts and gates of the town, with an order to suffer no person to enter in, or go out. At night, in the evening of the twenty ninth, the French ministers were in their carriages: but on coming to the gate of the town, they were surprized to find the passage refused them. But at length permission was obtained

tained to leave the town with two hussars for an escort. The gate being opened, the ministers began their route, but the two hussars remained in the town: it was then nine in the evening. At about five hundred paces from the gate, a troop of hussars on foot as well as on horseback, burst out from a wood that skirted the road, and surrounded the first carriage, in which was Jean Debrie with his wife and children. Thinking it was some patrol to visit his passport, he held it out at the window, mentioning his name and quality. He was immediately dragged out of his carriage, and fell, covered with blood from strokes of sabres, which he received on his arms, head, and shoulders: but he was still able to crawl unobserved into the ditch, on the side of the road. In the second carriage were Jean Debrie's secretary and valet de chambre, who cried out that they were domestics. They were ordered to alight, and received a few blows, but no other harm was done to them. Their carriage was pillaged. In the third carriage was Bonnier alone. They asked in French if he was the minister Bonnier? On his answering in the affirmative, a hussar opened the door of the carriage, took him by the collar, dragged him out of the carriage, and cut off his hand, head, and arms. His carriage was likewise pillaged. The fourth carriage was Rosenfiel, the secretary of legation, who seeing, by the light of a flambeau, what was passing, saved himself by jumping out of his carriage, and got clear off. In the fifth carriage was the minister Robert Jott and his wife. The hussars had some struggle with this victim to get him

out of the carriage; his wife holding him strongly locked in her arms. They murdered him in this position, cutting off the back part of his head with a sabre. The hussars now went off: and the carriages, with the ladies and servants, turned round and went to Rastadt; whither Rosenfiel also came about eleven the same evening, and Jean Debrie, after passing the night in the wood, the next morning.

The Prussian ministers wrote immediately a letter to Barbaczy, to demand an escort and safeguard, more sure for what remained of the French legation. The commander expressed his sorrow for what had passed. Jean Debrie, and the other French ministers, left Rastadt on the following day, under an Austrian escort, and a still stronger escort of the prince of Baden, accompanied by the Liguarian minister, who had followed them on the night of the 29th, but who, observing what was passing in front, escaped back to Rastadt, leaving his carriage, which was pillaged, like that of the French minister's.

Various were the conjectures respecting the motives which could have urged this assassination. However, the court of Vienna might have been inclined to overlook it, when committed, it is by no means credible that they could have been its instigators. It appears to us, in general, to have sprang, like the insult to Bernadotte, from a popular and lively indignation, whether on the part of the Austrians or French loyalists, or both, at the arrogant pretensions of a new and upstart government, which had cemented its power, by the blood-royal of Austria, as well as of France,

France, and among its deputies to Rastadt, had sent the regicide, Jean Debrie, as well as the rustic, Bonnier. Barbaczy, and another officer, Bourkhendt, were arrested, by orders of prince Charles, in order to undergo a trial by a court-martial: but, as it was afterwards declared, that the assassins were not Austrians, but French emigrants, under the assumed appearance of hussars, headed by one Danicon, this trial did not take place. The French government had not the same candour or forbearance. For, whoever were the assassins, or by whatever orders the assassination was committed, the court of Vienna was peremptorily charged with the murder, by the directory, who sent a message to the councils, with official notice of the event. The councils adopted a resolution, the principal articles of which were, "that this act should be denounced, in the name of the French nation, to all good men, and to the governments of every country, as commanded by the cabinet of Vienna, and executed by its troops; that funeral solemnities should be performed in honour of the murdered deputies, throughout the republic; that the government, guilty of this assassination, should be consigned to the vengeance of nations, and the execrations of posterity; that, in the place of sitting, of every municipal administration, in tribunals, schools, and public establishments, an inscription should be put up, stating, that the Austrian government had caused this assassination to be committed by its troops; that a banner should be sent to every army by sea or land, with an inscription provocative of vengeance against the Austrians, for

this murder; which banners were to be carried at the head of each army; and that indemnities should be given to the widows and children of the deceased ministers." His imperial majesty, in an Aulic decree to the German diet, after expressing the utmost abhorrence at the barbarous and atrocious deed, declared, "that an inquiry had been instituted, according to the prescription of the laws, and which was to be conducted with every degree of rigour, that the horrid act might be traced in all its circumstances, its authors and accomplices discovered, and the imputation of the offence be properly fixed: and charged the diet to appoint deputies of their own to be present at the inquiry; thus, by giving its conjoint advice, to convince the whole impartial world, that both the emperor and empire were animated with the same uniform sentiments, for the execution of the most rigorous justice." After a long examination, there did not appear sufficient evidence to bring home the charge and guilt of assassination to any party. Mystery still hangs about this dark transaction: which, like Gouwrie's conspiracy against James VI. of Scotland, may, perhaps, even for centuries, remain a subject of curiosity and investigation, to antiquaries and historians. Nevertheless, it excited a very lively sentiment of horror and resentment throughout France, and diverted, for a moment, the public indignation, which was every where poured down on the directory, on account of their profusion and rapacity at home, and their neglect to recruit and strengthen their armies abroad. This suspension and diversion of the public attention

and dissatisfaction, was probably the precise object that the directory had in view when they penned the piece just quoted. Whether any thing very prosperous or adverse happened to the nation, it was sure, for a short time, to afford some relief to the directory, by turning the keen edge of the French genius to something else than the former conduct of administration. But, it would appear that, hasty and precipitate as the French are in giving way to their imaginations and passions, the sentiment of horror and resentment, inspired by the accounts they received, with many comments and conjectures from their own countrymen, who had come from Rastadt, were not of long duration. Their passion cooled, they began first to doubt; and then, very probably, to disbelieve what had been so peremptorily charged against the imperial cabinet. Certain it is, that it did not render the decrees, which had passed eleven days before, for making the military conscription general, more popular or effective. It was, on the eighteenth of April, a few days before the final rupture of the negotiation at Rastadt, that the French government, from a desire of exciting odium against the emperor, for his selfish ambition and inattention to the interests of the Germanic body, and also of augmenting the jealousy entertained of the views of that prince, by the court of Berlin, published a state paper, which they styled, "The Secret Articles and additional Convention of the Treaty of Campo Formio." By this agreement, his imperial majesty was to be assisted by the influence of France, in the acquisition of the archbishopric of

Saltzburgh and other territories. In return, the emperor consented to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and promised the evacuation of Mentz, Mannheim, and other considerable towns and fortresses. From this political digression we return to military operations.

The French, in the outset of the present campaign, had not contented themselves with tracing out a particular plan of each of their three armies; but combined every partial operation, so as to direct the whole to the attainment of one common object. The case was now the same with the Austrians, who, after victory had suddenly enabled them to act on the offensive in Germany and Italy, found themselves obliged to regulate each operation, giving the idea of a military manœuvre, in which the different corps, advancing dependently on each other, would regulate, by their left, their march, and direction. A plan was combined between general Hotze and Bellegarde, for a general attack on the country of the Grisons. General Bellegarde, after several engagements, gained possession of the upper and lower Engadine. On the first of May, general Hotze, whose army, reinforced by the archduke, consisted of more than 20,000 men, advanced through the valley of the Grisons against the fort of Luciensteig, whilst another column marched towards the same point by the defiles of Langwart; and other detachments, in order to keep the French in check upon all points, penetrated by corresponding vallies. General Hotze's plan was to attack Fort Luciensteig, on two sides at once, and thereby prevent

it from being relieved. But the column, coming by the way of Langwart, did not come out of the defiles at Flaifeh and Mayenfeld, till several hours after general Hotze had appeared before the Luciensteig, which, for want of the co-operation, on which he had relied, he could not carry. The French general, Menard, who commanded in those parts, had already resisted general Hotze, with success, when he saw the second column coming upon him. At first he retired, but, being speedily reinforced by some troops, which had set out from Chur on hearing the fire, he found himself stronger than the Austrians, attacked them at the moment when they were issuing out of the defile, beat them, and killed, or took, the greatest part of the corps.

The failure of this attack was the more to be regretted by the Austrians, that, if it had succeeded, they might at once have gained possession of the whole of the Grison league, and even of part of the lesser cantons. General Hotze, a native of Switzerland, had collected the emigrants from that country, and had formed them into a corps of Infantry, about 1000 strong. The confidence which his countrymen reposed in his talents, enabled him to promote the disposition to insurrection, manifested by the inhabitants of the lesser cantons of the Grison country, and of the Valais, who, being informed of the general attack projected by the Austrians, took up arms, and occupied at once the vallies of the higher Rhine, of the Ticino, of the Reufs, the Muttien, and the Rhone; forming a chain of insurrection upon the line of the great

Alps, in the rear of the two French corps, posted in the valley of Chur, and at the head of that of the Inn. The failure of general Hotze's expedition enabled the French to unite their whole force against the insurgents. A part, in the canton of Schwitz, laid down their arms: the rest, to the number of several thousands, were cut to pieces in two battles which they fought in the valley of the Rhine, and near Altdorf. These cruel disasters stifled in its birth the general insurrection, by which the Austrians had hoped to be supported.

The position that had been taken by general Bellegarde, upon the chain of the Alps, which covers the principal valley of the Grisons, greatly favoured an attack on that territory. General Hotze, therefore, prepared to make a second effort, and arranged his measures with general Bellegarde in such a manner, and with such a force, as to render success almost infallible: and, the better to secure, and afterwards improve it, the archduke had sent to general Hotze fresh reinforcements, including the fine regiment of light-horse, of Kinsky. The fort of Steig, assailed on both sides by Austrian columns, the one under the command of general Hotze, in person, the other under that of general Jellacheik, on the fourteenth of May. The reduction of this place was quickly followed by the total expulsion of the French from the country of the Grisons, and the Austrians, under the command of Hotze, took post on the left bank of the Rhine. In the mean time, several detachments of French, which had retired out of the Valtelline into the Rhetion Alps, afraid of being shut in by the



different Austrian corps, that already occupied the passes of Splügen and Gunkels, endeavoured to traverse the mountains and reach St. Gothard. They were pursued by the corps of general Bellegarde, who went himself to Chiavenna, his co-operation being no longer of use to general Hotze; with whom, however, he left some troops, and his presence becoming more and more necessary every day to the army of the allies in Italy.

In consequence of the surprize, defeat, and losses, which the division of general Menard had suffered, in the country of the Grisons, on the fourteenth of May, the French in the Foggenburg, in the canton of Appenzel, and some other places, could not maintain themselves in those territories, or even beyond the Thur, without recovering the post at Wallenstadt. This they attempted to do on the nineteenth, a few hours after the advanced guard of the Austrians had taken possession of it; but were repulsed, towards the close of the day, as far as Murg, on the south bank of the lake of Wallenstadt. It was no longer in Massena's power to keep possession of the eastern part of Switzerland. The generals Hotze and Bellegarde had gained his right flank, and even his rear, and, therefore, he could not, without much danger, longer delay to strengthen his centre, and shorten his line. He ordered the Feggemberg, the canton of Appenzel, the country of St. Gall, and the Tongaw, to be evacuated on the twentieth, and withdrew all his forces behind the Thur.

But the success obtained by general Hotze would not have been sufficient to induce Massena to evacuate so great an extent of country,

had he not been certain that the archduke Charles would also very soon pass the Rhine. The hostile appearances in Suabia had not induced the archduke to change the concentrated position which he had taken between Stockach and Schaffhausen, and as little did the entrenchments, made along the river, hinder him from passing it. That prince had resolved not to enter Switzerland till its south and east quarters should have been previously invaded: which being done, he lost not a moment in executing an enterprize, too long delayed, and anxiously waited for by all Europe. As soon as the retreat of the French was known, the advanced posts of the Austrians, which guarded the Rhine from Field-kirk to Rheineck, passed that river, and the flotilla of colonel Williams had landed some troops on the west side of the lake of Constance. On the twenty-first, the main body of the archduke's army marched from Stockach to Singen, and on the twenty-third, from that place to Schaffhausen: where it began, the same day, to pass the Rhine on bridges of boats, and to occupy a camp marked out near Paradise. A junction was formed on the twenty-sixth: and, on the same evening, it was determined to take advantage of this for attacking the position of the enemy at Winterthur. The French, on the twenty-seventh, were forced to abandon their situation, retired in good order, and with little loss, beyond the river Töss, their retreat being greatly favoured by the woody and mountainous nature of the country. The Austrians had now the advantage of resuming offensive operations, and of being firmly established in Switzerland with

with about fifty-five thousand men, while Massena, on account of the length of his line, and the necessity of lending ten thousand men into the Valais, could not oppose to them quite that number. Though the country, bordering on the Tofs, presents many advantageous positions, for opposing the passage of that river, yet Massena, fearing to be out-flanked, resolved to draw nearer to the central position of Zurich, where alone he could stop the progress of the Austrians. He decamped, therefore, in the night, between the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, and retired to the Glatt. The archduke, in consequence, pushed on his advanced guard, on the right to Balach, and on the left to Bassendorf; on which account, the French, on the following day, falling back still farther, put the Glatt between them and the enemy, and occupied the position before Zurich, which, for two months, they had been carefully entrenching. Their right, at the same time, evacuated Rapperschwill, less, from any apprehensions of danger in their front, than by the progress already made on their rear, by the left wing of general Hotze's army. General Bellegarde, who had ceased to co-operate with general Hotze, and, on the eighteenth of May, gone in pursuit of the different corps of the enemy which had defended the sources of the Rhine, having on the sixteenth pushed on a column to Chiavenna, advanced, on the eighteenth, with the rest of his army, in three columns, towards the valley of the Adda. Two of these did not direct their march against the enemy, but towards the lake Como, on which they em-

barked on the town of that name, whence they were conducted by general Bellegarde, across the Milanese to the siege of Tortona. The rest of that army, under the command of general Haddick, drove the French from St. Gothard, and forced them to retire behind the Reufs. The loss of St. Gothard, and the progress made by the imperialists, in the cantons of Glarus, Schwitz, and Uri, threatened the whole position of the French in Switzerland. Repeated attempts were made to regain a part of the territory they had lost. General Lecourbe, on the thirtieth, forced the Austrians to yield a little ground in the vallies of Reufs and Schagen: and, on the second of June, in a very obstinate battle, which ended in his favour, he killed, wounded, or took one thousand men. This affair obliged the Austrians to fall back to Urseren.

The possession of St. Gothard was so important to the allied armies, that they neglected nothing that could contribute to its defence. And general Lecourbe, through movements by the Austrians, fatigue, losses, and the difficulty of procuring subsistence in a ravage country, was obliged to give up every hope of recovering the St. Gothard. He embarked his troops, part on the lake of the Four Cantons, and part on that of Zug, and took a position behind these, to cover the town and lake of Lucerne. The Austrians occupied the valley of the Reufs to the lake of the Four Cantons, and Altorf, Fluelen, Brunnem, and Schwiltz; from which they communicated with the rest of the army, across the Sihl and the lake of Zurich.

Thus the upper plateau\* of the Alps, so often disputed in the course of this campaign, was, for the first time, reduced by force of arms. By the possession of this pre-eminent military post, and of the valley of Urieren, the Austrians completed the communication between their two grand armies, and formed the central link of their vast military chain, extending from the banks of the Maine, to those of the Bormida, across the mountains of Suabia, the Rhine, Switzerland, the Alps, Lombardy, and the Appennines. It was from this time that their system of operations became more simple and better combined: it was at this time, too, that they shewed greater force, a more active spirit, and decided superiority, than at any other period in the whole campaign. They kept the French in check on the Mayne, the Necker, and the Kintzing, drove them from the half of Switzerland, seized or shut up the passages from that country into Italy, occupied the town of Turin, besieged its citadel, and blockaded, at the same time, the fortresses of Alexandria, Tortona, and Mantua.

Massena having reason to fear that the Austrians would very soon invade Switzerland on all sides, and that it might, in consequence, be impossible for him to preserve the semicircle, formed by the Rhine, from the source of the Linth to the mouth of the Glatt, wished, at least, to defend its diameter. He therefore fortified that chain of mountains, which lies in the front of Zurich, between the Limmat and the

Glatt, by the affair of Winterthur, he went to occupy that position, and completed its entrenchments. His right, entirely composed of infantry, was posted on the Zurichberg, the most elevated part of all that chain of mountains. Access to it was rendered almost impossible by a thick wood, by several ranks of abatis and redoubts, and by a formidable artillery. Between his right and the lake of Zurich there was no point through which it was possible to penetrate. His left was placed on the same chain of mountains, and the approaches to it. Between these two wings, on ground gradually sloping, open, and cut by the roads from Schaffhausen and Constance, to Zurich, Massena placed his cavalry. This position was so well chosen, that the archduke could not make any essential progress until he had dislodged the French: which could be done only by either attacking them in front, or by turning their flank on the left bank of the Limmat, which would have been arduous, long, and even dangerous. On the fourth of June, the Austrians advanced in several columns against the Zurichberg, and attacked it on several points, at the same time. The approaches to the Zurichberg were so formidably entrenched, and the fire of the batteries so commanding, that the generals Hotze and Rosenberg, who conducted the two principal attacks, were unable, for some time, to make any progress, although two columns, acting on their flank, had already penetrated to the foot of the abatis. Prince Charles ordered four battalions to assault the Zurich-

\* A French term, signifying a ground at once high and flat.

berg with fixed bayonets. The Austrian grenadiers made their way through the abbatis, and carried the first line of the entrenchments, but could not advance a step farther. Nevertheless, the Austrians did not give ground, but kept the French within their works, and gave time to the other attacking columns to reach the foot of the entrenchments. Night overtook them here and put an end to a contest which had raged with deadly obstinacy during the whole day. Each party lost two thousand five hundred men at least. On the fifth, the archduke took an exact view of the position of the enemy, and resolved to assault it: but, as the fatigue of the preceding day rendered it necessary that the soldiers should take some rest, he put off the execution of his design till the sixth. But, on the night between the fifth and sixth, Massena abandoned his position, and retired to the other side of the Limmat, where he took post on the chain of mountains called *Abis*, which lies between the lake of Zurich, the Limmat, and the Reuss. The archduke, after taking possession of Zurich, distributed his troops along the right banks of the lake of Zurich, of the Limmat, and of the Aar. The archduke, desirous of extending his right on the western shores of the lake, and to remove a little the centre of the enemy, on the eighth of June, attacked the French advanced posts only half a league from Zurich, and drove them from the village of Albisrieden, and of some heights, on which two points the Austrians posted themselves. On these points the archduke confined himself on the first days after the capture of Zurich, from whence he soon after removed his head-

quarters to Kloten. His army, which from the twenty-first, and part of it from the fourteenth of the preceding month, had been continually under march and fighting, required some repose. Besides, the new position, taken by Massena, was too strong to admit of a chance of success in any attempt to force it. It was necessary to conquer almost the whole of Switzerland before Massena could be compelled to abandon his position, and retire upon the Aar. On the whole, the archduke was determined not to attempt any thing important in Switzerland, in the present circumstances, for the following reasons: the strength of the position occupied by the French; the smallness of the assistance which he either received, or could expect, from the inhabitants of Switzerland; the weak state in which his army had been left by the departure of general Bellegarde for Italy, whither, it was already resolved, that general Hadick should follow him; the expected arrival of thirty-five thousand Russian auxiliaries who were on their march to join him; and above all, the secret orders of the cabinet of Vienna. He had then no longer any other object than to prevent Massena from profiting by his inaction. And this object he could not better effect than by giving the French general employment in the Brisgau, the Margravate of Baden, and the Palatinate, where nothing worthy of notice had passed during the month of May, except the capture of Heidelberg, by the Austrians, on the nineteenth. A course of movements and actions followed in these countries, which in any other war, and even in any other campaign of the present war, would have

have fixed the attention of the public and the historian. But the interest, which these might have inspired, is in a manner absorbed by that which Italy and Switzerland, the two great theatres of the war, have constantly commanded. It is lost in the unprecedented multiplicity of the operations, movements, and actions of this astonishing campaign. The war carried on, on the left bank of the Rhine, from the month of May to that of September, however fit a subject for military description and observation, in the political history of Europe, on the scale of this Annual Register, is to be regarded as merely episodic.

On the third of July, Massena attacked the left wing of the archduke in the cantons of Schwitz and Zug. He gained some posts, but on the same and succeeding day lost them. There was not, at the beginning of July, any great disparity between the effective forces of the two contending generals. Massena, it is true, had a greater number of troops in Switzerland than the archduke; but then he could not make use of them all in the field, as he was under a necessity of leaving strong garrisons in the principal towns, for ensuring the obedience of the country, and of reinforcing the division which had been sent for suppressing the insurrection in the Valais. That insurrection, which had employed for near two months many thousands of republicans, intended for the army in Italy, would have been of still greater utility to the allies, if their plan had been to make the conquest of Italy go hand in hand with that of Switzerland. Though determined to effect that of the former, before they

should in good earnest attempt that of the latter, they nevertheless judged it necessary to make some shew of military designs in the Valais, which might keep up the insurrection, and detain in that country the body of the French, by which it was occupied. General Hadlick, who, since the taking of St. Gothard, had successively received orders, sometimes to enter into the Valais, sometimes to remain in Switzerland, and sometimes to repair to Italy, which he finally did, on the sixteenth of July, sent an advanced guard into the valley of the Rhone, where it was joined by some companies of insurgents. Some skirmishing ensued, in which some prisoners were made on both sides: after which, each party resumed its position. Although the month of July and the half of August were not marked by any great enterprise, it was during this lapse of time, that most preparations were made, and most political and military measures taken for future operations. The French pressed the levy of their *conscripts*, of which they formed two new armies. One of these was destined to act on the Rhine, and invade Franconia and Suabia. The other, under the name of the army of the Alps, was to cover France on the side of Dauphiny and Provence, to act offensively in Piedmont, and also to co-operate with the army, which occupied the Genoeve. They likewise marked out a camp, near Geneva, to defend the entrance of France, by the way of the Valais and Savoy.

The Austrian forces, which till then had been sufficient to conquer, but part of whom had fallen a sacrifice to victory, were now no longer adequate to that which re-

mained

mained to be done; whether to keep what had been already acquired, or to pursue the career of beginning conquest. The court of Vienna inclined to the former of these alternatives, but those of London and Peterburgh to the latter. To accomplish this last end London presented money, and Peterburgh troops. But it was necessary, and it was naturally expected, that the German empire, in a cause, which was more immediately its own, should also make sacrifices and efforts. The emperor, in an imperial decree, dated the twelfth of July, called on the states and princes of the empire, to pay the Roman months, and furnish the quintuple contingents, agreeably to the last *conclusum* of the diet of Ratibon; in conformity to which, the king of Sweden had, about two months before, in his quality of duke of Pomerania, declared himself ready to act. But the characteristic slowness of all the resolutions of the diet of Ratibon\* induced the allies to seek for auxiliaries among the princes who had troops to dispose of. The king of Prussia persisting in his neutrality, and having won over to his own side all the northern princes of Germany, except the king of Sweden, who contented himself, however, with making the above declaration, the allied courts addressed themselves, and with more success, to the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Wurtemberg. The former, who, before his succession to the electoral dignity, had constantly shewn him-

self the partisan of France, and dependent on Prussia, changed all on a sudden his apparent system, and engaged not only to march his contingent of troops, but even to furnish besides ten thousand men, whom England proposed to take into her pay. The duke of Wurtemberg engaged to furnish 6000 men, including his contingent, amounting to one half, on the condition, which was accepted, of his being subsidized by England.—Of the 45,000 men agreed for, by a treaty of subsidies above noticed by the Russian emperor and Great Britain, more than 10,000 had already been sent to reinforce, in Italy, the 23,000 who had been there ever since the spring, with marshal Suwarrow. The remaining 35,000 had been on their march many months, and were expected to join the archduke in Switzerland, towards the middle of August.

In the beginning of that month the archduke and Massena found themselves in the same positions, which they respectively occupied in the month of June. If the inactivity of the archduke could be accounted for, by his expectation of the Russian army, it was not so easy to conceive why Massena, who had received great reinforcements during the month of July, and who, at the beginning of August, had at least 20,000 men more than that prince, did not make haste to attack him before he should receive any support from the Russians. The inaction of Massena was matter of astonishment to all Europe.

\* The imperial decree, of the twelfth of July, was not taken into consideration till the twenty-second of August, and was not adopted as a *conclusum* till the sixteen-h of October. Nor is it probable that, had the French reached the very walls of Vienna, matters would have been carried on with more dispatch.

In the midst of all the embarrassments of the French government, political, military, and financial, at a moment when it did not seem capable of even defending itself, it determined to resume the offensive, and combined a plan of general attack on the whole line of the theatre of war across the Alps, through Switzerland, Piedmont, and the states of Genoa, from the Maine to the Mediterranean. General Joubert, with 30 or 40,000 men, assembled in the state of Genoa, was, if possible, to force the siege of Tortona, and to drive the allies beyond the Po. About 15,000 men, collected by Championet, on the frontiers of Dauphiny and Piedmont, were to annoy the allies by penetrating through the vallies which connect these two countries, to support Joubert's left on the maritime Alps, and to form a central army between the armies of Switzerland and Italy. This last, the most numerous and most advantageously posted, was destined to drive the archduke from the whole of Switzerland, if possible; at any rate to confine him within narrow limits, and by all means to interrupt or impede his communications with marshal Suwarrow. Massena, guided by these views, resolved to make an attack on the whole Austrian line. On the fourteenth of August, the whole French army marched on all sides against the enemy. While general Chabran, with that division of the right of the corps which was immediately under Massena's orders, extended himself in front of the mountains of the Albis, and got possession of almost all the country between these mountains and the western bank of the lake of Zurich: general Lecourbe, who had nearly

20,000 under his command, divided into six columns, attacked all the positions of the Austrians from mount St. Gothard to the northern extremity of the canton of Schweiz. The operations, intrusted to this general, embracing a great extent of country were to be carried on, some upon mountains almost inaccessible, others in deep vallies: the different columns could neither act in concert, nor communicate with each other, nor could they effect a junction till after each of them had penetrated by the point of attack assigned to it, and that the object of the expedition was accomplished in all its parts. This was no less than to drive the Austrians from the summits of the most elevated country in Europe.

On the sixteenth, Lecourbe found himself master of the canton of Schweiz, of almost the whole of that of Uri, and of the most elevated points of the great chain of the Alps, which bounds Switzerland to the southward. Generals Jella-cheik and Simbschen, who commanded in the cantons of Schweiz and Uri, had retreated, the former as far as the canton of Glarus and behind the Linth; the latter into the Grey League, on the mountains of Crispalt, which cover the passage of the Grison country. But from this commanding position they were driven by Lecourbe, and forced to fall back as far as Tawetsch.

If the French had met with this great success, which dispossessed the Austrians of the small cantons, some days sooner, the archduke, being inferior in numbers, and on the point of having other affairs on his hand, would probably have been forced to evacuate almost the whole of Switzerland, or could not have maintained

maintained himself there but by great skill, and at the expense of much blood. But the day on which Massena began his general attack, the first division of the Russian army of general Korsakow, followed, at a small distance, by five others, arrived, by forced marches, at Scaffhausen, from whence it marched two days afterwards to Zurich. The timely arrival of this reinforcement allowed prince Charles to diminish the force of his principal position of Zurich, and to send general Hotze with several thousand men to support the two Austrian corps, which had retired into the cantons of Schweitz and Glarus, and which, after having been posted beyond Rapperschwill and the Linth, retook these two positions. The Linth, the lake of Zurich, and the Limmat, were, properly speaking, the limits of the two armies. On the following days, the whole Russian army, with the exception of the cavalry, which would have been useless in Switzerland, and which remained on the right bank of the Rhine, joined the Austrians near Zurich.

A great battle, which the French had lost at Novi, in Italy, had entirely deranged their offensive plans. The part assigned to Massena depended in a great measure on that which was, at the same time, to be acted in Germany and Italy, by the republican armies, which might be considered as the two wings of his. It was necessary that both, or at least one of them, should advance, in order that the centre might do so, without danger, and indeed that it might with safety preserve its position. It wanted a point of support, and not being able, since the battle of Novi, to

find this on its right, it was necessary to look for it on the left: and the army, which the directory had been busy in forming on the Rhine, received orders to advance on the Maine and the Neckar. The object of this expedition was, by a powerful diversion, to prevent the archduke from turning against Massena the mass of force which he had at his disposal, since the arrival of the Russians, to preserve Switzerland by threatening Germany; to procure in this latter country money and provisions, and to employ, for the benefit of the republic, the rich granaries, which the harvest had just filled, of the Palatinate. On the twenty-fifth of August the republicans, 10,000 in number, under general Muller, passed the Rhine at Mannheim, and near that town, reduced Heidelberg and Heibron, and extended themselves into the countries lying between the Rhine and the Neckar. Another division, under the command of general d'Hilliers, proceeding from Mentz, levied contributions on the town of Frankfort, notwithstanding its agreed neutrality; pushed an advanced post towards Aleshausen, marched towards the lower Neckar, where it arrived on the second of September, and joined itself to the centre of the army of the Rhine, which enabled general Muller, on the twenty-sixth to invest Philipburgh.

The incursion of the French upon the Maine, and their march towards Suabia, furnished prince Charles with a pretext for avoiding a co-operation with field-marshal Suwarrow in Switzerland, which he had probably received orders to elude. This young prince, the unwilling instrument of Austrian policy, alarmed, or pretended to be,



fo, at the danger which threatened Germany, and that part of his army which was on the right bank of the Rhine, and professing to feel the desire, as well as obligation, of rescuing, from the ravages of the French, the estates of the elector palatine, and the duke of Wurtemberg, ordered his army to hold itself in readiness to quit Switzerland, and immediately marched part of it towards Schaff-hausen. He intrusted general Hotze with the defence of the small cantons, and sent him some reinforcements, which raised his force to about 29,000 men. During the last days of August, the Russians, in number about 30,000 effective men, replaced the Austrians along the brooks of the Linmat and the Aar, and in front of Zurich, where general Korsakow, with whom the command now rested, fixed his head-quarters. General Nauendorf was left with about 10,000 men, on the right bank of the Rhine, to form there a body of observation and reserve.—These were the arrangements which prince Charles, before his departure, made for the defence of the conquered part of Switzerland. He left behind him 55,000 men, of whom more than 40,000 were opposed to Massena, from the Grison country, as far as the mouth of the Aar, reduced Mannheim and Neckerau, and driven the French back into Mentz, he established his head-quarters, on the nineteenth, at Schwetzingen; where, on the twenty-seventh, he received news of the events which had taken place, two days before, in Switzerland.

The reputation of superiority which the Russians had acquired, and which they had not lost in Italy,

and all that the imagination of soldiers, no less than that of other men, adds to what is unknown to them, imposed on the French army under Massena. They did not even attempt any thing worthy of notice from the twenty-ninth of August, when the Russians relieved the Austrian advanced posts before Zurich, till the eighth of September. On that day they renewed the attack, which they had often made, on the post of Wallishofen, but were obliged to return to their position, with some loss. This affair, however, had no other object, on the part of the French, than to bring the Russians to the test, and to familiarise themselves with their manner of fighting. The original plan of the allies, as above observed, was to turn Switzerland on the north and south.—The departure of prince Charles from Switzerland made it necessary to substitute to the former a plan of attack of less magnitude, which required a less considerable force, and which should be purely military. The plan proposed was, to recover immediately the possession of the small cantons, and to turn the position, so long held by Massena, on the lakes of Lucerne and Zug, and on the Albis, which would have obliged him to retire on the Aar, the whole line of which it would have been absolutely impossible to preserve. Massena knew this project, and having learnt that the generals Korsakow and Hotze had resolved to begin the execution of them on the twenty-sixth; he determined to be before hand with them. Bridges thrown over the Linmat, and various movements and actions, in one of which general Hotze fell, and on which general Petrach, to whom rank and  
superiority

superiority gave the command, on his death, fearing to be turned on his right, precipitately retreated to the Rhinthal:—these measures and accidents enabled the French, on the twenty-fifth to invest the town of Zurich, on the east, north, and west. General Korsakow, embarrassed how to act, passed the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, in preparing for battle, and still more for a retreat. Massena, judging that the Russian general, surrounded as he was almost on all sides, could not think of maintaining himself in the town; but, at the same time, knowing what he had to fear from the bravery of Russian soldiers, if reduced to the necessity of cutting their way with the bayonet, and not being himself sufficiently strong to occupy, at the same time, the roads of Winterthur and Eglisau:—Massena, under the influence of these considerations, withdrew his troops from the former, and contented himself with guarding, in force, the heights which command the latter. At the same time, he sent an officer with a flag of truce to the Russian general, to offer conditions for the quiet possession of the town, and for his retreat to the Rhine; but the Cossacks robbed this officer of his dispatches, and he was kept in the town till the following day. On that day, while it was expected that the Russians would make a capitulation, general Korsakow, taking with him all the troops that he could collect, began his retreat, having his baggage and artillery disposed in the intervals of his columns; but, instead of taking the road to Winterthur, which the enemy had left open to him, he then that way only a small part of

his troops and of his baggage, and directed his march, with the body of his army, towards Eglisau. The French had no expectation of being called into action; but, seeing the Russian army approach, they concluded that it was coming to attack them. Advantageously posted on the heights which command the road, they suffered the Russians to approach, and then opened on them a terrible and commanding fire of artillery and musquetry. Thus the battle began, but partially and irregularly. The Russian regiments, in order of retreat rather than of battle, fought individually, without concert or object. Overwhelmed, along the whole of their column, by the grape shot of the French, whose flying artillery manœuvred on this occasion with great effect, they rushed repeatedly with fixed bayonets on the enemy, and forced them, for some moments, to give way. But, as the prodigies of valour, performed by the Russian infantry, neither were, nor indeed could be turned to any account by the superior officers, in their present circumstances, they served only to render the defeat more complete as well as sanguinary. General Korsakow, with all that escaped from the enemy, forced his way to Eglisau, where he hastened to pass the Rhine.

Marshal Suwarrow, conformably to the plan of which the outline has been above stated, intended to have set out from Asti on the eight of September; but the French having shewn a disposition to relieve Tortona, which had engaged, if not succoured, to surrender on the eleventh of the same month, deferred his departure till that day. Anxious to regain the time he had thus

thus lost, he marched his army, composed of 17,000 effective men, the remains of the 30,000, which had been sent into Italy, with such rapidity, that in five days it had advanced 116 miles, and reached Taverna, near Bellinzona on the fifteenth; that is to say, on the very same day on which he had proposed to be there, before the delay took place. But he unfortunately experienced another delay, which he had it not in his power to prevent. For, instead of finding the necessary beasts of burthen ready for him at Taverna, as had been promised him, he was obliged to lose three days in endeavouring to obtain them in the country; and, not being able to procure a sufficient number, he was obliged to dismount his Cossacks, and to employ their horses in transporting the baggage. The impossibility of making use of carriages in the road of the Great Alps, had obliged him to send his artillery by the lake of Como, and the route of Chiavenna, from whence it afterwards rejoined him in the country of the Grisons. Every thing being ready for the passage of the Alps, general Rosenberg, with the Russian advanced guard, twelve battalions strong, began his march on the nineteenth, and arrived on the same day at Bellinzona. Field-marshal Suwarrow successfully crossed the Alps, drove the French from Mount St. Gothard, and forced the division under Lecourbe, on the twenty-fifth, to retreat to Altdorf, the capital of Uri, in which canton is St. Gothard. On the twenty-seventh, he pushed his advanced-guard across the Colmerberg, as far as Mitten, whither the remainder of the army also arrived on the twenty-eighth. Agreeably to

arrangements previously concerted, the Austrian generals Lincken and Jellacheik were to have advanced into the canton of Glarus, in order to join themselves, on their right, to general Hotze, and on their left to marshal Suwarrow. Jellacheik having, on the twenty-sixth, penetrated as far as Miollis, from which he drove the republicans, having learnt the misfortunes of the preceding day, and the retreat of general Petzsch, returned towards Sargans, where he arrived on the twenty-seventh. General Lincken, after he had, on the twenty-sixth, beaten a French column under general Soult, near Rettern, and made himself master of Glarus, not learning that any corps, either Austrian or Russian, had penetrated into that canton, and not being able to communicate with any one, either on his right or left, retired also, and returned into the country of the Grisons. Marshal Suwarrow, who had entertained the hope of being joined at Mitten by general Lincken, learnt, by a dispatch from that officer, the events which had taken place on the Linth, and the Limmat; and it may be a well conceived with what bitter regret he saw the hopes vanish, through the misconduct of others, which had brought him into Switzerland. It was excusable in him to receive this blow of fortune with some impatience. In circumstances so critical, however, instead of falling back on St. Gothard, or retiring into the country of the Grisons, he resolved to pass by the Mitten and Clontal, into the canton of Glarus, there to join general Lincken: flattering himself that, on the news of his arrival, and of the capture of general Massena to en-

gave him, generals Korfakow and Petrarch having a less force against them might be enabled to turn about, and that every thing might be retrieved. It was in this hope, so glorious for him to have still retained, that he wrote to the Russian general Korfakow's army "You will answer with your heads for every farther step that you retreat. I am coming to repair your faults." On the thirtieth, marshal Suwarow put himself in motion, by the Muttenthal, and through a series of bloody combats, the whole march being in a manner one engagement, pushed on through the narrow valley of Muttenthal. On the same day he was pursued by Massena, who had joined Lecourbe at Altorfhausen, as advanced guard, 4,000 strong came up, on that day, with general Rosenberg, and attacked him, but was repulsed with loss.— On the next day, the first of October, Massena came in person, with 1000 men against general Rosenberg, who was left at Muttenthal to guard the entrance of that valley, and to secure the march of the rest of the army. Massena attacked him in three columns, one keeping the centre of the valley, and the two others occupying the two sides of the mountains. General Rosenberg charged Massena's centre with three battalions, and forced it to take to flight; an example which was followed by the other two columns. The Russians pursued the enemy beyond Schmitz, after having killed or wounded 5 or 6000 men, and taken more than 1000 prisoners.— These advantages, gained at the same time by the advanced and the rear guard, gave the Russians peaceable possession of the road from Schmitz to Glarus, in which last town they collected their sick and

wounded. The field-marshal had flattered himself that he should there be joined by some Austrian corps. But general Petrarch having already retreated into the Voralberg, and generals Jellacheik and Lincken into the country of the Grisons, the Russian general had no other support to expect but that of one Austrian brigade, under general Aufsenberg. He was obliged, therefore, notwithstanding an ardent desire to maintain himself in the small cantons, to renounce it, and to think of his own safety, already greatly endangered. Having allowed his army to repose three days he began his march, on the fifth of October, toward the Grison country, leaving his wounded at Glarus. After an arduous and fatiguing march, through the vallies of Zernach and Illeim, where he was sometimes obliged to cut away along the sides of rocks, and in which he lost part of his beasts of burthen and baggage, and a pretty large number of soldiers, not able to follow him, it reached the valley of the Rhine; and, on the eighth, was reunited in the environs of Chur, still amounting to near 14,000 men; having thus lost, in this short, but terrible campaign, 3000 men, in killed, wounded, or missing. In killed, wounded, and prisoners, the French lost at least 4000.

The archduke being informed, on the twenty-eighth of September, at his head-quarters at Schwetzingen, of the disasters of the allies, hastened to their relief, with a part of his army, leaving the remainder under prince Schwartzenberg, for the protection of the Neckar and the Maine. He arrived, on the fourth of October, and fixed his head-quarters at Donaweeschingen. Being made acquainted with the first successes of

marshal

marshal Suwarrow, and with the inconvenience which thence resulted to Massena, he was delivered from all apprehension of an eruption beyond the Rhine, on the part of the French, and resolved to carry the war again into the canton of Zurich, with the intention of making a diversion, at least, in favour of the Russian general, and thus to enable him either to derive advantage from his first successes, or to secure his retreat into the Grison country. This diversion, however, so much wished for by Suwarrow, and rendered necessary by circumstances, was resolved on too late. The field-marshal was already in the valley of the Rhine, and Massena already returned with his troops into the canton of Zurich.

The Russian army, under prince Korsakow, after the retreat from Zurich, took a position extending from Eglisau to Constance. On the sixth of October, the French, in force, came to reconnoitre, and retired in the evening; but, as supposed, not far, and therefore an immediate attack was expected. General Korsakow the next morning crossed the Rhine, to seek the enemy, and found him strongly posted. Notwithstanding such a situation, the general of the Russians attacked him immediately, with the greatest intrepidity, and with fixed bayonets. The French fled to the woods, by which their right was covered, and endeavoured to take a fresh position, from which they were likewise driven, as they were from a third, which was nearly more unfortunate than the two others. Two of their battalions had thrown down their arms, and were on the point of surrendering, when their cavalry,

and a large body of infantry, headed by Massena, in person, came up and saved them. It being no longer prudent to continue the engagement against a force now become greatly superior, and which might be still farther reinforced, general Korsakow withdrew his corps, and arrived in his camp at six in the evening. At the same time, the French attacked the town of Constance, where the prince of Condé was stationed with his troops, amounting to 4 or 5,000. The prince being too weak in numbers to oppose the enemy, and defend the town, after some unsuccessful efforts, was obliged to retreat; and finding the town in possession of the enemy, and no other means of bringing off his troops, was forced upon the measure of fighting his way through the streets; in the execution of which desperate measure, his corps displayed the greatest gallantry, particularly the grenadiers of Bourbon. The prince encamped on the other side of the lake, and on the ninth fixed his head-quarters at Stachingen, near Stockach. It may be expected, that something shall be said with regard to the loss of men, on both sides, in Switzerland, from the twenty-fifth of September to the ninth of October. According to the most ingenious and accurate computation, it appears, that the void occasioned in the ranks of the allies, in the course of three weeks, was about 15,000 men; and that the loss of the French, in the same period, did not exceed 9,000.

The position taken by the two Russian armies, behind the lake of Constance, obliged prince Charles to put his troops in motion. He reinforced generals Lineken, Auffenberg,

emberg, and Jellacheik, in the Voralberg, and the the country of the Grisons. Several companies of chasseurs were formed of the inhabitants of that district, and many more of those of the Tyrol. These measures, together with the sealon, put the Grison country out of danger, and enabled prince Charles to employ his forces in Franconia and Suabia, till he should receive the new regiments, which were hastening to him, out of Austria and Bohemia. After resting his army two or three days in the environs of Thur, marshal Suwarrow proceeded on his route to operate with the other Russian army on the banks of the lake of Constance: a junction which he had hoped to form on the Reufs. On the thirteenth, he arrived at Fieldkirk, and on the sixteenth at Lindau, where he was joined, on the eighteenth, by general Korsakow's corps, which had re-ascended the Rhine, and been succeeded on that river by the army of the archduke. The two Russian armies, united, formed one of about 25,000 effective men, the remains of 70, nominally, who, in the course of the campaign, had been sent into Italy and Switzerland, but who, in fact, amounted to no more than 50,000 in the field. Marshall Suwarrow, and general Korsakow, had nearly the same number of men under their command: and the former, during more than six months of the most active and eventful campaign, lost no greater number in killed, and not near so many prisoners, as general Korsakow lost in the space of fifteen days. The first has enjoyed the honour of victory; the second has suffered the disgrace of defeat.

VOL. XLI.

Such is the difference resulting from the choice of generals, and such the importance of that choice!

Marshal Suwarrow, who had his head-quarters at Lindau till the thirtieth, without having had an interview with prince Charles, quitted the banks of the lake of Constance, with his whole army, and that of the prince of Condé, and marched towards Augsburg, where he arrived on the eighth of November, with all his staff, and fixed his head-quarters. A few days afterwards, he received orders from Petersburg, to re-conduct his army into the states of his sovereign; and these orders he put in execution about the end of the month. The Russian troops traversed Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate. Fresh orders stopped them on the frontiers of Bohemia: and marshal Suwarrow placed his head-quarters at Prague, from whence he continued his march towards Russia some time thereafter.

The French, ever since the retaking of Manheim, by the Austrians, had kept on the defensive, guarding, with attention, the left bank of the Rhine. But general Ney, at this time commanding the army of the Rhine, had no sooner learnt the victories of Massena, and the departure of the archduke, than he thought of again resuming the offensive. His army amounted to about 25,000 men, and some reinforcements were on their march to join it. On the morning of the fourth of October, the French, setting off, in force, from Mentz, advanced rapidly on the route towards Frankfort, which they entered, and on which they attempted to levy, as they had done but lately, a severe contribution. But

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this was redeemed by the magistrates, at the expense of only a few hundreds of louis. Having made themselves masters of Mannheim, between the Maine and the Lahn, they proceeded in their career, and drove the imperial troops from Mannheim and Heidelberg, to the Enz. Towards the end of October, the archduke found himself in a situation attacked in the Palatinate and in Franconia, and threatened in the Grison country and Suabia: he saw the Russians abandoning the theatre of war. The two armies opposite to him consisted of more than 100,000 men, and he had himself scarcely 70,000 to line the banks of the Rhine, from its source as far as Kehl, to defend Suabia, and support the armed peasants, who covered Franconia.

In these critical circumstances, the posts of the archduke were so well chosen, that on whatever points the enemy might wish to pass the Rhine, a large body of troops might immediately unite against them. The archduke, who overlooked the whole from his excellent central position at Donawee Schwingen, was enabled to send some reinforcements to the Neckar, which arrived there on the last days of October. On the tenth of that month he addressed a proclamation to the states and inhabitants of the German empire, recapitulating the efforts made, and the expenses incurred by the emperor, for the defence of the former, and renewing his solicitations for

the arming of the contingents, and the payments of the Roman months. It was also about this period that the declaration of the emperor of Russia to the members of the Germanic empire, (alluded to in our fifth chapter, and to be found among the State Papers in this volume), was presented to the diet of Ratisbon.\* The solicitations of the two emperors had no effect on the principal powers of Germany. Prussia, Saxony, and all the north, persisted in their neutrality, and in the treaties by which this was guaranteed, to them by France. The south, more threatened with danger, not being included within the line of demarcation, and in some measure dependent on Austria, made some efforts. The elector of Bavaria contributed not only his contingent, but all the troops he had in the Palatinate: the duke of Wurtemberg about 2,500; the circle of Suabia resolved on the future armament of 10,000 men. Wurtzburg and Bamberg thought also of contributing to the defence of Franconia, and formed some companies of peasants.

The imperialists and the French, at the end of October, were opposed to each other on the banks of the Maine, the Neckar, the Enz, and the Rhine. The object of the French was to cover the siege of Philipburgh, which they bombarded, and hoped to carry, by the weight of their fire: that of the Austrians was to raise it, and, at all events, to shelter the duchy of Wurtemberg. The Austrians, be-

\* This declaration has not proved in any respect vain: for, as the emperor of Russia, throughout the whole campaign, contributed powerfully to the safety of Germany, he likewise, according to his word, abandoned that country to itself, and recalled his troops, as just stated.

ing reinforced on the third and following days of November, compelled them to withdraw into the angle formed by the Neckar and the Rhine, and raise the blockade of Philippsburgh. This fortrets, still resolutely defended by the heroic rhingrave, of Salm, was again attacked and again relieved; and the French, under the command of

Lecourbe, forced to retire to Mannheim. The French general proposed an armistice, which was accepted, on condition that it should be ratified by the archduke, who, for the best military reasons, refused to do it. The French were therefore obliged to evacuate Mannheim and Neckerrau, and completely to re-pass the Rhine.



## C H A P. XV.

*Situation and Force of the French and Austrian Armies, in Italy, at the Beginning of 1799.—The French driven, with great Loss, from the left Bank of the Adige.—Operations of the Austrians on the Flanks of the French Army.—The French, on the Fifth of April, defeated with great Loss.—Retire to the Mincio.—And afterwards to the Chiesà.—The Austrian General, Melas, passes the Mincio with all his Army.—23,000 Russian Auxiliaries arrive with Marshal Suwarrow, who takes the chief Command of the Troops of the two Emperors.—Peschiera and Mantua invested.—Brescia taken by the Allies.—Who march to the Oglio, which the French abandon.—Moreau succeeds in the Command of the French Army to Scheerer, who was become the Object of public Animadversion.—The Allied Army encamps on the Adda.—Distribution of the French Forces on that River.—Dislodged therefrom on the Twenty-seventh, by Marshal Suwarrow.—Battle of Cassano.—The French compelled to fly towards Milan.—Which is entered by the Austrians on the Twenty-eighth.—Embarrassing Situation of Moreau.—The Plan he determines to pursue.—Reduction of the Fortresses of Peschiera and Pizzighetone.—Plan of Operations pursued by Marshal Suwarrow.—Capture of the Cities of Tortona and Turin.—Moreau passes the Bormida, and retreats towards Coni.—Reduction of the Citadels of Milan and Ferrara.—The French driven from Ravenna.—General Macdonald, with all his Army, evacuates the Kingdom of Naples.—Crosses the Appenines.—Makes himself Master of Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Placentia.—But is defeated in a Series of Battles, on both Sides of the Trebbia, by Marshal Suwarrow.—Moreau, who had crossed the Appenines, with a View of drawing near to Macdonald, and gained several Advantage, on the Approach of the Russian Commander, retires to Genoa.—Reduction of the Citadel of Turin.—Insurrection of the Inhabitants of Tuscany.—Macdonald accomplishes his Retreat and Junction with Moreau.—Alexandria and Mantua surrender, by Capitulation.—Cardinal Ruffo, on the Twentieth of June, makes himself Master of the City of Naples.—Complete Deliverance, by the English Fleet, of the Kingdom of Naples.—Military Measures taken by the new French Directory.—The Command of the Army of Italy restored to Joubert, who puts his Troops in Motion on the Eleventh of August.—Battle of Novi.—Victory long doubtful at last decided in Favour of the Allies.—Enormous Loss on both Sides.—Conditional Capitulation of Tortona, which falls on the Eleventh of September.—General Suwarrow sets off for Switzerland.—Coni becomes the sole Object of the Campaign.—March of the Neapolitans and the Aretines against Rome.—General Garnier, French Commander, in Rome, surrenders the Roman Territory, by Capitulation, to Commodore Trowbridge.—Siege and Capture of Ancona.—And of Coni.—Other Places taken by the Austrians.—Genoa*

*and its small Territory, the only Possession remaining to the French, in Italy, at the Close of 1799.—Estimate of the Advantages gained on both Sides in the whole of the Campaign or Campaigns in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy.—Maritime Affairs.*

THE republican forces in Italy, at the commencement of 1799, consisted of nearly 80,000 French soldiers, and more than 50,000 Poles, Swiss, Piedmontese, Genoese, Romans, or Neapolitans, dispersed from the frontiers of Piedmont. They were formed into two armies: one of which was called the army of Italy, and the other that of Naples. The army of Italy, consisting of 90,000, occupied the Modenese, the state of Genoa, Piedmont, the Milanese, the Valtelline, and the countries of Brescia, Bergamo, and Mantua. This dispersion of force, which a general hatred of the French rendered necessary, reduced the number of men, who could be employed in active operations, to about 50,000. They were in cantonments to the banks of the lake of Garda, of the Minico, and of the Po, from the frontier of the Tyrol to the mouth of the last-mentioned river. The army of Naples, consisting of about 40,000, occupied the capital and the conquered part of his Sicilian majesty's dominions, as also Rome, and the different provinces of the church. Though it had not to contend with regular troops, yet it was not without enemies, nor free from danger. On one hand, it had to guard against the fiery population of Naples, while, on the other, it had to combat the inhabitants of Calabria, Basilica, Tarentese, Puglia, and, in a word, of all the provinces situated to the south; and Abruzzza and Benevento, which, conducted by cardinal

Ruffo, at once a priest, a politician, and a warrior, had taken arms in favour of their lawful sovereign. On a third side, the same army had to defend itself against the insurrections, in a great part of the states of the church, often checked, but never totally suppressed. The French army of Naples was distinguished by an insatiable thirst of plunder, and a spirit of insubordination. Officers and soldiers all thought of nothing but plunder, not for the republic, but for themselves. The commander-in-chief, Championet, wishing to put a stop to those disorders, at least to make the plunder more systematic, and less under the wanton arbitrement of civil commissaries, equally ignorant and regardless of military designs, was deprived of his command, as has been seen, in chapter ninth, recalled into France, and threatened with the loss of his head. His successor, general Macdonald, knew better how to submit to the despotism of the directory, to the pride of their pro-consuls, and to the insubordination of his army. About the same time, and nearly for similar reasons, general Joubert had lost the command of the army of Italy, which had been given to Scheerer, commonly called *The Peculator*, who possessed the confidence of the directory in the same degree that he had lost that of the nation, and who, in order to accept that command, had quitted the place of minister of war. Scheerer arrived in Italy about the end of

February. The Austrian army, at a short distance from the French army of Italy, occupied the parallel line of the Adige, from the Italian Tyrol to beyond Rovigo. About 30,000 men were distributed along this line, while the army of reserve, amounting to nearly the same number, were cantoned in the Trevifano, Carniola, and Friuli. All these troops were under the command of general Kray, until lieutenant-general Melas should come to take the chief command. From this statement it appears that the French had a vast superiority, in point of number, but that the Austrians had their forces concentrated on a short line, and that they could not be attacked on that line while the French and their auxiliaries were scattered over the surface of Italy, from the foot of the Alps to the gulphs of Naples and Manfredonia, had constantly to keep in subjection, and often to combat, a population of above ten millions of souls, and were obliged to guard the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, on which hostile troops might, at any time, be landed by the English, Russian, and Turkish fleets, which held the dominion of the two seas, blocked up the ports of Corfu, Ancona, and Malta, and frequently appeared before those of Leghorn, Civita-Vecchia, and Naples.

The task allotted to the army of Italy, was, to pierce through the line of the Adige, to drive the Austrians behind the Brenta, and even, if possible, out of Italy, and at least to penetrate into the southern parts of the Tyrol, while Massena should attack it on the east, and Jourdan on the north; in a word, to surround and conquer that province, at once the ramparts of the heredi-

tary states, and the key of Germany and Italy. The Austrians had taken three principal positions on the Adige, which were well fortified, and well chosen. The first was an entrenched camp at Pastrengo, near Bussolengo; the second position was opposite to Verona, and consisted of entrenchments thrown up on all the avenues to that place. It was intended as a point of support, both for the right and left, and therefore it was the most important: for which reason a camp had been established behind it, on the road of Vicenza, to be occupied by the troops of reserve quartered in Trevisano and Friuli. The third and left hand position was, the fortified town of Legnago. Nothing material happened between the two armies till the twenty-fifth of March. On the twenty-sixth, general Scheerer, his army formed in six divisions, and consisting of about 45,000 men, marched against the three principal positions of their opponents. The battle was very obstinate during the whole day.—Several posts were taken and retaken. The Austrians acknowledged, in the conflict of that day, 2,800 killed and wounded. The French suffered as severely, but they lost only 300 men in prisoners.—Scheerer had complete success, and maintained his equality in the centre: but his right division, which was ordered to take and burn Legnago, twice repulsed by the Austrian advanced posts, were completely routed, and obliged to fly towards Mantua, leaving above 2000 men killed and wounded, with 600 prisoners, and eleven pieces of cannon. The Polish legion of Dombrowsky, composed almost entirely of Austrian deserters, ha-

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ing been at this affair, the Austrian soldiers, to whom their officers called out *parce ferro*, as much in vain as Hannibal did to his at Thralymene, would give no quarter, but exterminated with their bayonets, and the but-ends of their muskets, all the men of that legion who fell into their hands. The engagement seemed so decisive in favour of the Austrians, that general Kray was on the point of pushing on to Mantua, when a courier brought him intelligence of the disaster experienced on his right, from the successful attack by Scheerer's left.—Notwithstanding the fatigue of his troops, he marched them the same evening to the assistance of the centre and of the right, leaving, however, a sufficient corps of observation between Mantua and Legnago. A part of these reinforcements arrived at Verona on the twenty-seventh, and the rest on the twenty-eighth. During these two days, Scheerer, disconcerted with the severe check on his right, attempted nothing decisive against Verona. The two armies were still so near to each other, that, on the twenty-ninth, they were obliged to agree on a suspension of arms, to bury their dead, who lay on the field since the twenty-sixth, and began already to infect the air. On the thirtieth, two hours before the expiration of the truce, according to the Austrians, the half of the troops, commanded by Moreau, that is, about 10,000 men, having passed the Adige, by the bridge of Polo, attacked the posts of the Austrians, which guarded the left bank, overcame them and advanced till within half a league of Verona, while another column endeavoured to gain the heights, which flanked the

right of the Austrians, and the road of Vicenza, on which general Kray had wisely posted his reserve, or, more properly speaking, the main body of the army. Three Austrian columns came up with them on their march, and attacked them with such spirit, that they could not resist, but were obliged to retire towards their bridge, full three leagues distant. Their retreat was nothing but a continued engagement. They continued it for a long time in good order; but, when the left Austrian column saw that they approached the bridge, two battalions of grenadiers, detached from it with the greatest rapidity along the bridge, without firing, and using only the bayonet, overcame all resistance, seized the bridge, and thus all who had not already passed were cut off. The French column, which had been sent by the mountains, and which, in order to arrive at the bridge, had more ground to traverse, met with a like fate. A party of it immediately laid down its arms, and the rest, in endeavouring to escape across the mountains, were likewise almost all taken. Two thousand men fell into the hands of the Austrians on this day, and the French lost all the advantages they had gained on the twenty-sixth. On the first of April, general Scheerer, abandoning all his posts which he occupied between the Adige and the lake of Garda, and placing a strong garrison in Peltchiera, took a position, with his left and centre, beyond the Tartaro, at Magnan, between Villa Franca, and Ysoladella-Scala, his right wing being before Legnago. On the following day the Austrian army encamped on the right bank of the Adige, before Verona, and on the road to Villa

Franca. These first days of the campaign cost the French the immense loss of 10,000 men in killed, wounded, taken, or deserted. And that of the Austrians to half the number.

Scheerer seeing that the Austrians already acted partially on the offensive, and perceiving that they would attack him with an irresistible superiority, when they should be joined by the Austrians, who had left Austria on the twentieth of March, and were rapidly advancing, judged that but little time remained to give the campaign a favourable turn. He resolved, therefore, to make a new effort to drive the Austrians over the Adige, and to establish himself on the other side of that river. At the same time general Kray formed on his side the project of driving the French from their grand camp of Magnan, and driving them beyond the Tartaro, or, if possible, behind the Mincio. It was on the same day, the fifth of April, that the two generals resolved to attack each other. The French army, already reduced to 36,000 men, moved from their camp in three columns, exclusive of the advanced guard. Similar reasons influencing general Kray, his plan was similar. His army, amounting to 46,000 men, advanced in order to attack the French. The two armies were too near each other, as they were marching forward, to be long in meeting. The engagement was soon begun, and by ten o'clock was general along all the front of the line. For the first two hours it was favourable to the French, who gained ground, on all sides. General Serrurier got possession of Villa-Franca and maintained himself there. The centre and

the right pushed on to Verona. At this critical moment, nine battalions of the Austrian reserve, led by general Latterman, march rapidly against the enemy, to the sound of Turkish music. The French, hitherto victorious, attacked both in flank and rear, were at once stopped, broken, and put to flight. To prevent the Austrians from following up this success, Scheerer and Moreau, with their central column, reinforced by some troops that had remained in reserve, rushed to vigorously on the centre of the Austrians, that they compelled it to give way; and general Kaim, notwithstanding this brave resistance, was repulsed till within half a league of Verona.—General Lusignan having then come up to his assistance, with three battalions of grenadiers, still kept in reserve, the battle was renewed with redoubled fury, and long maintained with equal success. The obstinacy of the Austrians at last prevailed, and the French on this point likewise were broken, routed, and pursued with the bayonet at their backs. Defeated on the right and in the centre, the French could not think of drawing any advantage from the success they had had on their left. Serrurier followed the retrograde movement of the rest of the army, which it executed with great confusion, leaving behind them cannon, ammunition, waggons, and wounded. The trophies of this victory were seventeen pieces of cannon, and near 3000 prisoners. It cost the victors in killed and wounded 2500 men. The loss of the French, in killed and wounded, was at least 3500 men.

On the day after the battle of Magnan, general Scheerer abandoned Villa-Franca and Isola-della-Scala,

Scola, and concentrated his army between Mantua and Goito. Continuing his retreat, on the seventh, he passed the Mincio, near Goito, at the same time throwing a reinforcement of men and provisions into Peschiera. The Austrian van guard occupied the extent of country abandoned by the French, and pushed on to Valeggio, where it seized the bridge over the Mincio. In the mean time, a flying corps, under general Klenau, either sunk or took the armed and provision boats of the French on the Po, and gained possession of the countries of Ostiglia and Governolo on the seventh, thus cutting off the communication between the Lower Po, and Mantua. The long suppressed detestation of the Italians for the French now broke forth. The inhabitants of the two banks of the Po took up arms for themselves, cut down the trees of liberty, abjured all revolutionary insignia, and compelled the French troops to disperse about the country, and to shut themselves up in Ferrara and Bologna. Affairs were equally prosperous at the other extremity of the line formed by the imperial army. General Wuckassowich, with different small columns, after driving the enemy from the valley of the Chiavà, and the two shores of the lake of Idro, had taken possession, on the eighth, of the important dëfilé of Rocca d'Anfo, which opened the entrance of the Brescian, and placed him in the rear of the French army. This threatening circumstance determined Scheerer to quit the Mincio entirely, and to retire behind the Chiavà, leaving Peschiera and Mantua to their fate.

General Melas, who had arrived on the eighth, to take the command

of the Austrian army, sent his vanguard, on the tenth, beyond the Mincio, to occupy the approaches to Peschiera; whilst, on the left, general Klenau pushed on to the vicinity of Mantua. On the thirteenth, the first columns of the Russian auxiliary army, which were immediately followed by the others, arrived at Verona, and the day after, general Melas, having no longer any thing to fear for his rear, passed the Mincio with all his army, which on that day he encamped near to Campagnola, his head-quarters being at Valleggio. In this position he was joined by the Russian army, estimated at 23,000, but not much exceeding 20,000 fighting men, and by marshal Suwarrow, who took the chief command of the troops of the two emperors. The marshal immediately took measures for pushing forwards, and made the necessary arrangements for the double blockade of Mantua and Peschiera. Between 18 and 20,000 men were allotted to that service, and the command given to general Kray, who hastened to invest the two fortresses. On the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, Scheerer, with his army, reduced to less than 20,000, pursued his retrograde movements. On the last of these days, his right passed the Adda: his rear-guard remained on the left bank of the Rhine; his left in front of the Oglio, behind Brescia: his head-quarters were at the famous Lodi on the Adda. Two days afterward his head-quarters were transferred to Calao on the Oglio; and the right of the army, by an oblique movement, approached the left of that river and of Brescia. The allied army, followed close on the footsteps of

Scheerer,

Scheerer, reduced the town and Citadel of Brescia, and forced the French to abandon the Oglio. On the twentieth, general Kaim severely beat the rear guard of the enemy's right, at Cremona, and took four hundred prisoners. In this action, the Russians, for the first time, were engaged with the French.

The French had scarcely suffered a first defeat, when the hatred felt, and the revenge reserved for them broke forth with Italian heat. In a moment, the insurrection spread itself on the two banks of the Po. The French, dispersed about the country, fell under the blows of those Italians, who were a few days before so obedient, or were obliged to take refuge in the towns in which they had garrisons. Even some towns, and among others Mantola, were taken from them by the armed peasants, supported by some light imperial troops. The sparks of this fire passed, as it were, over the heads of the French, and lighted up the Brescian, the Bergamese, and Piedmont. The people assembled in several places, and where it did not burst it threatened. The fear of seeing a numerous population arriving behind him, and the impossibility of making head at once against this and the Austrians, contributed not a little to determine Scheerer to retire, that he might concentrate his force, secure the fortified places of Piedmont, and receive those reinforcements sooner, which were on their way from France, and from Switzerland. But the reverses, and retreat of this commander, though the former do not appear to have been owing to any thing that could be much, if at all, blamed in his conduct, and the latter, in his circumstances, was

manifestly prudent, heightened the detestation in which he had been held in Paris: where the people, according to the natural exaggeration of their impetuous minds, did not scruple to say, that, during his administration, he had intentionally prepared the ruin of the French army. A court martial was talked of. The cries of the army, and of the jacobin councils, compelled the directory to strip Scheerer of his command, which was given to Moreau, who was not in their favour, and who was invested with the command on the banks of the Adda; where the French army was reinforced by some troops from Piedmont, from Genoa, and from the interior of France, which, in part, made up for the sacrifices of men it had been obliged to make, in forming the garrisons of Mantua, Peschiera, Brescia, and Pizzighetone.

The positions taken by the French were these: the left wing of the French army, commanded by Serurier, defended the upper Adda from Lecco, on the lake of Como, to Trezzo, where it joined to the centre, where Moreau took his station, composed of the divisions of generals Victor and Grenier. All the place comprized between Trezzo and Cassano was occupied by these two divisions. At their right, and behind Cassano, was placed the main body of their cavalry. The bridge-head of Cassano was strongly entrenched, and protected by the artillery of the castle. It was protected likewise by the canal between the Adda and Milan, lined with riflemen, and defended by a great number of batteries raised along the banks of the river. The right of the French army, guarded by general Delmas, had its principal

perial force at Lodi and Pizzighetone.

On the twenty-third, the allies continued their march without impediment, and encamped on the banks of the Adda, taking their positions along that river, and leaving those occupied by the French. Their head-quarters were placed at Treviglio. General Kaim's division held Pizzighetone in check, observed the Lower Adda, and advance parties beyond the Po, to Piacenza and Parma. One of these parties was sent into the latter place to carry off the Pope, whom the French were conducting into France. But the Austrians, who were not informed of this circumstance, before it was too late, did not arrive at Parma till twenty-four hours after the unfortunate Pius the sixth, had been torn from thence.\*

The line occupied by the French on the Adda, though they were only 25,000 strong, was of more than fifty miles. Marshal Suwarrow, unable to turn this line, and unwilling to be impeded by it, resolved to force it on the twenty-seventh, and to make attacks, at the same time, on its centre and left points, on which it was best defended. In the night, between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, general Wucklowich made himself master of a flying bridge, which the enemy had been negligent enough to destroy but imperfectly. Having quickly repaired it, he marched four battalions and two squadrons across the

river, and took up a position at Brivio, an important point, situated at the end of the road leading to Milan, from the lake of Como, on the centre of the allied army: to reach the opposite banks of the Adda, was not so easy. It was strongly guarded, its course rapid and sinuous, and its banks steep. This passage could be effected only by a concurrence of boldness, activity, and good fortune. This concurrence marshal Suwarrow hoped to find and obtain in the marquis de Chasteller, his quarter-master general. The marquis having sent an officer of pontooneers, on the night of the twenty-sixth, to reconnoitre the banks of the river opposite Trezzo; and having received a report that it was impossible to throw over a bridge at that place, repaired to the spot himself. He employed some hundreds of the troops almost all night, in carrying the pontoons and planks necessary to the construction of a bridge, to the edge of the water. At half after five the next morning the bridge was completed. All the light troops belonging to the centre of the allied army, having made haste to pass the bridge, fell upon that part of the division which had occupied Trezzo, drove it from thence and repulsed it to Pozzo. A battle ensued between Pozzo and Brivio, the French were driven out of the village, and some hundreds made prisoners. General Melas threw a flying bridge, which he had in readiness, over the

\* The aged and infirm father of the catholic church, as he passed to Valence, through Dauphiny, was every where received, by multitudes of people, with sentiments and expressions of sympathy, respect, and veneration. They fell on their knees and demanded his blessing: which he bestowed with great goodness and grace in a very affecting manner. After an indisposition of several days, he expired at Valence, on the nineteenth of August, in his eighty-second year. He was elected pope, February 15, 1775. Unpacked time was thrown into the grave to consume his body.



Adda, passed it with his two divisions, and rejoined, on the same night, marshal Suwarrow, at Gonzello. The enemy who retired towards Milan were pursued: but the obscurity of the night, and the fatigue of the allied troops, favoured their retreat. On the morrow, general Melas's divisions, less fatigued than those of the Russian marshal's, marched towards Milan, where they arrived without any obstacle. The imperial troops were received, in that populous capital of Lombardy, with the same demonstrations of joy they had lavished on the French three years before. On the same night, marshal Suwarrow arrived at Milan with his whole staff.

General Wuckassowich, by surprising the passage of the Adda at Brivio, and posting himself at that place, had cut off the line of communication between the centre and the left of the French. This division, commanded by Serrurier, was on the point of being surrounded, on the twenty-eighth, by a body of Austrians and Russians under Wuckassowich, battered in every direction with his artillery, and charged with his cavalry: when the general, whose force was now reduced to three thousand men, demanded to capitulate, which was granted to him. The conditions were, that the whole troops should lay down their arms and be made prisoners of war. The generals and officers, however were permitted to return to France, on their parole, not to serve again until exchanged.

This last condition was a mark of respect shewn to the bravery of old general Serrurier, and to the probity of his conduct.\* The battle of the twenty-seventh, and the actions to which it led, on the upper Adda, cost the republicans five thousand men made prisoners; besides four thousand wounded or killed. The loss of the allies, on these different heads, amounted at least to two thousand five hundred men, and thirty-two pieces of cannon on the field of battle, and a much greater number at Milan. Thus it appears that the imperialists fought for the safety of Verona under its walls, on the twenty-sixth and even thirtieth of March, and that eight-and-twenty days after, they were established in Milan, having, in the interval, invested two fortresses, forced the passage of a river lined with entrenchments, obtained two brilliant victories, killed or wounded more than fifteen thousand men, made a like number of prisoners, and taken more than one hundred pieces of cannon.

After the battle of the Adda, Moreau, compelled to yield the Milanese to the conquerors, found himself in a very embarrassing situation. He had with him scarcely fifteen thousand; and what remained of his forces, on his right and left, hardly amounted to ten thousand more. With this small number, he had at once to preserve his communication with Switzerland, to defend the approaches of Turin, to cover the fortified places of east-

\* This old gentleman, preserving, under the republican standard, that sense of honour which had raised him to the rank of lieutenant under the old government, kept himself so pure, in the midst of the extortions committed by the other generals, that he was called the VIRGIN OF THE ARMY.

ern Piedmont, to secure the preservation of the passes of the Apennines, to leave to the army of Naples the means of effecting its retreat, and to suppress the insurrections, which were breaking out against him on all sides. To endeavour to face so many duties, calls, and dangers, he made his right fall back from the Adda to the Po; his centre from Milan to Pavia; and his left to Novara. He quitted this latter town, where he had his head-quarters, and repaired to Turin, to put it in a state of defence: not the city, for which his whole army would hardly have sufficed to form a garrison, but the citadel, which required a much smaller one. Having made the arrangements necessary for this purpose, and stifled some little insurrections, which disturbed his communication with France, by the valleys of Piedmont, he rejoined his army. Too weak to be enabled to protect equally well Turin, Tortona, and Alexandria, he determined to leave Piedmont to its fate, to dispute the rest of Italy inch by inch, and by gaining time to save the campaign. On the seventh of May, he chose a position, by which his right rested on Alexandria, and the Tanaro; and his left on Valentia and the Po. By this position, on one side, he supported Tortona, and on the other, by the course of the Po, gave some protection to Turin. He preserved, at the same time, if not the shortest, at least his most important communications with France, as well as with the Genoese territory, and consequently with the army of Naples. And, what he had principally in view, he hoped thereby to fix the attention of the allies in the centre of Italy, to oblige them to

waste the campaign in a war of posts and sieges, and thus to retard, or even prevent, any project of invasion they might form against France, and give the republic time to collect new armies.

Marshal Suwarrow, after entering Milan, contented himself with sending out some light troops in pursuit of the retreating enemy. As soon as the different directions they had taken were known, after leaving four thousand men, under general Latterman, to blockade the castle of Milan, he put his army in motion on the first of May, and, on the fourth, established his head-quarters at Pavia. General Kray, who had remained on the Mincio, with twenty thousand men, to besiege Peschiera and Mantua, made himself master of the latter on the fifth. The grand duke Constantine, son of the emperor of Russia, who was at that time on his way to join the army of marshal Suwarrow, was present, as he passed, at the taking possession of this fortress, which, though small, is advantageously situated. On the same day, the fifth, general Latterman invested, in form, the castle of Milan, and general Kaim that of Pizzighetone. This last place, surrendered on the ninth, after an explosion of a small magazine of powder. The garrison, consisting of six hundred men, were made prisoners of war.

From the time that marshal Suwarrow perceived the defensive plan adopted by Moreau, he reduced his own to three principal points: to interrupt, as much as possible, Moreau's communications with Switzerland and France; to cut off that which he had with Tuscany and with the army of Naples; and to oblige him to quit the advantageous

advantageous position which he had taken. General Wuckassowich, taking possession of the whole of the left bank of the Upper Po, abandoned by the French, pushed his advanced posts as far as Chiavasso. A strong detachment of his corps, under the command of prince Charles of Rohan, entered the valley of Aasti, and took possession of Jorea. The centre of the Russian army, under general Rosenberg, occupied the Lummeline, presenting a front against the French army. The left wing traversed the duchy of Parma, and occupied Bobbio. The right pushed its advanced posts as far as Vaghera. On the rear of the army, colonel Stranch gained more and more ground in the Valtelline, and took the important post of Morbegno. Prince victor of Rohan, with two thousand men, aided by the inhabitants of the country, after taking possession of Como, pursued the enemy, who had retreated to Chiavenna. Another corps, sent from Milan, proceeded as far as Arona, on the lake Maggiore. Such is the condensed picture of the multiplied operations which the allied army undertook at the beginning of May: operations which divided it into a great number of corps, and thus, very much reducing the principal body of the army, afforded Moreau the hope of being able to maintain his ground. The allies were acting on a line almost circular round the basin, formed by the Alps and Apennines, and intersected by the Po. Of the great variety of objects which this campaign, in Italy, embraced, and the multiplicity of actions going on, at the same time, in different places, it is utterly impossible, in any other than a history professedly

and solely military, to give a detailed account. All that can be done in the political history of Europe, on our scale, is to keep an eye on the principal bodies of the contending armies; to record the most striking circumstances, and the principal events of the campaign; and to mark the most critical periods, and the final issue of the whole.

Conformably to the plan already mentioned, marshal Suwarrow determined to attack, at the same time, both Moreau's flanks. On the fourteenth of May, the allied army passed the Scrivia, and encamped at St. Juliano, thus taking a position on the right flank of Moreau. Neither this movement, nor another by general Wuckassowich on the other side, shaking the firmness of Moreau, marshal Suwarrow, hoping to weary him out by a new movement, gave orders to his army, in the night of the sixteenth, to fall back and to go and pass the Po, near Casa Tisina, and from thence to proceed towards the Sesia. Moreau, informed of this order, or for some other reason, in the night of the sixteenth, threw a bridge of boats over the Bormida; and on the sixteenth, in the morning, passed that river with ten thousand men. He overthrew the advanced posts of the allied army, and drove them by Maringo, towards St. Juliano. An action ensued, in which, after several vicissitudes, he was forced to retreat, and at the fall of the night, to draw back all his troops across the Bormida, with a loss of one thousand two hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the twenty-fifth, in the afternoon, the combined army, composed of three Austrian, and one Russian division; more than thirty thousand strong, encamped within a

league of Turin, in which the enemy had two thousand five hundred, under general Fiorella, who, refusing at first to surrender the city, retired into the citadel; from whence he threw into the city some balls and shells. But having been given to understand, that if the firing was continued no capitulation would be allowed him, he readily consented to a convention, by which he engaged to fire no more on the town, as the allies did not fire on the citadel from that quarter. The four battalions, which had been left at Milan, with general Latterman, not being sufficient to undertake the siege of the castle, marshal Suwarrow commissioned general count Hohenzollern to go and lay siege to the castle of Milan, and gave him six battalions more for that purpose. On the night, between the twentieth and twenty-first, the count opened the trenches against the castle of Milan, and, on the twenty-third, the commandant, being summoned a second time, consented to capitulate. The principal conditions were, that the garrison, consisting of two thousand two hundred men, should return to France, but should not serve for a year against the two emperors. It was at this time much regretted, that this garrison, as well as that of Peschiera and some others, had not been made prisoners of war, instead of returning to France, where they were made use of to maintain the directorial despotism, to act against the royalists of Brittany, and to enable the French rulers to send troops to the armies, which they would otherwise have been obliged to keep in the interior of France. But the allied generals were desirous of converting be-

sieging into disposable corps as soon as possible. The capture of the castle of Milan did not cost the Austrians fifty men. The magazines, which were found here, and at Brescia, Cremona, Peschiera, and other places were immense, and abundantly supplied the allied armies. The spoils of Italy, at least those of the soil, past, in part from the hands of the French, into those of the imperialists. The citadel of Ferrara also was taken by capitulation: on the twenty-fourth, the garrison, consisting of one thousand five hundred and twenty-five men, were sent to France, under the engagement not to serve for six months against the allies. Two days afterwards, the left wing of the Austrians extended itself still farther. Four companies of Austrian infantry, having embarked, on the twenty-fourth, at the mouth of the Po, took possession, without obstacle, of Porto Digoro, and, on the twenty-sixth, of Porto primero, where they disembarked, and from whence, supported by three hundred insurgents of the country, they marched against Ravenna, into the port of which an Austrian flotilla, had just entered at the same time. The French and the Italian patriots shut its gates; but one of them was soon forced, and the garrison obliged to fly by another towards Lucca. The capture of Ferrara and Ravenna completed the establishment of the Austrians on the Lower Po, gave support to their left, and rendered their maritime communications, and the arrival of their transports, more easy and more secure. Thus the Austrians, confined and threatened as they had been at the end of March, on the line of the Adige, had, in  
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two months, carried their right to the frontiers of France, and their left to the Adriatic sea.

It has already been seen that, at the opening of the campaign, the French were masters of only a part of the provinces, and of the capital of the kingdom of Naples. Since that time, general Macdonald had been prevented from extending their conquests by the gradual diminution of his army, which, for some months, had received no reinforcements, by the armed loyalists, under cardinal Ruffo, and other inferior leaders; by threats of descent from the English, Russians, and Turks, who cruised on the coasts of both seas; and lastly by the disastrous news which he received from Upper Italy. He had been obliged to content himself with securing the submission of the capital, with putting the coasts in a state of defence, and completing the reduction of the two provinces of Abruzzo and Capriana, and of the two principalities; which reduction he had not been able to effect but by burning several towns and villages, and putting to the sword some thousands of peasants. Such was the situation of Macdonald, when he received, from the directory, an order to evacuate the kingdom of Naples and join Moreau. According to his instructions, he deposited all power in the hands of the patriots; leaving, for their support, republican corps, raised in the country, and the garrisons of St. Elme, of Capua, and Gaeta, which could easily communicate and assist one another. Setting out, with all the rest of his troops, he traversed, in close columns, the Romish state, of which several parts were but imperfectly

subdued; left there his heavy baggage, and with a reinforcement of all the troops in that state, excepting some small garrisons which he left at Rome, Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, Pegia, Ronciglione, and Ancona, he hastened towards Tuscany, the capital of which he reached on the twenty-fourth of May. He found there the division of general Gauthier, and established a communication with that of general Montrichard, which was opposed to general Klenau, in the country of Bologna, and in Romagna. The union of all these troops, composed of French, Italians, and Poles, formed an army of about twenty-five thousand men. With this force, Macdonald had to join Moreau, who was at one hundred and fifty miles distant, and to overcome the multiplied obstacles, presented both by the nature of the country and the enemy. To effect an union with his colleague, he had two roads, on different sides of the Appenines: the one goes along the Riviera di Ponente and is known under the name of the Corniche: but it could not admit of the passage of artillery or even of baggage. The second road was that between the Appenines and the Po, across the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Placentia. This was the road chosen by the two republican generals, who already had a free and speedy intercourse with one another by the Riviera di Levante, and began to concert their plans and measures. Although Macdonald had resolved to advance between the Appenines and the Po, it was, nevertheless, necessary that he should be master of the road by the Corniche, for it was by this that he was to preserve

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his intercourse with Moreau, and, by roads branching off from this, that he could penetrate into the plain across the mountains. Macdonald, on the twenty-sixth, assembling his troops, on the frontiers of Tuscany, proceeded on his march, dislodging the imperialists from several important posts as he advanced, particularly that of Pontremoli, and, on the thirtieth, had his head-quarters at Lucca. Meanwhile, Moreau advanced half way to meet his colleague; and, leaving only his left wing in the position of Coni, arrived with his right across the maritime Alps at Savona, occupying with his centre the upper valley of the Tanaro. Pushing on a division still farther, he occupied, with considerable force, the defile of the Bochetta, and other passes of the Appenines. All preparatory measures being taken, Macdonald put his army in motion on the eighth of June, marching himself with the centre toward Modena, and the other divisions taking the road to Fornovio and Rheggio,

As long as marshal Suwarrow had no enemy but Moreau, he could, with the forces he had, continue the war, and even act offensively against the army of the enemy. But he had foreseen that, when Macdonald should come to throw his weight into the scales, his situation would be much altered. He had, therefore, beforehand, asked for reinforcements, both at Petersburg and Vienna. The first of these courts, detached to his assistance eleven thousand men, of the forty-five thousand, which it had destined to act in Switzerland. The second, attributing less importance to the conquest of Switzerland than of Italy, ordered general Bellegarde,

Vol. XII.

with a part of his army, to reinforce marshal Suwarrow, wherever he should be required to do so. This occasion was now come, and, consequently, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, general Bellegarde, quitting that country, at the end of May, with about fourteen thousand men, arrived at Milan on the fourth of June. He was then sent to, by Pavia, to conduct the blockade of Alexandria. This reinforcement, with some free corps, from the hereditary states, enabled the field-marshal to unite about forty thousand fighting men to oppose the two French generals. Macdonald, after two actions with the imperialists, on the tenth and the twelfth, in one of which he himself was pretty severely wounded, advanced, on the thirteenth, towards Rheggio, entered Parma on the fourteenth, from which the duke and all his family fled on his approach, and on the fifteenth arrived at Placentia. Marshal Suwarrow, leaving Wuckassowich, with a corps of observation, in the province of Mondovi, and general Kaim with the brigade of Lusignan, to cover, on the side of France, the siege of Turin, set out from the city, on the tenth, with the principal part of his army, amounting to from twenty-five to thirty thousand, and placed his head-quarters, the same day, at Atti, from which they were transferred, on the twelfth, to Acqui. On the fifteenth, he set out with a little more than twenty thousand men, of whom two-thirds were Russians. A dreadful battle ensued, which was interrupted only by the night, on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, on both sides of the Trebbia. Macdonald, though wounded, followed and directed his

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his army, which, being thirty thousand strong, was equal, in numbers, to that of the allies. This battle, or course of battles, terminated to the advantage of marshal Suwarrow. General Macdonald, after losing more than a third of his army, returned to the same spots to which he had set out. The loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, was little less than that of the enemy. Marshal Suwarrow hastened back, marching his army towards Alexandria, to go to meet Moreau, who had passed the Appenines, raised the blockade of Tortona, and forced general Bellegarde to retreat behind the Bormida. Moreau, on the approach of the Russian commander, retired to Genoa.

An event, highly advantageous to the allies, which happened at the same time with the victories of the Trebbia, completed their triumph, and justified the hazardous and singular plan for the campaign, adopted by the chief commander. The necessary preparations retarded the opening of the trenches, before Turin, till the twelfth, when they were boldly opened at three hundred paces distant from the covered way. The principal batteries were dismounted; the barracks, magazines, and a great number of buildings, including general Fiorella's own house, were set on fire: water had penetrated into the casemates, which had been neglected: and anti-republican dispositions were manifested by a part of the garrison, which was composed wholly of Swiss and Piedmontese. All these circumstances determined the commandant to capitulate. The capitulation was signed, on the twentieth, at eleven o'clock at night, and the imperialists were put in possession of the gates. Con-

formably to the capitulation, the garrison, two thousand seven hundred men, was conducted, on the twenty-second, to the frontiers of France, after laying down its arms on the glacis, and giving its parole not to serve, till exchanged, against the emperor of Germany and his allies.

About the end of June, the junction of general Bellegarde's corps, the co-operation of general Haddick, in the valley of Aoust and the Novarese, and the arrival of a fresh body of eleven thousand Russians on the Brenta, put marshal Suwarrow in a state to oppose ninety thousand men to the sixty thousand of the French, who were, exclusive of the garrisons of Mantua, Tortona, and Alexandria, garrisons which amounted scarcely to fifteen thousand men. The advantage, which marshal Suwarrow sought now to derive from his successes, was reduced to two principal objects, that of reconquering Tuscany, and taking the three strong places just mentioned. It had been with extreme reluctance that the subjects of the grand duke of Tuscany, attached to their sovereign, and his mild and equitable administration, submitted to the French yoke. As soon as Macdonald had removed himself from the Appenines, many thousands of the inhabitants of the province of Arezzo, encouraged and directed by Mr. Windham, the envoy from England, took up arms in favour of their sovereign, and soon amounted to twenty-five thousand men. At the same time, a Cisalpine general, Lahooze, commanding, for France, a corps of Italians, in the march of Ancona, together with his troops, deserted the cause of the republic, and embraced that of the allies. Uniting with his own  
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different bands of insurgents, he reduced, under the power of the allies, the province which he had, till then, defended against them, and proceeded to invest the capital on the side towards the sea, blockaded, as already mentioned, by a fleet, Turkish and Russian. In these circumstances, Macdonald lost no time in contriving his retreat from Tuscany. The troops could retreat by the Riviera di Levante; but, there was no other means of saving the artillery, the baggage, and the numerous chests filled with the spoil of Italy, than to send them by sea; a resource which the continual cruising of some English men of war, on the coasts of Tuscany, rendered extremely hazardous. But, as it was the only resource which remained, Macdonald sent all the artillery, baggage, and republican property, which he could collect, to be transported to Leghorn. Only a small part of this could be embarked on board an American vessel, in which many officers of the staff, took their passage, as well as the civil agents of the republic. The vessel set sail on the ninth, and fell, almost in going out of port, into the hands of the English. On the same day, the allies made a more important acquisition, which was that of Urbino, the garrison of which, after sustaining a fire of some hours, capitulated, and obtained permission to return into France, on condition of not serving, for six months, against the allies. The preparations of the French for retreat, in all parts of Tuscany, encouraged more and more the insurrection of the inhabitants. Those of Florence broke out on the fifth of July, cut down the trees of liberty, and destroyed all the other marks of their subjec-

tion. The republican garrison withdrew into the forts, which it quitted the next morning, in order to retreat towards Leghorn. This place it also evacuated on capitulation. After the evacuation of Florence, the insurgents of Arezzo, supported by the imperialists, and joined on the road by almost all the inhabitants of the country, marched towards the coast, approached in large bodies the places which the French still occupied, and prepared to drive them thence by main force. This was unnecessary; for Macdonald, whose retreat, by the Corniche, was by this time rendered safe, and in a good measure already effected, gave orders, on the seventeenth, for the evacuation, not only of Leghorn, on conditions, but the whole of Tuscany.

While the allies were employed in the deliverance of Tuscany, and thereby precluding the French troops, which still possessed, in the territory of the church of Rome, Civita Vecchia, Perugia, Ancona, and Fano, from all possibility of retreat, Macdonald, towards the end of July, accomplished that of his own army, reduced now to about 13 or 14,000 men; and, in the environs of Genoa, joined Moreau, in which it was lost. By their re-union, general Moreau had a disposable force of 40 or 50,000 men, who were spread from the eastern extremity of the state of Genoa, as far as Coni, and occupied, in that line, all the defiles of the Appenines. After the evacuation of Naples, by Macdonald, cardinal Ruffo, at the head of the royalist army, consisting of more than 20,000 men, and some hundreds of Russians, having defeated the republican levies of men, which were opposed to him, marched a-

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gainst the capital, which, on the twentieth of June, surrendered, by capitulation. A few days after, a coalesced army of English, Russian, Turkish, Portuguese, and Italian, troops, came into port, animated by the activity, and directed by the talents of admiral Nelson, and his worthy second, captain Trowbridge. To the treaty, which the cardinal had agreed to with the prince of Caraccioli and some other leaders of the revolution, on equal terms, admiral Nelson refused to accede. A body of English, Russian, and Portuguese troops, having obtained possession of the castles of Ovo and Nuovo, on the twenty-sixth, under the command of captain Trowbridge, invested the castle of St. Elmo on the twenty-ninth. Seven batteries, armed with cannon of the largest bore, were successively erected, and on the eleventh of July, 30 pieces of ordnance were ready to play on the fort. The batteries of the place being almost all dismounted, and the works very much shattered, the garrison demanded to capitulate, on the same day; and the terms were agreed on and signed on the twelfth. The garrison, after having laid down their arms, was to be embarked for France, on the condition of not serving again till an exchange should take place. It was agreed, that the patriots of Naples, composing a part of the garrison, should be given to the allies; and, that the booty, found in the fort, should at the same time be put into their hands, to be restored to the lawful owners.

The king of the Two Sicilies, who had hoisted his flag on board the *Foudroyant*, the English admiral's ship, saw also his flag waving once more over his capital, and the

forts which defended it. The only towns not yet reduced, under his authority, were Capua and Gaeta. Capua surrendered, by capitulation, to commodore Trowbridge, on the twenty-eighth. The French garrison laid down their arms on the glacis on the twenty-ninth, and marched towards Naples, to be there embarked for France, on the usual condition of not serving again, till exchanged, against the allies.— The surrender of Capua was, two days after, followed by that of Gaeta, which had only been blockaded, and whose garrison of course obtained the honours of war, and a free return to France. General Girandon, who commanded, at the same time, the troops shut up in both places, to the number of more than 2,400 French, signed both capitulations, and consented in both to surrender, unconditionally, the revolted Neapolitans, who had taken refuge in Gaeta and Capua, or composed part of their garrisons. It is painful to relate that the court of Naples chose rather to adhere to the second, than the first capitulation. A special commission was appointed, which pronounced sentence of death, without much formality, on such as had taken an active part in the late revolutionary government. A dreadful scene of executions ensued, or rather a massacre of the most distinguished among the patriots, in which even some noble ladies were sacrificed to a spirit of vengeance, and an awakened thirst of blood. Almost the whole of the late legislative and executive commissioners, perished by the hands of executioners. Admiral Nelson and commodore Trowbridge did not confine their efforts to the restoration of the king of Naples,

Naples, but extended them to that of the papal chair. While the commodore cruized on the coast of the Roman state, and blocked up Civita Vecchia, a part of his small army marched towards Rome.

It has already been mentioned, that, after the victory of Trebbia, and the retreat of Moreau into the mountains, marshal Suwarrow employed himself merely in besieging the three strong places of Mantua, Tortona, and Alexandria. From the large circumference, which the fortrefs of Alexandria rendered it necessary to enclose, it was not till the fourteenth of July, that the first parallel, with the ordinary offensive and defensive works, was finished, and that the artillery was placed on the batteries. On the twenty-first, general Gardanne, the commander, who had regularly defended the approaches to the body of the place, and never ceased to keep up a vigorous fire, having exhausted his ammunition, dispatched an officer to offer a capitulation, which was signed the same evening, and purported that the garrison, amounting still, including sick and wounded, to 2,400, should be made prisoners of war, and sent into Germany. On the thirtieth, Mantua also surrendered, by capitulation. The garrison was permitted to return to France, on the condition of their not serving again until they should be exchanged. It amounted still to 6,700 men, of whom 6,600 only were French. We shall here mention the fall of Tortona too, though it did not happen till some time after other important events, and by which also its fall was occasioned. The siege of Tortona, which had for some time been interrupted, was recommenced by general Al-

caini, at the end of July. General Gasi, the commandant, informed of the result of the dreadful battle of Novi, of which we are presently to give some general account, made an agreement, on the 23d of August, with the besiegers, to surrender himself on the eleventh of September, if he should not be relieved before that time. Attempts were made by Moreau for relieving Tortona in vain; and the garrison, agreeably to the capitulation, surrendered to the Austrians, and set forward on its road to France.

The misfortunes experienced on all sides by the republican armies, under the old directory, had furnished to the jacobins, at Paris, both the pretext and the means of overthrowing it. The mixed party, which succeeded it, having attained the supreme power, from the defeats of their predecessors, hoped to maintain it by victories. The disastrous battle of Trebbia, cotemporary with their elevation, thwarted their hopes, but did not destroy them. It was attributed, by themselves, and by others, to the negligence or imprudent measures of the former directory. Relying on the popularity which commonly attends newly acquired power, they decreed, with more vigour than ever, requisitions of men, money, horses, provisions, and military stores. They created a new army of the Alps, and another of the Rhine. And a plan of general attack was formed, as has been seen in the last chapter, on the enemy's line in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. Moreau, being destined to command the army of the Rhine, was succeeded, in that of Italy, by general Joubert, to whom the directory, which had been revolutionized on the eigh-

teenth of June, thus restored the situation of which he had been deprived a few months before by their predecessors.

The plans of general Joubert, who joined the army of Italy in the beginning of August, were marially deranged by the rapid determination of the two sieges, of Alexandria and Mantua, even to the extinction, in a great measure, of his hopes. He was in want, besides, of time to reorganize his army; to discipline the body, lately joined, of conscripts, or new men of the last requisition; to receive fresh succours; and, above all, to avail himself of a division intended to have been made by the army of the Alps, formed in Dauphiny and Savoy, by general Championet.

In addition to these disappointments, 20,000 men were, by the means just mentioned, on the point of being added to the active body of troops, under general Suwarrow. It was of great consequence to the republicans to prevent the junction of so considerable a force; and this reinforcement had not left Mantua before Joubert determined to act on the offensive, and hazard a battle, in order to relieve Tortona.

The French force amounted to about 40,000 men; the combined army was more considerable; and, besides the superiority of the latter in point of numbers, they were choicer troops, better disciplined; and flushed with recent victories. Joubert trusted with no small reliance on his former good fortune, and hoped, by the attack, to separate the two armies.

Joubert had, a few days before, advanced his left wing from Millesimo, had crossed the Bormida, and dislodged general Bellegarde

from Aquis, and taken a position at Orba, in the plain of Alexandria. These movements had left marshal Suwarrow no room to doubt what were Joubert's intentions: the field-marshal therefore concentrated his forces, and marched, on the thirteenth of August, towards the enemy, who had then penetrated to Novi.

The republican army, on the fifteenth, prepared to offer battle, being drawn up, in their encampment, upon the heights, terminating the extensive plain of Piedmont, which form a ridge or chain of hills behind the city of Novi, and which, though not very high, yet, from their sudden rise, make the ascent of great difficulty. Notwithstanding the strength of this advantageous situation, Suwarrow, by whom difficulties were not regarded as obstacles, when his plan was once formed, resolved upon engaging Joubert in this position, the next morning at the hour of five, being the sixteenth of August.

The republicans received the attack of the imperial troops with their usual firmness and intrepidity, and drove back their centre and right wing three several times. The French appeared to be immovable in their position, and sustained with equal valour repeated charges, in so much that at noon they considered the day as their own. The loss of the combined army, particularly on the part of the Russians, exceeded that of the French, until their right wing began to give way. This wing of the republican army was commanded by Moreau, who had lately been appointed to the command of an army forming in Alsace, but who, from a singular attachment to Joubert, remained with him as a volunteer,

volunteer, submitting to act under his orders. The French, failing of support from this side, could not prevent general Melas, who most opportunely, and fortunately for the success of the day, came up at the head of sixteen battalions of Austrian infantry, from turning their flank, and pursuing his advantage. Joubert, having received a mortal wound, had by this time quitted the command, which now devolved on Moreau. The troops discouraged, through the want of their leader, fell into disorder, about two o'clock, and the victorious army got possession of the hilly ground. The republicans then began to retreat with precipitation, and were pursued by the whole line. The loss in killed and wounded on both sides was great. On the side of the French, eight thousand men were killed, and four thousand made prisoners. Thirty pieces of cannon, and fifty-seven tumbrils, fell into the hands of the allies, in consequence of this victory. The imperialists paid dear for this victory by the loss of seven thousand men, killed, wounded, or lost. These lost, did not exceed six hundred. The Russians gave no quarter.

The object of general Joubert was to raise the siege of Tortona, and to that end he was to have made an attack, on the sixteenth; in which design he was anticipated by the great vigilance of the field-marshal. The republic commander, having received a musket-ball in his right side, did not survive the defeat of his army more than two hours.

Thus fell Joubert, regretted by the army, and all his countrymen, except the jacobins, who alone refused to do justice to his memory, on account of the independence of his spirit, and his attachment to the constitution.

There cannot exist a doubt but the news of this victory was received at Vienna with all the sentiments which such brilliant success merited; but it is observable, that the Court Gazette is remarkably cool in its mention of the part which the Russians contributed towards the glory of the day. The signal conduct and bravery of the field-marshal, who commanded them, certainly deserved some stronger acknowledgements than are therein to be found, of the victory of the sixteenth of August.

As soon as the republicans had recovered from the consternation, occasioned by this defeat, they took their positions nearly in the line they had before occupied. Suwarrow pursued a plan for dispossessing them of their situation, and forcing the passages to Genoa, either by the way of the Bochetta, or by the eastern river, or, as it is sometimes called, the river of the Levant; towards effecting which general Klenau had made some progress; the field-marshal's ultimate design being to surround and form the siege of Coni.

The Austrians, by the departure of marshal Suwarrow, on the eleventh of September,\* for Switzerland, left to conclude the campaign in Italy, without the aid of their Russian allies, maintained their

\* It has been already mentioned, in our preceding chapter, that the marshal had resolved to begin his march three days before, but that he was kept back by the feint which Moreau made, of wishing to attempt the rescue of Tortona.

superiority over the French in three several attacks. The first was made on the twenty-second of September, by prince Victor de Rohan, on general Thureau, who defended the vale of Domo Dossola, and was obliged to quit it, and re-ascend the mountains; the second, was made, on the twenty-fourth, upon general Kray, leading a detachment towards Aosta, when he repulsed and drove the enemy into the higher valley; the third happened the same day, whence prince Lichtenstein dislodged him, and took Pignerole.

Besides these advantages, a victory was gained, by the Austrians, over the French, in the plains of Stura, when marshal Melas, assisted by general Kray, beat twelve thousand French, encamped there, and obliged them to retire to Coni.

After this last victory, the French undertook nothing to the disturbance of the upper Piedmont. Far from indicating any design of that kind, Championnet, now commander-in-chief of the two armies of Italy and the Alps, removed his head-quarters, about the end of November, back to Final; not, however, entirely leaving his former position on the Apennines, whereby he could protect and watch Genoa and Coni.

On the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of September, commodore Trowbridge took possession of Corneto, Tolfa, and Civita Vecchia, which he had blockaded with two ships of war; at the same time that general Bonricard, in the service of the king of Naples, entered Rome; which a few French and some Romans, headed by the prince, Borghese and St. Croce had defended, for six weeks, against the Neapolitan ge-

neral Rodio. By a capitulation, between the French general Garnier and commodore Trowbridge, the prisoners, about five thousand, taken in different garrisons, were, by the capitulation, to be sent either to France or Corsica, as might be judged most convenient.

On the fourth and fifth of November, the Austrians displayed, under general Melas, a signal piece of good judgement and military skill, which was attended with all its merited success. By this the French army was prevented from penetrating into Piedmont, in order to raise the siege of Coni, when it should be undertaken, and establish their winter quarters in that country; an object to them of considerable importance. The evacuation of Mondovi, and other posts, was mistaken, by general Championnet, for a retreat; he therefore advanced as in pursuit; but, on the contrary, was met by general Melas, when an engagement took place, in which the French lost four thousand three hundred men taken prisoners, besides a very considerable number in killed and wounded. The French likewise failed in another attempt, which was to cut off the communication with Turin. General Kray attacked them in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and made one thousand prisoners. In these battles the Austrians lost two thousand killed and wounded.

This signal victory prepared the way for the siege of Coni. General Championnet assembled his whole force at Mondovi, and upon the mountains as far as Monasterlo, in which positions it was not possible to besiege Coni, a fortress which had sustained many attacks without falling; as, besides its difficulty of approach,

proach, it had received every additional strength the most able engineers could possibly suggest to render it impregnable. In addition to all this, the French had furnished it with every necessary means for defence, and had added some new works. This was now the only strong place remaining in Italy, in which the French republicans had a garrison.

The French having evacuated the citadel of Mondovi by night, retreated to Vico and Ormica, pursued by general Bellegarde.

On the eleventh of November, the city of Ancona capitulated. It was besieged not only by Austrians and Russians, but also by English and Turks. The straits to which the garrison and inhabitants, the latter, to the number of twenty-four thousand, were driven, by the siege of this place, which was begun to be bombarded on the third of September, are scarcely to be conceived, and do not admit of description. Its obstinate defence must be considered as the natural consequence of its having been the place of refuge resorted to by a number of traitors to their country. The garrison, consisting of Jews and the Jacobins of Lombardy, were made prisoners of war. The republican commander, Garnier, who, it seems, must have been exchanged as a prisoner of war, obtained the condition of surrendering to the Austrians only; a circumstance of great moment to him, as the besieging army consisted of troops of different nations. In the garrison was found a considerable quantity of artillery and warlike stores.

The important posts of Fossano and Savigliano, after having been taken by the French republicans, were at length re-taken by the Austrians, under general Melas.

The strong fortress of Coni, one of the strongest in Europe, and the only one which remained in possession of the French, in Italy, surrendered to the Austrian arms, on the third of December. The garrison, to the number of three thousand, were made prisoners of war, and conducted to the imperial states. The trenches before Coni were opened, on the twenty-sixth of November, from which time to its surrender the siege was conducted by prince Lichtenstein.

The situation of the Austrians had, before that event, been daily improving in other parts of Italy. They had, among other advantages, obtained possession of the important posts in the valley of Stura. Mondovi, Ceva, and Serravalle, had been surrendered to the Austrians; and there remained, in all Italy, only Genoa and its small territory, in the possession of the French, at the close of the year 1799.

A statement may be expected of the loss sustained, on both sides, in this eventful and bloody campaign. It is not pretended, on this subject, to present an arithmetical certainty, which no person could obtain; not even those at the head of armies. The loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, has been stated, by the most competent judges, at thirty thousand killed and wounded, and ten thousand in prisoners: that of the French, in the first respect, at forty-five thousand, and at thirty-five thousand in the second.

In this campaign, the road to victory was opened by general Kray, at the battles of Legnago and Magnan: and it was pursued with decision, energy, and advantage, by field-marshal Suwarrow. He stamped upon it the double influence

of his own energetic character, and the sincere views of his sovereign, which pointed directly to their object. It is, at least, doubtful whether a general, more dependent on the Aulic council of Vienna, would have dared to undertake, or would even had permission to accomplish so much. It is not probable that Austrian prudence would have allowed him to march to Turin, before Mantua had been reduced; and to besiege or blockade those two places, at the same time, with those of Alexandria and Tortona. As he had, fortunately, a glorious and successful predecessor in general Kray, so had no inglorious or unsuccessful successor in general Melas. And the merit of all three was proved and illustrated by the talents of such antagonist commanders as general Moreau and general Macdonald.

On a general review of the campaign, it is evident, that the advantage, on the whole, was pretty equally balanced. The Austrians, at the close of the year, and also of the campaign, occupied all the passes in the mountains, which separate France from Italy. The expulsion of the French from this last country was a great achievement; the importance of which is not to be measured by its diminishing the sources, and contracting the boundaries of the French domination, but by the opening of the ports of Italy to navigation, commerce, and the water-carriage of troops and military stores, and the elasticity that it must give to the minds of the Italians, and other nations. On the other hand, the French kept possession of the whole left bank of the Rhine, from its source to where it falls through different channels into the ocean; and, at

either extremity of this natural line of defence, a fortress of equal strength, though of opposite natures, the morasses, lakes, and canals of Holland, and the mountains of Switzerland. These two countries formed two great bastions for the defence of the eastern frontier of France: the Rhine was extended between them as a curtain. Of Switzerland, it is very probable that the allies might have obtained possession, if the archduke had remained with his great force to co-operate with Suwarrow, who counted on his co-operation. And although a French army might have over-run a part of the empire and hereditary dominions, for a time, they could not have kept permanent or long possession, under the debility of dilatation, and the general hostility of the countries invaded on the one hand; and a mighty combined army in possession of such a garrison as the Alps, supported by such a granary as Italy, and the country of the Grisons on the other.

While these operations were going on at land, a Russian squadron, of four ships of the line and some frigates, under the command of admiral Mackaroff, leaving Sheerness, about the middle of May, sailed for the Mediterranean, where he co-operated, in the efforts above related, with the allies. The ports, on the shores of Holland, France, and Spain, were blocked up by the fleets of the English. Yet the French fleet, insulting, as it were, their vast naval superiority, and all their combinations, after having escaped from Brest, where it had been long confined, passed the straits of Gibraltar, touched at Toulon, threw some reinforcements and

and provisions into Genoa, shewed itself, for some little time, on the coasts of Tuscany, and had again the good fortune to return by the same road, and, on the twenty-first of July, to enter safely into the port of Brest, taking with it the Spanish fleet, which had joined it off Cadiz, the whole amounting to forty-seven sail of the line. This expedition had an imposing and promising ap-

pect; and no doubt was entertained in France, but it would end in some atchievement splendid and decisive. The general mortification was in proportion to the general expectation. And the expenditure of so many millions on so vain and fruitless a shew afforded a new proof of the extravagance and folly of the directory.



## C H A P. XVI.

*Expedition, under the Command of the Duke of York, to Holland.—Object of this.—Plan of Co-operation between Great Britain and Russia.—An Armament sets sail from Deal, on the thirteenth of August.—Plan of Operations.—Stormy Weather.—The British Troops land at Helder.—Force opposed to them.—Engagement.—The British Army gains Possession of Helder.—Surrender of the Dutch Fleet.—Position and Force of the Enemy.—An Action, in which they are defeated, and forced to retire to Alkmaar.—Engagement on the nineteenth of September.—Motives which induced the Duke of York to renew the Attack on the Enemy.—Several Places on the Zuyder-Sea, submit to the British Flag, and the Authority of the Prince of Orange.—The British Army, on the second of October, attacks the French.—Who are defeated.—Progress of the British Army to Alkmaar.—The French take Post on the Isthmus between Beverwick and the Zuyder-Sea.—The British moved forward to a new Position.—The French advance from Beverwick to meet them.—Engagement.—Night coming on, undecided.—The British Troops withdraw from their advanced Position to their former Station at Schagenbrug.—Attacks on the British at Schagenbrug.—Repulsed.—Farther Successes of the Marine Force of the British in the Zuyder-Sea.—Suspension of Arms.—Capitulation.—The British and Russian Forces return to England.—Meeting of the British Parliament in September.—Its Proceedings.*

**I**N the whole course and extent of the present war, nothing could be more natural than for the court of London, and the British nation, to make a great effort for the deliverance of the United Provinces from the state of servitude and degradation into which they had fallen, and to restore them to their rank among the independent nations of Europe, a rich, flourishing, and happy country. The provinces had long been connected with England, by various ties, between the houses of Orange and Brunswick, as well as the other classes in society, by religion, habits, mutual good offices,

common interests, and a reciprocation of commercial advantage. Although commercial rivalry and jealousy, inflamed by the intrigues of France, had sometimes set England and Holland by the ears, their mutual hostilities were not inveterate. Their most essential interests were considered to be at bottom the same. His late majesty king George II. was wont to say of England and Holland, "that they were like man and wife, who might have their bickerings, but ought never to part." By the united influence of the families of Brandenburg, including that of Hanover, the stadtholder had,

had, at different times, recovered his power, and extended his prerogative. By the spirited and united exertions of Prussia and Great Britain, the designs of France, in the Seven United Provinces, in 1787, were defeated, and a tripple alliance, offensive and defensive, formed among the states-general, Prussia, and England. The revolution in Holland, in consequence of which that alliance was formed, was one of the most rapid, as well as least sanguinary and destructive recorded in history. The remembrance of this atchievement naturally suggested the idea of accomplishing such another, by the same or similar means. Though the French had penetrated into Holland, in 1794, through the unforeseen defection of the king of Prussia, from the coalition against the French republic, and the early and sudden freezing of the rivers, still less foreseen, this conquest did not seem to possess the permanency that arises from long meditated designs, matured by a general concert of wills, among the invaders and invaded. The public voice of the provinces, though suppressed by an overbearing force, was still in favour of the stadtholder, and a connection with England. No pains were wanting, in order to induce the court of Berlin to return to the success, the advantages, and the glory of its conduct, respecting the United Provinces in 1797, but all in vain.

The recovery of those countries from the influence, and, in fact, the dominion of France was an object of the first importance, not only to Great Britain, but the confederacy. By the re-establishment of the stadtholder, a way would be prepared for opening again the cam-

paign in the low countries with an allied army, of fomenting insurrections among the inhabitants, a great part of whom were still ready for revolt; and, on the whole, for restoring that political barrier, between France and Holland, which seemed so indisputably necessary, not only to the security of British commerce and naval power, but to the independence of the greater part of Europe. Even if an attempt, for the deliverance of the provinces, should not be finally successful, still a great diversion would be effected in favour of the allies, compelling the French to send to the United Provinces a great part of the force destined for the army of the Rhine.

For an expedition therefore to Holland, a plan of co-operation was concerted between Great Britain and Russia, in the confidence that numbers of the Dutch, opening their eyes to their real interests, would combine with those, whom they might justly consider as their deliverers, as soon as they saw they could, with safety, act according to their sentiments and wishes.

To enable them to exert themselves for their emancipation from their present slavery, the most effectual means was to send a powerful force to their assistance. The preparations for the armament were rapid, energetic, and effectual. When the force was levied, all private convenience was willingly, and joyfully, sacrificed to hasten the troops to the place of destination. Early in August, above twelve thousand men were assembled on the coast of Kent, and above twelve thousand more were preparing, to reach the same rendezvous. On the thirteenth of August, sir Ralph Abercrombie and admiral Mitchell

set



set sail from Deal, with their army and fleet, and joined lord Duncan, in the north-seas. The weather being uncommonly stormy, for that season of the year, they encountered great difficulties and danger in their voyage, and were, unexpectedly long before they arrived at its conclusion. The first object was two-fold; to effect a landing in Holland, and to receive or take possession of the Dutch ships in the Texel. On Wednesday, the twenty-first of August, they came in sight of the Dutch coast, and had made a great preparation to land on the twenty-second. But, by a heavy gale of wind, they were forced out to sea. On Saturday, the twenty-fourth, they were again in sight of the Texel; but the weather was too squally, and the surf too high, to attempt a landing, and it did not abate till Monday morning, the twenty-sixth. That day they came to anchor near the shore of the Helder, a strong point, in the northern extremity of the main land of Holland, that commands the Mars-Diep, the narrow channel which joins the Zuyder-sea with the German ocean, between the continent and the island of the Texel, and which is the principal passage of Amsterdam. There they made preparations for effecting a landing the next morning. At day-light, on the twenty-seventh, they began to disembark. The enemy had assembled a numerous body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and were posted at Calantfoge to the right of the Helder, but did not oppose the landing of the first division, waiting in hopes of attacking them before they could be supported by the rest of the troops. Admiral Mitchel, with very

great skill and ability, covered the landing of the troops, which sir Ralph superintended with equal intrepidity and vigour. Both the army and navy acted with the most perfect unanimity, inspired by mutual confidence, sameness of wish, and the most thorough reliance on the courage, professional knowledge, and wisdom, of their respective leaders. In the marine language of admiral Mitchel, they *pulled heartily* together. When the first division was landed, under lieutenant-general sir James Pultney, the enemy attacked the right flank. The position of the troops was on a ridge of sand-hills, that stretch along the coast from north to south. The British had no where sufficient ground on the right to form more than a battalion in line; yet, as sir Ralph observes, the position, though singular, was not, in our situation, disadvantageous, having neither cavalry nor artillery. The contest was arduous, and the loss was considerable; but the courage and perseverance of the British troops, at length compelled the enemy to retire to a position six miles distant. Our loss amounted to about five hundred. Sir James Pultney, who greatly distinguished himself by his activity and bravery, received a wound in the arm, which obliged him to quit the field. As the enemy still retained possession of the Helder, with a garrison of near two thousand men, the troops being now all landed, it was determined to attack it the next morning. The Dutch fleet, in the Mars Diep, got under weigh; the garrison was withdrawn, and two regiments, commanded by major-general Moore, and the marquis of Huntley, on the twenty-eighth, took possession of the Helder.

Helder. The first success of this day was principally owing to general Coote's brigade, commanded by colonel Macdonald, who, instead of waiting the attacks of the enemy, advanced on every occasion to meet them. In a situation where the smallest piece of ground could not be lost without danger, this conduct was the best that could be pursued.

Lord Duncan, naval commander-in-chief, in the north sea, was off the Texel during an engagement, in which both his public and private affections were strongly interested. His son, a lieutenant in the guards, a youth of nineteen, was in the heat of the battle.

By this time a re-enforcement had arrived of five thousand men. And the British army, the precaution being taken to strengthen the fortifications of the Helder, prepared to proceed in a southerly direction.

The British, having effected one part of their first object, which was to land their troops, and take possession of a post of security, soon after succeeded in the second part. On the thirtieth of August, admiral Mitchel summoned the Dutch fleet to surrender to the squadron under his command, and to hoist the flag of the prince of Orange. The Dutch fleet, attached in general to the prince of Orange, surrendered, without striking a blow. It consisted of two ships of 74 guns; five of 68; one of 66; three of 54; eight of 44; two of 32; four of 24; one of 16; and four Indiamen.

Meanwhile, about seven thousand more forces sailed for Holland; and, on the ninth of September, his royal highness the duke of York set off to take the chief command of the army. Expecting the arrival

both of the additional British and Russian troops, sir Ralph continued at Helder, while, in the mean time, the island of the Texel was taken possession of by our fleets. The French and Batavian forces, twenty-five thousand strong, under the command of general Brune, occupied a strong position between the Helder and Alkmaer. The numbers and the strength of their position determined sir Ralph to continue on the defensive until the arrival of the powerful reinforcements, which he, with certainty, expected. The enemy, confident in their numbers, September the tenth, ventured an attack, and a very obstinate engagement ensued, in which they were repulsed, with the loss of one thousand five hundred men, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, while our loss amounted to two hundred. The enemy retired to Alkmaer. His royal highness landed in Holland on the thirteenth of September; and soon after seven thousand Russians, from Revel, and the third embarkation, consisting of about seven thousand British troops, and ten thousand Russians, joined the army. The army now consisted of nearly thirty-five thousand men, including seventeen thousand Russians, and was deemed sufficiently strong for offensive operations. A general attack was resolved on by his highness; and, on the nineteenth, every arrangement was made. The army advanced in four columns, extending from the right to the left coast. The column, to the extremity of the right, consisted chiefly of the Russians, in twelve battalions, assisted by the seventh light-dragoons, and general Manners's brigade, was commanded by the Russian lieutenant-

tenant-general, d'Hermann, and extended to the sand-hills on the coast near the famous Camperdown, on which heights a column of the enemy were placed at a very great advantage. The second, commanded by lieutenant-general Dundas, consisted of two squadrons of the eleventh light-dragoons, two brigades of foot-guards, and major-general his highness prince William of Gloucester's brigade. Its object was to force the enemy's position at Walmenhuyfen and Schoreldam, and to co-operate with the column under lieutenant d'Hermann. The third column, commanded by lieutenant-general sir James Pultney, consisted of two squadrons of the eleventh light-dragoons, major-general Don's brigade, and major-general Coote's brigade. This column was intended to take possession of Oud-Scarpel, at the head of the Lang-Dyke, a great road leading to Alkmaer. The fourth, and left column, under the command of lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, consisted of two squadrons of the eighteenth light-dragoons, major-general the earl of Chatham's brigade, major-general Moore's brigade, major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade, first battalion of British grenadiers of the line, first battalion of light-infantry of the line; and the twenty-third and fifty-fifth regiments, under colonel Macdonald, was destined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder-sea. To the attainment of these many and important objects, the most formidable obstacles presented themselves. To the right, where the Russians were to advance, the country was almost covered with woods, especially near the village of Bergen, where

the principal force of the enemy was placed. The Russians, advancing with an intrepidity that overlooked the powerful resistance they were to meet, were, by their impetuous courage, transported beyond the bounds of that order which would have ensured safety and success; and after a most valiant contest, obliged to retire with considerable loss. Both the second and third columns had also great difficulties to encounter, in the deep ditches and canals, by which the scene of their operations was intersected; the second, under general Dundas, after carrying the posts, it was destined to attack, extended (after the retreat of the Russians), to the right, and though weakened, of course, by an extension so disproportionate to their force, renewed the battle with considerable success, but was at length obliged to retire. Lieutenant-general, sir James Pultney, with the third, effected his object in carrying, by storm, the post of Oud-Scarpel, at the head of the Lang-Dyke; but the disappointment of the right, prevented our army from profiting by this advantage. It became expedient to withdraw the third column. The same circumstance led to the necessity of re-calling the corps under lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had proceeded without interruption to Hoorn, of which city he had taken possession, together with its garrison. The whole of the army returned to its former position. The soldiers and officers, both of Britain and Russia, displayed a valour and enterprize most honourable to themselves and their respective countries, though not crowned with the success that, from the comprehen-

live and able plan of attack, was naturally and reasonably expected.

Having thus given such a general view of this severe engagement as a mind not conversant with military manœuvres and actions may comprehend without difficulty, we shall add some farther particulars, worthy of notice.

The column, under general Dundas, directed against Warmenhuyzen and Schoreldam, having Alkmaer on their right, (a circumstance which is necessary, as will presently appear, to be mentioned), was accompanied by the duke of York, in person, who endeavoured, as much as he could, to quicken its march. It was, however, necessarily very slow, the enemy having destroyed all the roads, and the troops being obliged to pass, as well as they could, across the fields, where every furrow was a wide ditch, over which it was necessary to form communications, or even to throw bridges. Notwithstanding the greatest exertions, and although Warmenhuyzen had been carried between six and seven in the morning, they could not arrive before Schoreldam until nine o'clock: when this entrenched post was attacked, on the side of Warmenhuyzen, by the corps of general Dundas; and towards Scholer, by the brigade of general Manners, and carried. Before any support could be given, to the attack made by the Russians, it was necessary to attack the canal of Alkmaer. The enemy had destroyed the bridge, but before ten o'clock means were found to repair it, and part of the troops immediately crossed the canal, and marched to Scholer. At this moment intelligence was brought to his royal highness, by

VOL. XLI.

captain Taylor, his aid-de-camp, the only English officer who had accompanied the Russian column, of what had happened at Bergen. Soon after he had the mortification to see, that the Russians continued their retreat towards the Zype, and had passed Schorel, which the pursuing enemy had already entered. His royal highness then adopted the only measure that could repair the disorder of the Russians, and renew the engagement. He immediately attacked the village of Schorel with general Manners's brigade, supported by three battalions of Russians; by the first brigade of guards, and the thirty-fifth regiment, commanded by prince William. Schorel was carried, and the enemy was stopped in their pursuit. This advantage might have changed the face of affairs, and decided the day in favour of the allies, if the Russians could have been prevailed on to discontinue their retreat, and to form on the sand-hills, on the right of the English. But general Essen could not rescue them from the disorder and discouragement into which they had fallen; and was obliged to suffer them to continue their retreat, to get to their former position, in the Zype, where they arrived between eleven o'clock and midnight. On a consideration of the complete though difficult success that attended the other three columns, it cannot be doubted, that if the Russians had shewn, on this occasion, that spirit of discipline and obedience, for which, as well as for intrepidity, they were renowned, and had general Herman been able to keep possession of the long but narrow extent of ground, so rapidly gained, until it should have been possible

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for the generals Dundas and Manners to come to his assistance, the event of that day would have justified the plan of the duke of York; and, as much as circumstances could have allowed, forwarded the object of the expedition. A great part of general Herman's division was killed or taken, and the general himself was among the prisoners. The loss of the English was about one hundred and twenty killed; four hundred wounded; and, when the returns were made up, about five hundred missing. The French stated their loss at only fifty killed and three hundred wounded.

The duke of York was not intimidated by the adverse events of the nineteenth of September, from a design of renewing the attack on the enemy with all possible expedition. Animated at once by all the hereditary courage of his family, and the generosity of the cause in which he was embarked, and trained up in the elements of war, under a prince, who rose with an elastic force under misfortune, he determined not to relax in the most vigorous efforts for bringing the British enterprize, in favour of the United Provinces, and the great commonwealth of European states and nations to a happy conclusion. Nor were several important considerations wanting, to fortify the inclinations of the will, by the authority of the understanding. The expedition, in a military point of view, was wisely planned. The co-operation of the fleet had been attended, and was in a fair way of being still farther attended with the most prosperous success; succours might be expected, with certainty, from the two greatest powers of Europe; and a just resentment and

indignation, it was not extravagant to suppose, would be roused at last by the prospect of deliverance from their oppressive invaders. The spirit of the British troops was high and unbroken; and the Russians manifested a design to wash out the stain, with which, they conceived, their arms had been sullied.

In the same degree, as the good disposition of the troops allowed the duke of York to rely on the success of an attempt to restore victory, every consideration prescribed to him the necessity of hastening it as much as possible. He had received intelligence, on which he could rely, that great part of the reinforcements, expected by general Brune, were not yet near arriving. The superiority of numbers, which was still on the side of the allies, and the decisive advantage which they had obtained, on every point, excepting one, in the affair of the nineteenth, could not fail to keep alive a degree of confidence in the minds of the well-intentioned Dutch, and some hopes might consequently be yet entertained of their eventual assistance. His royal highness therefore thought, on the whole, that it was not yet, perhaps, too late to give a successful turn to the enterprize, and was unremittingly occupied in enabling himself to direct another attack against the enemy. He acquired new means of success, by the arrival of a third Russian division, commanded by major-general Emmé, which disembarked at the Helder, on the twenty-fifth, and joined the army on the twenty-sixth. This reinforcement, together with that of a company of chasseurs of the sixtieth regiment, and three troops of the fifteenth light-dragoons, filled up the void,

void, which the battle of the nineteenth had occasioned in the ranks of the allies.

If the territory of the United Provinces affords many advantages for defensive war to the possessors, it offers some also to powerful maritime invaders. The contiguous districts of North Holland and West Friesland are deeply peninsulated by the Haerlemmeer, the Zuyder-Sea, and the German Ocean: and, by these means, a way is opened to an irresistible naval force, a great way into South Holland, where the land is every where lower than the sea, and crossed by the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse, by several small rivers, and a great number of canals. The harbour and arsenal of the Helder were already reduced. The possession of one other point of land, together with the dominion of the adjacent and nearly surrounding waters, would give the command of the peninsula, just described, and present many advantages and opportunities for concerting measures and co-operating with the friends of the stadtholder, in Amsterdam, Haerlem, Leyden, and other cities. That point is the narrow isthmus at Beverwick; the importance of which does not escape a military eye, as will by and by appear, in the course of this narrative.

The nature of the country, intersected by navigable rivers, lakes, and arms of the sea, occasioned a resemblance between the mode in which Great Britain made war on the coast of Holland, and that which takes place in the Baltic, the Archipelago, and other narrow seas, where the Russian, Swedish, Turkish, and other flotillas attack their adversaries, sometimes at sea, sometimes at land. The fleet, under

admiral Mitchel, consisting of the lighter ships of war, and having on board a proper military force and apparatus, proceeded to make captures at sea, and descents on the shore. On the twelfth of September, captain Portlock, of the sloop Arrow, and captain Bolton, of the Wolverene, near the Fly Island, or Vlie Island, situated at the mouth of the Zuyder-Zee, a few miles from the Texel, took a Dutch ship and brig of superior force. They had to turn to windward, towards the enemy, against a strong lee tide, during which time they were exposed to the raking fire of the ship, which they afterwards found to be the Batavian republican guard-ship, De Draak, mounting twenty-nine guns. They anchored at the Fly-Island on the fifteenth, when captain Portlock, the first in command, sent captain Bolton to take possession of the Batavian republican ship; the Dolphin, riding at anchor close to the town of the Fly. The ship, on the approach of the English, hoisted the Orange colours; and the same step was taken in the island. A person came from the municipality, with a request to captain Bolton, to surrender the place to the government of the prince of Orange; which request, by the authority of admiral Mitchel, was, without hesitation, complied with.

On the twenty-first, admiral Mitchel, with a squadron of frigates, and other armed ships and bomb-vessels, came to anchor off Enchuyzen; when a boat came off, from that town, wearing Orange cockades: in consequence of which, the admiral went on shore, attended by the captains: they were received by the inhabitants with every testimony of joy, at their deliverance



from their former tyrannical government, and the highest expressions of loyalty and attachment to the house of Orange. The admiral proceeded to the stadthouse, and summoning all the old and faithful burgomasters, who had not taken the oath to the Batavian republic, reinstated them in the magistracy, until instructions should be received from the prince of Orange. At the dissolution of the municipality, and the reinstatement of the old magistrates, the inhabitants, surrounding the stadthouse, expressed their joy, by loud acclamations. A party of them, at the same time, cut down the tree of liberty, which they instantly burned. All this was done in the most quiet regular manner. Meidenblick, Lemmer, and other towns, observed the same conduct, and expressed the same dispositions, with those of Enchuyzen.

The British cause was farther strengthened and encouraged by a reinforcement of Russians, consisting of upwards of four thousand men, which landed at the Helder, on the morning of the twenty-sixth of September, and immediately marched forward to join the main army.

The inclemency of the weather, the sole cause of suspended operation, having, in some measure, subsided, the British army was again put in motion, and, on the morning of the second of October, an attack commenced on the whole of the enemy's line. A severe and obstinate action ensued, which lasted from six in the morning until the same hour at night. The right wing of the British army was commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie, the centre division, by general Dundas,

and the left wing, by major-general Burrard. This last division remained for the protection of the position under lieutenant-general sir James Pultney, who was farther destined to engage the enemy's attention at Ouds Scarpel by a feint attack. The first impression was made on the adverse line, by the centre of our army; and the next by the right, and lastly, the left wing also overcame all resistance. The enemy being entirely defeated, retired in the night from the position which they had occupied on the Lang-Dyke, the Koe-Dyke, at Bergen, and on the extensive range of sand-hills between this last place and Egmont-op-Zee.

On the night after the battle the British troops lay on their arms; and, on the third of October, moved forward and occupied the positions of the Lang-Dyke, Allmar, Bergen, Egmont-op-Hoof, and Egmont-op-Zee. The enemy's force was computed to be about twenty-five thousand men, of which by far the greater part were French. The duke of York, in the account he gives of the action of the second of October, bestows warm and liberal praise on the whole army under his command. 'Under the Divine Providence,' says his royal highness, 'this signal victory, obtained over the enemy, is to be ascribed to the animated and persevering exertions, which have been, at all times, the characteristics of the British soldier, and which, on no occasion, were ever more eminently displayed: nor has it often fallen to the lot of any general, to have such just cause of acknowledgement for distinguished support. I cannot, in sufficient terms, express the obligations I owe to general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and

and lieutenant-general Dundas, for the able manner in which they conducted their respective columns; whose success is, in no small degree, to be attributed to their personal exertions and example: the former had two horses shot under him. Very distinguished praise is also bestowed by his highness on colonel Macdonald, lord Paget, major-general Coote, general sir James Pultney, and many other officers."

The loss sustained by the enemy exceeded four thousand men killed, about three hundred prisoners, seven pieces of cannon, and a great many tumbrils. But the victory, obtained by the British army, was dearly purchased, by the loss of about fifteen hundred men.

The exhausted state of the troops, from the vast difficulties and fatigues they had to encounter, prevented the British commander from taking that advantage of the enemy's retreat, which in any other country, and under any other circumstances, would have been the consequences of the operations of the second of October.

The French general having, with great prudence, taken post at the narrow isthmus, above-mentioned, between Beverwick and the Zuyder-Zee, the duke of York determined, if possible, to force him from thence, before he should have an opportunity of strengthening, by works, the short and very defensible line which he occupied, and to oblige him still farther to retire, before he could be joined by the reinforcements, which, he was informed, were upon their march. Preparatively, therefore, to a general and forward movement, he ordered the advanced posts, which the army had taken upon the third, in front

of Alkmaer, and the other places already mentioned to be pushed forward; which was done accordingly, on the fourth. At first little opposition was shewn, and the British succeeded in taking possession of the villages of Schermerhoorn, Archer-Sloot, Limmen, Baccum, and of a position on the sand-hills, near Wyck-op-zee. The column, consisting of the Russian troops, under the command of major-general d'Essen, in endeavouring to gain a height, in front of their intended advanced post, at Baccum, (which was material to the security of that point) was vigorously opposed by a strong body of the enemy, which obliged sir Ralph Abercrombie to move up for the support of that column with the reserve of his corps.

The enemy, on their part, advanced their whole force. The action became general along the whole line, from Limmen to the sea, and was maintained on both sides until night, when the Batavian and French army retired, leaving the British in the field of battle.—This conflict was as severe as any of those that had been fought since the arrival of our troops in Holland, and, in proportion to the numbers engaged, attended with as great loss. Of the British, 1200 were killed, wounded, or taken; of the Russians, not less than 700. The loss of the enemy was also very great in killed, wounded, and prisoners, which fell into our hands to the number of 500. The post to which the British army directed its march, was Haerlem. But intelligence being received, from the prisoners taken in this action, that the enemy, who had just been reinforced by 6000 infantry, had strengthened the position of Beverwick, and

thrown up very strong works in its rear: and it being farther known that they had stationed a large force at Purmerend, in an almost inaccessible position, covered by an inundated country; the *debonches* from which were strongly fortified, and in the hands of a corps of the enemy; which corps, as our army advanced, would be placed in our rear: intelligence being received of all these circumstances, the British commander naturally paused. The obstacles here enumerated might have been overcome by the persevering courage of the troops, under his command, had not the state of the weather, the ruined condition of the roads, and the total want of the necessary supplies, arising from the above causes, presented additional difficulties, which demanded the most serious consideration. The duke of York, therefore, having maturely weighed the circumstances, in which the army under his command was thus placed, thought it advisable, with the concurrence of general Abercromby, and the lieutenant-generals of the army, to withdraw the troops, from this advanced position, to their former station, at Schagenbrug; from whence, on the ninth of October, his royal highness dispatched his secretary, colonel Brownrig, to London, in order to give a circumstantial account of the state of affairs in Holland, and to receive his majesty's farther instructions.

In the mean time, the enemy harassed our line of defence at Schagenbrug, by daily, though partial, attacks; the most serious of which was made by general Daendels in person. That general, on the tenth of October, attacked the right wing of the British forces, upon an advan-

ced post near Winele, under the command of prince William of Gloucester, with 6000 men, and six pieces of cannon; endeavouring to force this post by every exertion. To resist this formidable attack the prince had only 1200 men, and two pieces of cannon; yet he obliged the Dutch general to retreat, with the loss of 200 men killed, and one French general. But general Daendels being almost immediately reinforced by 4000 Dutch troops, the prince of Gloucester was under the necessity of falling back to Cohorn. The loss of the English, in this action, did not exceed three killed, and about twelve wounded. The prince, during the action, had his horse shot under him; but he received no injury himself, though exposed to the greatest personal danger, under a heavy fire, being frequently in front of the line, animating the exertions of his troops by his example.

The efforts of our marine force, in the Zuyder-Zee, and other parts of the Dutch coast, were continued, amidst these transactions on land, with unabated activity. Many gun-boats and several light ships of war were taken from the enemy; and an attack, that, on the 11th of October, they made on the town of Lemmer, which had come into our possession, as above related, was gallantly repulsed by the British sailors and marines, under the command of captain Boorder, of the *Wolverene* bomb-ship.

About this time an attempt is supposed to have been made to gain over to our cause the Batavian general Daendels. That general was found to be indeed a friend to peace; but not to the Stadtholder.

On the seventeenth of October, a suspension of arms in Holland was agreed on between the captain-general of the English and Russian army, on the one part, and the generals Brune and Daendels, on the other. It was also agreed on by these parties, that all prisoners should be given up on both sides, those on parole as well as others. It was farther stipulated, as the price of permission to the British troops to re-embark on board their transports, without molestation, that 8000 of the seamen, whether Batavian republicans or French, who were prisoners in England, should be given up to the French government. The combined English and Russian army was to evacuate Holland before the end of November.

No time was lost in the embarkation of the British and Russian troops; and together with these a great number of Dutch loyalists, namely, deserters, to the amount of nearly four thousand, came to England. The Russians were landed and quartered in Jersey and Gurnsey.

The efforts of the British government in this contest with the Batavian republic, were more successful at sea than at land, not only in the northern seas, but in the Atlantic ocean. The rich colony of Surinam, in which there is so striking an assemblage of luxuriancy of soil, luxury of manners, the extremes of liberty, and slavery, and pestilence, suspending over the sensualist and the tyrant, the sword of death, was added to the other nurseries of wealth, and graves of morals, health, and life, which, in the course of the present war, have swelled the ultra-marine possessions of the Bri-

tish nation. This Dutch settlement voluntarily surrendered, on certain conditions, to the British government, and possession of it was taken, in the name of his majesty, by lord Hugh Seymour, commander-in-chief of his majesty's land and sea forces, in the leeward and windward Charibbee Islands, at the head of a small squadron of ships of war, and others, with troops collected from Grenada and St. Lucia, on the twentieth of August. It was from the same causes, and on similar conditions, that certain of the French islands, in the three first years of the republic, had come under the British dominions, and were received into the British protection. The principal articles of the capitulation were, that the inhabitants of the colony should enjoy full security to their persons, and the free exercise of their religion, with the immediate and entire possession of their private property, whether on shore or afloat; that all ships of war, artillery, provisions, and stores, in the public magazines and warehouses, as well as the effects of every description belonging to the public, were to be given up to his Britannic majesty in the state they were, regular lists being taken by officers appointed for this purpose by each of the contracting parties; that, in case the colony of Surinam should remain in the possession of his Britannic majesty, at the conclusion of a general peace, it should enjoy every right and every commercial privilege enjoyed by the British colonies in the West Indies; and that the troops then in Surinam, as well as the officers belonging to the different corps, serving under its present government, should have it in their power, if they wished it, to enter

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into his Britannic majesty's service, on the same footing, with respect to appointments and pay, as the rest of his army; provided that they took the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his majesty, which they would be required to take.

The situation of affairs on the continent, and the part which the British government had undertaken to act, in the confederation against the French republic, occasioned the extraordinary convocation of the British parliament so early as the twenty-fourth of September. On that day the king, in a speech to both houses of parliament, informed them, that he had called them together at that early season, to consider of the propriety of enabling him, without delay, to avail himself to a farther extent of the voluntary service of the militia, at a moment when our actual force abroad might be productive of the most important and beneficial consequences, having already seen the happy effects of the measure which was adopted on this subject in the last session.

He concluded by informing both houses, that, in pursuance of their recommendation, he had judged it proper to communicate to his two houses of parliament in Ireland, at the close of their last session, the sentiments which the British parliament had expressed to him, respecting an incorporating union of the two kingdoms.

His majesty's ministers then introduced the business for which the two houses had been assembled, namely, the bill for enabling his majesty to accept of the voluntary services of the militia enlisting into other regiments. The opponents of the measure were but few, but several debates were held by them

with the ministerial side of the house against the bill, as being unconstitutional.

The spirit or object of this new militia bill was to repeal so much of the act of last session, as limited the number of volunteers, from regiments of militia, to one-fourth of their strength, instead of which three-fifths of the number, which should be furnished by the county, &c. to which each regiment belongs, might be permitted to enlist into such corps of regulars as his majesty might think fit to appoint, each volunteer receiving, as under the late act, ten guineas, on re-enlisting into the regulars, subject, as before, to serve in Europe only, and not to be drafted from the corps into which he should first enter. The bill, being carried through the usual stages, was passed into a law, on the fourth of October. Bills, introduced into the house of commons in this early session, were passed into laws for granting a loan of 500,000*l.* in exchequer-bills, to the West-India merchants in Liverpool, in order to avert the evils which hung over their head, from very extraordinary failures in Hamburgh. Security for this loan was given in property in their warehouses, amounting to upwards of two millions. A bill was also passed into a law for granting relief to planters connected with the islands of Grenada and St. Vincents, by allowing goods imported from the West Indies, to be warehoused, by regulating the allowance on drawbacks, and allowing merchants a farther time for the payment of their debts. We may here take notice of a very melancholy accident, interesting, indeed, like every other great misfortune, to human nature, but more deserving

deserving of a place in a record of the times, as it serves to illustrate the nature of liberal commerce, and how much the trade, wealth, and well-being of one nation depend on those of another. About the middle of October, the frigate *la Lutine* was totally lost on the coast of New Holland, in its passage from Yarmouth to Hamburg, with a number of passengers, and above 200,000*l.* for supporting the credit of the merchants of Hamburg. In a committee of supply 1,680,000*l.* was voted for the use of the navy, for two calendar months, beginning the first of January, 1800; for the army, for two months, 510,516*l.*; and for 3,000,000*l.* for paying off that sum, issued in exchequer-bills last session.

The committee also voted

16,648*l.* for maintaining forces in the plantations, &c.; 92,635*l.* for defraying charges of corps of cavalry in Great Britain, &c.; 232,998*l.* for defraying charges of embodied militia, and a royal corps of miners in Cornwall, &c.; 40,000*l.* for defraying the charges of the increase of the rule of subsistence to innkeepers and victuallers, &c.; 120,000*l.* for defraying the charges for barracks, &c.; 230,000*l.* for the charge of ordnance of land service; 121,510*l.* for the ordinaries of the navy; 115,625*l.* for extraordinary of ditto.

On the same day, the house, in a committee of ways and means, voted the duties on malt, mum, cider, perry, sugar, tobacco, and snuff; and that 2,500,000*l.* be raised by exchequer-bills.

## C H A P. XVII.

*The State of Military Operations, connected with that of the internal Policy of the French Republic.—Character and Views of the French Directory in the earlier Part of 1799.—State of Parties in France.—Principles and base Artifices of the Directory.—Coalition of Parties against them.—New Election of one-third of the Legislature.—And, on June 18, of a Directory.—Unexpected and sudden Arrival of Buonaparte from Egypt.*

ON a general view of the war of 1799, in Europe, it appears, at first sight, that the armies of France met with less disaster, and far more success in the latter part of the season than in the first. This state of military affairs was very much connected with the internal situation of the republic.—The war in Italy, under Buonaparte, had not only sed and supported itself, but afforded a surplusage of finance to the treasury at Paris. Scarcely had that renowned chief embarked on board the French squadron at Toulon, when a remissness was visible in the military affairs of France. Neither was the genius of these men, Barras alone excepted, suited to war, nor did the system on which they aimed at the establishment of their own power and fortune admit of that pure, faithful, and prompt distribution of the resources of the nation, which was necessary to a vigorous exertion in so many scenes, on so extended a theatre. A majority of them, Rewbel, Lareveillere, Lepaux, and Merlin, were bred lawyers; a class of men, in whose hands it is observed, the grand affairs of nations, often insulting the bounds of precedent, are seldom prosperous. They were jealous of military renown and influence. They dreaded the intervention of

the army. They wished not for any greater number of troops than might be necessary barely to secure the frontier, and above all, their own despotism in the internal affairs of the republic. The possession of authority, and new avenues for governing, by corruption, diminished in their eyes, the necessity of supporting themselves by supporting the army. They wished to rest on other foundations. With all their means and arts of corruption, however, the part they had to act, both for the maintenance of their own power, and supporting a shew of regular government, in so populous, divided, and lively a nation, was singularly arduous.

The French were divided into two great parties, the lovers of order and the jacobins. The former were the most numerous, as well as respectable; the latter, the most united, daring, and active.—The directory endeavoured to acquire popularity, by sparing the people. Supplies of men, and all necessaries, were wanting to the armies; nor were the sums raised honestly applied to that purpose. Military and naval affairs were not only neglected, but steps were taken that seemed to indicate a deliberate design of involving them in confusion and disgrace. The gallant Joubert, the friend and imitator of

the splendid actions of Buonaparte, notwithstanding his victories in Piedmont, was, early in 1799, as we have seen, superceded, in the command of the army of Italy, by the minister of war, the speculator Scheerer. The admiral Bruix, parading, with a large fleet, between Toulon and Brest, and Brest and Toulon, afforded to many reasons for suspecting that its equipment was intended for no other purpose than that of a chain of speculation from the directory to the dock-yard. There was no meanness or misdemeanor, or act of injustice and oppression so great, but that a numerous part of the nation thought their rulers capable of it. While the battalions were greatly deficient in their complements of men; enormous exactions of money were made, for the maintenance of numerous legions, on paper. The privations, miseries, and distresses of the armies abroad; multiplied instances of corruption on the part of the government at home; arbitrary imprisonments and sequestrations, and justice and injustice, bought or sold; all these circumstances produced a general odium against the directory, which soon proved an overmatch for all their means, great as they were, of maintaining their sway by influence and corruption.

It is not permitted, by the limits of our plan, to follow the directory through that variety of measures they took, from day to day, for the internal government of France, and the support of their own authority. We shall only state a few facts, which, however, will be sufficient to give some idea of the principles

and artifices that governed their general conduct.

By their influence in the assemblies, the most distinguished and zealous of their partizans were appointed secretaries to the different committees or commissions of the councils. These, in general, found means of bringing over a majority to agree to whatever was proposed. But, whenever they experienced any difficulty, or serious opposition, they applied for new messages from the directory, of a more peremptory and menacing nature, which never failed to reduce opposition to silence.

In order to avoid the odium attending the imposition of fair and necessary taxes, they had recourse to rapine, whenever they had any kind of pretext for its commission; in which rapine they were cordially supported, even by the council of five hundred, who bore some analogy to the British house of commons, and were the more immediate representatives of the people: \* though their schemes were sometimes vigorously opposed in the council of elders. Thus, when they found that a proposed tax on salt would not go down, and the deficit was but imperfectly supplied by a tax on doors and windows, they fell upon the possessions, moveable and immovable, of the protestant clergy of Alsace. It was remonstrated in vain that these were secured to the clergy by treaties between the former sovereigns of Alsace and France. The possessions of the protestant clergy, it was said, belonged originally to the catholics; that transactions between princes and people

\* The council of the ancients, or two hundred and fifty, too, emanated originally from the voice of the people, not as in other chief.



did not alter the nature and origin of things; that liberty and equality should prevail throughout the whole French republic; that the Lutherans, who had their ministers, superiors, consistories, and even canons, formed a state within a state, which was absurd; that the interests of individuals ought not to be put in competition with that of the public, &c. It was decreed as a law, that all donations and establishments, founded either by Lutherans or Calvinists, whether for the support of divine worship, religious orders, or even for hospitals, or other charitable purposes, were national property.

The discomfiture and defeats that every where attended the French armies, in the early part of 1799, united with a general contempt and detestation of the executive government, awakened the courage with the hopes of the jacobins, and threatened the moderate and peaceable part of the nation with a revival of the system of terror. While a general insurrection prevailed in the western departments, a coalition of parties was formed at Paris against the directory, whose power was overthrown by the election of a new third of the legislature, and, on the eighteenth of June, by the appointment of their successors. The rapacious Rewbel was stript of his power by the lot of secession. Trailhard, Merlin, and Lareveillere Lepaux, were threatened into resignation. Barras remained, and received for his new colleagues, Gohier, president of the court of revision, and, at a former period, minister of justice; Roger du Cos, an ex-legislator, of whom little was said or known; Moulins, a terrorist or jacobincial general; and the silent, speculative, and pertinacious abbé

Sieyes, at that time French ambassador at the court of Berlin. It scarcely falls within the province of general history, on the most diffusive plan, and certainly not within our design, to be more particular in an account of the political confusions and changes of an unsettled and capricious government, agitated by so many individual interests, passions, and vices. It is not worth while to mark the relative positions of particles of matter tost about in a whirlwind. Suffice it to say here, what has already been observed, that the new rulers, on their entrance into office, had recourse to the use and renown of arms. Still, however, while the voice of the jacobins was for war, contributions, and conscriptions, the cry of the best part of the nation was personal safety, the preservation of property, and peace. In this alternative, menacing on the one hand, a return of the royalists (which must take place, if the coalesced powers should not be resisted with vigour and effect) and the system of terror, with all the burthens of war, on the other, the French nation, with admiration and regret, called to their remembrance, the hero, who, without conscriptions of men, or contributions of money from France, led on the French to victory, and glory. In these circumstances, early in October, Buonaparte landed suddenly at Frejus, in Provence, like a spirit from another world. He as suddenly overthrew the revolutionary work of ten years, and assumed the sovereign power over a nation incapable of republican freedom, and the prey of contending factions, almost equally corrupt, under the name of chief consul.

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## CHRONICLE.

### JANUARY.

3d. **T**HE rivers and shores along the Essex coast were this week so covered with ice, that most of the corn and other vessels were frozen up. The wild fowl collected upon it in great abundance. Several accidents happened to persons shooting with long guns. The landlord of the Feathers-inn, at Tillingham, shattered his arm so that it was obliged to be immediately amputated; and lieutenant Seave, of the *Acute*, gun-boat, in Bradwell-river, had his face severely wounded. Both were occasioned by the bursting of their fowling-pieces.

4th. His grace John Henry, duke of Rutland, having attained the twenty-first year of his age on this day, it was celebrated with the greatest festivity, both at Belvoir-castle and Grantham. In the morning the bells of Grantham-church ushered in the day. Joseph Lawrence, esq. commander of the volunteer infantry, went, at ten o'clock, with his detachment, to Belvoir-castle, where they were reviewed by the duke of Rutland and the duke of Beaufort, and at one o'clock they fired a *feu de joie*. On this day every magnificence was exhibited at the castle, and every joy which mirth and enter-

tainment could give the rustic was found around its walls. The heir apparent to the throne, the nobility and gentry of the county, and the sons of the first and most distinguished families in the kingdom, to the number of about two hundred and eighty, honoured his grace with their presence on this occasion.

6th. Turnbull, a soldier, who stands charged with having stolen, from the mint in the Tower, two bags of 1000 guineas each, was apprehended, at Dover, by the master of a trading vessel, to whom he applied for the purpose of hiring his boat to carry him to Calais, and offered thirty guineas for his passage. Some doubts of the propriety of his application arising in the mind of the boatman, inducing him to scrutinize the countenance of his employer, he was struck with his resemblance to the person advertised; in consequence of that idea, he had him secured until he inspected the advertisement, which leaving no doubt as to his being the person, he was searched in a public-house, and on his person were found 1010 guineas of the year 1798; in the afternoon of the same day he was brought to town in the mail-coach, and lodged in safe custody.

Same day, at half past one o'clock, the mansion at Walworth, the property of the widow of the late sher-

riff Fenn, and inhabited by her daughter and son-in-law, sir John and lady Rose, unfortunately caught fire, and in less than two hours was burnt to the ground.—On investigation it appeared, that the old lady (Mrs. Fenn) was sitting by the fire, in her bed-room, on the first floor; a coal flew out of the fire and burnt the carpet; the old lady, as she thought, extinguished it, but in a few minutes after it blazed out; and in her attempt to put it out, her handkerchief caught fire, which so alarmed her as to put her in a senseless state. Sir John and lady Rose, who had been on a visit to Dover, arrived just in time to witness the destruction of their premises.

7th. An account was received in town, from Portsmouth, of the arrival there of the *Wolverene* gun-vessel, commanded by captain Mortlock. This vessel sailed from the Downs only on Thursday last on a cruise off the French coast, and on the following day she fell in with two large French luggers, one carrying 16 guns, and the other 14, and having on board 140 men each. A very warm action immediately commenced, which was sustained for near two hours, during which, the Frenchmen attempted to board the *Wolverene*. Captain Mortlock, with his own hands, lashed one of the French vessels to an iron stanchion of his own ship, which, however, unfortunately gave way, and the enemy got off, and being close in with their own shore, they both escaped. Captain Mortlock was badly wounded, and the master was likewise wounded, and eight men, and a seaman and marine were killed. The *Wolverene* mounts only 12 guns, and carries but 70 men, and the united force

of the enemy was 30 guns; and 280 men. She is the gun-vessel fitted out by commissioner Schank, with the inclosed plane in the gun-carriages.—Captain Mortlock is since dead of his wounds.

8th. The lease of Don Saltero's coffee-house, at Chelsea, was sold, with all the curiosities. This well-known coffee-house was first opened in the year 1695, by one Salter, a barber, who drew the attention of the public by the eccentricities of his conduct, and by furnishing his house with a large collection of natural and other curiosities, which till now remained in the coffee-room, where printed catalogues were sold, with the names of the principal benefactors to the collection. Sir Hans Sloane contributed largely out of the superfluities of his own museum. Vice-admiral Munden, and other officers who had been much upon the coasts of Spain, enriched it with many curiosities, and gave the owner the name of Don Saltero; see Tatler, No. 34, Nichols's edition, where Saltero is ridiculed for his credulity in appropriating his pincushion and hats to queen Elizabeth's chambermaids, &c. In the same light is to be considered a famous relic we have seen in the museum of the royal society at Crane-court, under the name of Pontius Pilate's wife's grandmother's hat, but better calculated to fit mother Shipton or her grandaunt. Such collections, however, aided by those of Tradescant, Ashmole, and Thoresby, cherished the infancy of science, and should be appreciated as the playthings of a boy after he is arrived at manhood.

9th. *Paris*. The whole range of edifices erected in the interior of the gardens

gardens of the Palais Royal, now called Egalité, were burnt to the ground last week. These buildings comprised the Opera de Buffon and the Lycée des Arts, a variety of shops, restorateurs, caffès, menagerie of wild beasts, &c. which were entirely consumed, as well as several handsome busts, statues, &c. which were brought from Italy. No one has been able to discover whether this fire was occasioned by accident or design; but, from the different reports, it is probable that it broke out in that part of the building which was occupied as a theatre, and where workmen had been employed, during the night, in making preparations for a performance which was to have taken place on the following day. The Palais Royal was situated in the centre of Paris, and erected by the duke of Orleans, in his own garden, a few years before the revolution.

11th. *Constantinople.* Sir Sidney Smith, minister-extraordinary from his Britannic majesty, arrived here on the 2d of this month, in the *Tiger*, of 84 guns. On the 5th he had a conference with the Reis Effendi, at which was present Mr. Spencer Smith, the English ambassador. Among the presents destined by his Britannic majesty for the grand seignior, and which sir Sidney is charged to present, is a perfect model of the Royal George and twelve brass field-pieces, three-pounders, with their caissons constructed in such a manner as to be portable by camels. Sir Sidney Smith has this day taken up his residence at the beautiful palace of Bules, in which the ambassadors of the Venetian republic formerly resided. He was accompanied by several military and naval officers,

some French émigrants, and a guard of marines; he was received by the Ottoman court with all the distinction due to a foreigner in a public character.

12th. *Dublin.* At a meeting of the corporation, and court of D'Oyer hundred, at Cork, resolutions, in favour of an union, have been unanimously agreed to; and an address to parliament, praying for an adoption of the measure, ordered to be prepared and presented.

This evening, between 9 and 10, the house of the parish-clerk of St. Andrew, Holborn, in Shoe-lane, was robbed of the communion-plate of the church, and 200*l.* in cash, belonging to the rector. The robbers entered the house by the garret-window, having, it is supposed, got over the bone-house in the church-yard. In their retreat, they dropped a silver cup and cover, which was found in the church-yard.

14th. The coming-mill belonging to the gunpowder-works of Messrs. Pigou and Co. at Dartford, this day blew up, by which unfortunate accident two men and a boy were killed. A few of their scattered remains were collected together and interred; but by far the greatest part were literally blown to atoms. One man had fortunately left the mill not more than a minute before the explosion took place; and what, though singular, is true, this is the third time he has thus miraculously escaped from similar accidents.

25th. An earthquake was felt this day in several parts of the department of Finisterre, and appears to have extended itself to a great number of other departments. At Nantes the shock was extremely  
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violent

violent, and was felt at ten minutes after four in the morning of the 25th of January. Several walls were thrown down, the river was much agitated, and many boats sunk. At Rennes the shock lasted only two minutes, and was not so violent. It happened there a few minutes before four A. M. At Ferté Bernard it was felt about the same time, and though it lasted little more than a second, it was extremely violent. The earthquake was also felt nearly at the same time at Caen and Rouen, but occasioned no damage in either place. It was, we believe, felt on the same day in Jersev.

DIED. 8th, at Halle, in Germany, John Reinhold Forster, L. L. D. in the university of Oxford, the celebrated navigator. He was a native of Prussia, and a clergyman; elected F. A. S. 1767, and, at the same time, F. R. S. In the "Archæologia," vol. II. are his "Observations on some Tartarian Antiquities found in Siberia;" In vol. III. "Observations on the Parthian Epoch, as found on a Coin in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna," published by Frœlich. Upon Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander declining the second voyage with captain Cook, 1772, on account of the want of some proper accommodation, the board of admiralty, at the short warning of ten days, engaged Dr. Forster and his son, George, who drew up an account of a voyage round the world, in his Britannic majesty's sloop, Resolution, commanded by captain Cook, during the years 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, published in two volumes, quarto, 1777; translated into German, Berlin, 1778, 2 volumes, quarto. Mr. Forster having here said that Mr. Arnold's watch was unfortunately

stopt, Mr. Wales, the astronomer of the voyage, to whose custody it was committed, felt himself charged with having wilfully stopt it; and Mr. Forster not immediately issuing out, by way of *erratum*, a declaration that the word *was* slipped in by mistake, Mr. Wales published, 1778, some warm "Remarks" on the voyage, which were answered, with no less warmth, in a "Reply to those Remarks," the same year, by Mr. Forster, jun. who, the same year, addressed "A Letter to the Earl of Sandwich," to prove that he and his father were not rewarded sufficiently, nor agreeably to contract, for accompanying captain Cook in this voyage; which serves but to confirm our general observation, that foreigners, however glad to court, even to servility, the patronage of England, rarely make those returns which the liberality and candour of Englishmen demand. If we wanted any other specimens of foreign discontent with us, we may read the junior Mr. Forster's philosophical and picturesque tour through England and France, 1787. Dr. Forster published "Novæ Species Insectorum, 1771," 8vo. "An easy Method of allaying and dissolving Mineral Substances; containing plain and easy Instructions for any Person to examine the Products of his own Lands, or such as are obvious in Excursions or Travels in foreign Countries, without having a complete chymical Apparatus. To which is added a Series of Experiments on the *Fluor Spatiosus*, or Sparry Fluor; abstracted from the Memoirs of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, for the Year 1771," 8vo. 1772. "A Catalogue of the Animals of North America, 1771," 8vo. "Account of Quadrupeds

## C H R O N I C L E.

8

drupeds and Birds from Hudson's Bay," Phil. Trans. LXII. "Account of Fishes sent from Hudson's Bay," ib. LXIII. "Specimen of the Natural History of the Volga," LVII. "Account of a new Map of the Volga," LVIII. "Management of Carp in Polish Prussia," LXI. "Account of Roots used by the Indians near Hudson's Bay to dye Porcupines Quills," LXII, "Flora Americæ Septentrionalis; or, A Catalogue of the Plants of North America, 1771," 8vo printed with his translation of Boffu's "Travels through North America, illustrated with Notes, relative, chiefly, to Natural History, 1771," 8vo. 2 vol. Also, in 1771, a translation of Bougainville's "Voyage round the World," with additional observations, and the chart improved. Translation of Osbeck's "Voyage to China and the East Indies, 1771," 8vo. 2 vol.; of Kalm's "Voyage to North America, Vol. I. Warrington, 1770, 1772, 1773, London, 1771." Translation of Baron Reidesfel's "Travel's into Sicily, and that Part of Italy formerly called Magna Græcia, and a Tour through Egypt, 1773," 8vo. dedicated to Thomas Falconer, of Chester, esq. Mr. Pennant's brother-in-law. "Characteres Generum Plantarum, quas in itinere ad Insulas Maris Australis collegerunt, 1776," 4to, the first specimen of of the natural productions of those remote countries in the South Seas which Dr. Forster and his son were sent out with captain Cook, at the national expense, to collect and describe. It contains seventy-five new genera of plants. "Liber singularis de Byssu antiquorum, quo ex Egyptia Lingua res vestiarum antiquorum imprimis in S. codice

Hebræorum occursus explicatur. Additæ ad calcem mantissæ Egyptiacæ v. on Zaphanath Paaneah, Abrech, Ark, Cherub. the Topaz. 1776," 8vo. "Observations made during a Voyage round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy, 1778," 4to. translated into French, as a 5th volume to Cook's Voyages, Paris, 1778, 4to. In 1780, Dr. Forster published a translation, from the German, of "Chymical Observations and Experiments on Air and Fire, by Charles-William Scheele, Member of the Royal Academy at Stockholm; with a prefatory Introduction, by Torbern Bergman: to which are added, Notes by Richard Kirwan, Esq. and a Letter to him from Dr. Priestley," 8vo. He published at Halle, 1781, in Latin and German, "Illustrations of Natural History," with fifteen plates, in small folio, engraved at the joint expense of sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Loten, a Dutch East India governor, and Mr. Pennant; with the addition of a dissertation on the climate, winds, and soil, of India, and another on the bird of paradise and the phoenix (Pennant's Literary Life, p. 10). In 1786 he published, in German, translated into English, the same year, "A History of the Discoveries and Voyages made in the North, illustrated with new and original Maps," 4to. an useful compilation, without much original matter.

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### FEBRUARY.

1st. Yesterday morning a small cutter called the Bee, John Naton, master, bound from London to the West Indies, went on shore on the  
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sands near Poole, in a heavy gale of wind at East. There was a tremendous sea running, and a very heavy snow falling, which rendered it extremely difficult, as well as hazardous, to afford any assistance to the crew. The boats from his majesty's gun-vessel the *Tickler*, and several other boats, attempted it without success, and the poor fellows, after cutting away the masts, and doing all they could to relieve the vessel, were left, without hope, to the horrid expectation that every coming sea would overwhelm them, or to the still more dreadful one, that they must shortly perish by the inclemency of the weather. They remained in this shocking situation till the middle of the day, when Charles Sturt, esq. of Brownsea-castle, happily succeeded in rescuing them from the very jaws of death, and brought them to his hospitable mansion, where every refreshment and comfort was administered to them, which their exhausted state required. Mr. Sturt, on this occasion, merits the warmest thanks of every friend of humanity; regardless of his personal safety, which was endangered in an imminent degree, to his active exertions and perseverance alone are these poor people indebted for their lives. The sea was tremendous beyond description, and the shoals on which the vessel lay extremely dangerous to approach. Mr. Sturt's boat was several times filled by the seas, and himself and people once or twice absolutely thrown out of her into the breakers.

2d. *Dublin*. Last night a melancholy accident occurred, during a dreadful storm, in this bay. Three Scottish outward-bound West India-men were wrecked on the bar, and

every soul of their respective crews and passengers, to the number of 60, unhappily perished.

9th. The mail-guards, who arrived in town, declare they never experienced so severe a night as that of February 8. The storm of hail was so driven against their faces, as to benumb and swell them. A gentleman, who should have arrived by the Chester mail, relates, that from Northampton, which he left on Friday night, he got on tolerably well, notwithstanding the violence of the driving snow, to Broughton-field, whence the guard, for two miles, explored a passage for the horses, which could with difficulty be made to face the storm. At length, arriving at Hockliff, he found, among other coaches, the Manchester mail; and was told, by persons who had returned with the heavy Coventry and Chester coaches, that they and their passengers were stuck fast in the snow on Chalk-hill. The dawn having, by this time, broken, he, with one of the superintendants of the Post-office and the guard, set off on horses to Dunstable; and, taking a chaise with six horses from thence, they arrived with the mail at the General Post-office at half past twelve, on Sunday. The mail-coach from Shrewsbury, on Saturday morning, stuck in the snow in Tilworth-field, whence the guard carried the mail some way, and then obtained a chaise, in which being unable to get forward, he proceeded with the mails on horseback to London: nor was the Worcester mail-coach more fortunate. The passages which had been cut through the former snow, upon that and other roads, having been filled by the heavy drifts of Friday night, the guard was obliged

to leave the coach blocked up at Nettlebed, from whence he proceeded, occasionally walking and riding, to London, where he arrived in tolerable time. The second fall of snow so completely blocked up the Newmarket-road, that three passengers, coming to town by the Norwich-mail, could not proceed any farther than Bourn-bridge. One of the superintendants of the Post-office proceeded with the guard, on two of the horses, and, by great exertion and risk, arrived with the mails, in London, though too late for Saturday's delivery.

12th. *Plymouth.* Yesterday was experienced the most severe hurricane ever remembered here, at N.W. and W.N.W. At four P.M. the Naiad frigate broke from her moorings, and got ashore on the wet mud; but, the tide flowing, she was floated off without damage. The Bon Ordre, privateer, in Cat-water broke adrift, and got ashore on the Cat-down side, where she now lies; the New Church partly unroofed, several stacks of chimneys blown down, the slates and roofs blown to a great distance. At six P.M. a large stack of chimneys at Ladywell-school, at the east end of the town, broke in upon the roof of the house, forced through into the children's bed-room, carried away the beams, flooring, and beds, accompanied by near ten tons, down into the first floor, where near thirty children were working. By the beams resting for a few moments, the mistress and twenty-seven of the children escaped; but the cries of three children were heard under the ruins, and Mr. Rentfree, the master, with great exertions, dug them out, almost suffocated, and much bruised. By the interference of Provi-

dence, every person was miraculously saved from apparent and inevitable destruction.

At night, a man walking home mistook his road, near Catdown-road, (the hedge having fallen in,) walked over a precipice 200 feet high, and was dashed to pieces.

An awful phenomenon occurred in the Isle of Wight: a large tract of land, containing 130 acres, with a dwelling-house and other edifices upon it, occupied by farmer Hervey, was suddenly separated from the adjoining ground, and propelled forwards towards the sea; leaving in the place which it before occupied a stupendous gulph or chasm that instantly filled with water. The estate in question was situated on the southern coast of the island, a wild romantic tract of country, which wears every appearance of having heretofore experienced many similar lapses or land-slips.

Much injury was sustained on the river by the tremendous storm of last night. Several vessels, particularly such whose cables had been hurt by the floating ice, were driven from their moorings, and, by getting foul of each other, they received considerable injury in their rigging, as well as in several other respects. Among the small craft there is great havoc, both below and above bridge, great numbers of them being dashed to pieces, sunk, or driven away. By the overflow of the river, at Weybridge, considerable tracts of the adjacent meadows and corn-lands are laid under water.

Mr. Johnson and Mr. Jordan, the booksellers, convicted of a libel, in publishing the Rev. Gilbert Wakefield's "Address to the Bishop of Llandaff," were brought up to receive



ceive judgement. The former was ordered to be confined six months, in the King's-Bench prison, and pay a fine of 50*l.* the latter to be imprisoned one year, in the house of correction, in Cold-Bath-fields.

18th. *Bath.* The rapid thaw, accompanied, on Sunday, by a heavy rain, produced the greatest flood on our river that has been experienced since 1774; Monday night, when at the highest, it was more than ten feet above its usual level. A most distressing scene presented itself in Horse-street, Avon-street, and on the quay; the kitchens, cellars, &c. in those places, were nearly full to the ceilings; and in the lowest part of Horse-street the inhabitants were driven for shelter to the upper stories. The road to Bristol was scarcely passable, the water being in many places as high as the bellies of the horses. Accounts from the country state, that similar inundations have almost generally taken place, and much damage has been sustained by hay-ricks, timber, &c. having been carried away.

21st. In the court of King's Bench, this day, Mr. Cuthell, the original publisher of Mr. Wakefield's address was tried before a special jury; and, after calling several respectable persons to his character, who all concurred in stating "that he dealt in old historical, philosophical, and other learned books, and not at all in political or other pamphlets, and that he was a man of excellent moral character," was found guilty.

Mr. Wakefield was also tried, as the author of the work; which, having been proved in evidence, he defended himself, and read a written speech upwards of two hours long, full of invectives against his majes-

ty's ministers, and particularly against the attorney-general, who did not condescend to make any reply to it. The single question, which the attorney-general put to the jury, was, whether Mr. G. Wakefield was to be governed by one law, and all his majesty's subjects by another law? Lord Kenyon treated Mr. W. with great tenderness and humanity; and the jury found the defendant guilty. Bail was immediately given for his appearance to receive judgement, himself in a 1000*l.* and Mr. J. T. Rutt, merchant, in Thames-street, and Mr. Samuel Lewin, in 500*l.* each.

25th. James Turnbull was tried upon the capital charge of putting Thomas Finch in fear, and stealing from his majesty's mint the sum of 2380 guineas. By the evidence of T. Finch, it appeared that, on the 20th of December, Turnbull and Dalton, and two of the Tower Hamlets militia, were employed to work at a press used in the mint; at nine o'clock Finch told them to go to breakfast; they all went out, leaving him and a Mr. Chambers in the room; in about a minute Turnbull and Dalton returned, and the latter stopped at the door, while the former presented a pistol, forced the keys of a chest from Mr. F. and then locked him in an inner room; he afterwards stole 2380 guineas, and then escaped.

Turnbull, in his defence, went into all the particulars, which he said, though it would injure himself, was due to the innocent: He said, being all ordered to go out, on the morning of the robbery, he went out last, and found Dalton waiting for him at the door, to whom, without giving the smallest intimation of his

his intention, he said, "You come in." Dalton asked for what? To which he replied, "Never mind, but come in." That when he presented the pistol to Mr. Finch, Dalton called out to him two or three times, "What are you about?" and then went from the door and gave the alarm, which he certainly would not have done had he been concerned.

The jury pronounced him guilty: but his counsel was allowed to make any legal objections to the indictment, which is to be decided by the twelve judges.

William Bryce and Peter Pollard were both found guilty of assisting his escape: this Turnbull also denied.

28th. This day were executed John Haines, for shooting at Henry Edwards, a police officer, and James Blakeley, alias Patrick Blake, for forging a seaman's will. Haines has been hung in chains on Hounslow-heath, between the two roads; the gibbet strongly plated with iron. It is said, that near 300 journey-men carriers attended the scaffold to rescue Haines (who was a carrier), but that they were prevented making the attempt by the vigilance of the sheriff's officers.

DIED At Paris, Thomas Muir, the celebrated Scottish advocate, transported to Botany-bay, for sedition, but who escaped thence. A wound he received on board the Spanish frigate in which he returned to Europe, it is said, never was cured, and to that his death is ascribed.

2d. In his 82d year, Mr. Thomas Payne, for more than 40 years a bookseller of the first reputation at the Mews-gate. He was a native

of Brackley, in Northamptonshire; and began his career in Round-court, in the Strand, opposite York-buildings, where, after being some years an assistant to his elder brother, Olive Payne (with whom the idea and practice of printing catalogues is said to have originated), he commenced bookseller on his own account, and issued "A Catalogue of curious Books in Divinity, History, Classics, Medicine, Voyages, Natural History, &c. Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, in excellent Condition, and mostly gilt and lettered," dated Feb. 29, 1740, being almost the first of the catalogues, except Daniel Brown, at the Black Swan, without Temple-bar, and the short-lived Mears and Noorthouck. From this situation he removed to the Mews-gate, in 1740, when he married Elizabeth Taylor, and succeeded her brother in the shop and house, which he built, whence he issued an almost annual succession of catalogues, beginning 1755, and, in the years 1760 and 1761, two catalogues during the year. This he continued to do till 1790, when he resigned the business to his eldest son, who had for more than 20 years been his partner, and who opened a new literary channel, by a correspondence with Paris, from whence he brought, in 1793, the library of the celebrated chancellor, Lamoignon. The little shop, in the shape of an L, was the first that obtained the name of a literary coffee-house, in London, from the knot of literati that resorted to it; and, since the display of new books on the counter has been adopted from the Oxford and Cambridge booksellers, other London shops have their followers.

MARCH.

## MARCH.

5th. The court of directors of the East-India company has consented to the wishes of government, and given up the point of recruiting for its own service. This puts a period to a very long controversy. Chatham-barracks is to be the depot for East-India recruits, who are, in future, to be engaged for a period of ten years, leaving it to their option to enlist, after the expiration thereof, for a farther term of five years. The company are to defray the expense of their passage home, after their discharge in India.

13th. A meeting of the trustees of the British-museum having been held, to take into consideration a plan lately presented to them by Mr. Defensans, which had for its object to convert Montague-house into galleries of pictures and statues; they have resolved that no alteration shall take place in Montague-house.

A fire broke out, on the 13th of March, in the suburbs of Pera, at Constantinople, and, notwithstanding every exertion to suppress it, nearly two-thirds of that quarter were burnt down. Among the buildings destroyed are the houses of the English ambassador, the Austrian internuncio, and of several other persons of distinction; the hotels of Spain and of Poland, the Roman catholic church, and the stone magazine, which contained all the riches of Pera, as it was thought a place of perfect safety. The damage is estimated at twenty millions of florins.

16th. By the sinking of the pavement nearly opposite the front gate

of the Royal Exchange, a very large deep well, of great antiquity, has been discovered. The water is of excellent quality, and the ward of Cornhill propose erecting a pump near the spot. Upon examining Stow's History of London, it appears to have been covered over more than six hundred years; for he notices, as standing there, a conduit and a watch-house, together with a place of confinement for disorderly persons, at the top of which was placed the pillory for their punishment; all which, he says, were removed in the year 1380. What is remarkable, the top of the well was not secured by either arch or brick-work, but only covered with planks.

21st. The house of Mr. Bowering, school-master, near Taunton, was burnt to the ground. The premises were insured, and happily no lives were lost. The fire was occasioned by a maid-servant throwing some ashes in the yard, which communicated to some out-houses, and destroyed the whole building. Providentially it was in the day-time, or the consequences must have been dreadful; the whole being destroyed in a short time, and not a change of clothes left for the scholars.

22d. *Plymouth.* A melancholy accident happened yesterday evening at the gun-wharf in the dock-yard at this place. Mr. Brace, with his son, about 12 years old, G. Newman, R. Herden, and G. Searles, were employed in removing a quantity of bomb-shells, landed from the different French prizes lately brought in here, and purchased by Mr. Brace at public sale, when, by some accident, one of the shells took fire, which communicated

ted itself to several others, filled also with combustible matter, and caused such a dreadful explosion, before any of the above persons could get out of the reach of its destructive influence, that Mr. Brace and his son were killed on the spot, G. Newman had his right thigh blown off, and the other two were dangerously wounded. Many others had left the spot only a few minutes, by which providential circumstance their lives were saved. The explosion was distinctly heard at Catdown, three miles and a half distant from the spot. A young midshipman was also brought to the Royal Hospital from the *Castor*, dreadfully mangled in his face and hands, having been blown up by letting off some loose powder from a priming powder-horn.

A vein of silver, tolerably rich, has been discovered in Hurland-mine, commonly called the Old Manor-mine, in Gwinear-parish, in the county of Cornwall, on which the miners are at present at work.

27th. A subscription was this day set on foot at Lloyd's for the purpose of purchasing a piece of plate, value 500*l.* to be sent as a present to the gallant commodore Truxton, of the American frigate, *Constellation*, who has captured the French frigate, *L'Insurgente*, captain Buroe, of 44 guns, and 411 men, after an hour's well-fought action. The *Constellation* had 1 man killed and 3 wounded; *L'Insurgente*, 29 killed and died of their wounds and 29 wounded.

28th. A poor woman was killed at Burnley, owing to the wind blowing her petticoats into the machinery of a cotton-mill, by which she was literally torn to pieces. She has left five infant children.

30th. *Newcastle*. His grace the duke of Northumberland has given twenty guineas (exclusive of his annual contribution) to be distributed to the crew of the Northumberland life-boat, at North Shields, as a testimony of his approbation of their conduct, in going off, at imminent peril, through a vast quantity of floating ice and a very high sea, and thereby safely bringing to shore a number of shipwrecked seamen, as there were, at that time, four ships upon the Herd-sand.

DIED. Found dead in his bed, at the Carpenter's Arms, a public-house, in the parish of Wick, Gloucestershire, about six miles from Bath, James White, esq. a gentleman well known in the literary world. He was educated at the university of Dublin, and was esteemed an admirable scholar, and possessed of brilliant parts. His conduct, for four or five years past, has been marked by great wildness and eccentricity. He is said to have conceived an ardent affection for a young lady, who, he supposed, was as warmly attached to him; but, (as he imagined) some plot had been contrived to wean her regard, and to frustrate all his future prospects in life. He attributed the failure of his application for patronage and employment from the great to the machinations of those plotters and contrivers, and even supposed their influence upon the London bookfellers prevented his literary talents being more amply rewarded. The winters of 1797 and 1798 he passed in the neighbourhood of Bath, and many persons noticed in the pump-room, the streets, or vicinity of the city, a thin, pale, emaciated man, (between 30 and 40) with

a wild, yet penetrating look, dressed in a light coat of Bath-coating. His means of subsistence were very scanty, and he obliged the cravings of nature to keep within their limits: he has been known to debar himself of animal food for months, and to have given life a bare subsistence by a biscuit, a piece of bread, or a cold potatoe, and a glass of water. Unable to pay his lodgings, and too proud to ask relief, he would many nights wander about the fields, or seek repose beneath a hay-stack; almost exhausted, he once took refuge in an inn at Bath, where his extraordinary conduct, and his refusing every sustenance, alarmed the mistress, and impelled her to apply to the magistrates: they humanely ordered him to be put under the care of the parish-officers. Instead of appreciating these precautionary means, as he ought to have done, he, in letters to some persons in Bath, complained of "the undue interference of magisterial authority and this unconstitutional infringement of the liberty of the subject!" When his mind was more composed, and his health partly recovered, he behaved with more moderation, and, though apparently sensible of the good intended him, he strongly suspected that his imaginary host of enemies had again been plotting. It was about this time that he published his "Letters to Lord Camden on the State of Ireland;" the elegance and strength of his language, the shrewdness of his remarks and the perspicuity of his arguments were generally admired. A small subscription was privately raised for his relief; and, though given to him with the utmost delicacy, he could scarcely be prevailed upon to take it but as a loan. He

then left Bath, nor had the writer of this account heard of him till he learned that the coroner's inquest had been called to determine on his premature death. This unhappy gentleman had respectable relatives residing in Bath; but who possessed no influence over his passions, nor means of controuling his conduct. The following is as accurate a list of his works, as we have been able to obtain: 1st, "The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Caius Cornelius Verres, translated, with annotations," 4to. 1787. 2d, "Conway-Castle; Verses to the Memory of the late Earl of Chatham; and The Moon, a simile," 4to. 1789. 3d, "Earl Strongbow; or, The History of Richard de Clare and the beautiful Gerald," 2 vol. 12mo. 1789. 4th, "The Adventures of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster," 3 vol. 12mo. 1790. 5th, "The Adventures of King Richard Cœur de Lion;" to which is added, "The Death of Lord Falkland," a poem, 3 vol. 12mo. 1791. 6th, "The History of the Revolution of France; translated from the French of M. Rabaut de Saint Etienne," 8vo. 1792. 7th, "Speeches of M. De Mirabeau, the Elder, pronounced in the National Assembly of France; to which is prefixed, A Sketch of his Life and Character, translated from the French," 2 vol. 8vo. 1792. 8th, "The Letters to Lord Camden," already mentioned.

In her 102d year, Marguerite Corbie. She retained her senses till within a few days of her death, but had been bed-ridden nearly two years. She was a native of Lisle, and was resident in that city when taken by the duke of Marlborough, in 1709, being then in her

her 12th year. Her singular attachment and unshaken fidelity to a very distressed English woman, who died on the continent sixteen years since, recommended her to the protection of an English family quitting the continent; by whom her remains were interred in Abergavenny cemetery, in the evening of the 14th instant.

## APRIL.

1st. The king's house at Weymouth has been materially damaged by the late tempestuous weather; in one of the storms, a few days since, it was struck by lightning, which split one of the main beams, and damaged the principal walls of the building; the railing about the house was entirely demolished, and other parts of the premises materially injured. A sloop lying in the bay had its main-mast shivered by the lightning.

4th. This night, about eleven, a fire broke out at a carpenter's shop, between Field-lane and Union-court, which burnt furiously for upwards of an hour and a half. Several engines were distributed in Field-lane and Holborn-hill, but the distance was so great that they could afford but little assistance; and the awkward situation of the place where the fire was would not admit of their coming nearer, in consequence, about six houses were set fire to, and most of them consumed.

Some hundreds of birds of passage, Royston-crows, lapwings, grey plovers, woodcocks, &c. were cast on shore on the Holderness coast. They seemed to have been starved in crossing the sea, as the bills of many of them were placed under their wings.

6th. Such was the severity of the storm this day, that a number of crows dropped, in their flight, dead upon the earth, and others were taken up alive in the neighbourhood of Skipton-Craven.

In consequence of a heavy fall of snow, on Thursday, many of the mail-coaches did not reach town this morning till several hours after the accustomed time; and the Manchester-coach had not arrived at a late hour on Saturday evening. So deep was the snow in the neighbourhood of Congleton, that the Liverpool-coach was entirely buried in it, and the mail forwarded on horse-back. Near Stone, like impediments presented themselves, and the communication between Holyhead and Chester has been wholly suspended. Add to these, so thick was the fog and fleet last night, for twenty or thirty miles round the metropolis, that the coachmen and guards were obliged to alight and lead their horses.

8th. The passengers who arrived at the general post-office by the Edinburgh-mail this morning say, the snow began falling about seven on Friday morning at Newcastle, and continued till six at night. No carriage could proceed farther than Northallerton; they attempted with a chaise and six, but in vain, and then, with the guard, took saddle-horses at Easingould, and chaise to York. They say they never saw snow fall so fast, and that it was six feet deep. The mail had not arrived at Newcastle from the North when they set out, though many hours beyond its time. The snow was so deep between Nottingham and Leeds that no coach could travel on Friday night: the mail was sent by horse. The Liverpool

verpool stage-coaches and mails were dug out of the snow at Talk-on-the-Hill. The Whitby and Scarborough coaches were set fast on the Woulds. The snow was about six feet deep about a mile from Garstang. The Manchester and Liverpool stages and mail-coaches, on their way to Carlisle, were set, and left till the next day, the passengers walking to the inn. Between Leek and Macclesfield, on the Cheshire hills, the Manchester-stages that ought to have arrived on Friday night and Saturday morning were stuck fast, and did not reach London until Sunday.

9th. Last week, the cabin of a boat at the canal-basin at Chesterfield was discovered in flames, and two young men were taken there-out burnt to death, in a manner too shocking to relate. It is supposed, from the severity of the weather, they had made too large a fire in the cabin, which set the boat on fire, and caused them to be suffocated.

Early this morning, a fire broke out in a factory, at the upper end of Salford, which spread with such rapidity, that it was entirely destroyed, together with five small houses adjoining, notwithstanding every possible assistance was rendered. The loss is about 2,500*l*.

10th. Last night, a factory, belonging to Mr. John Kay, at Mollinex, in the parish of Prestwich, was entirely destroyed by fire: no part of the property was insured.

11th. The recent severity of the weather has been particularly felt by the inhabitants of Norwich, in consequence of the general scarcity of coals. Nor is the evil confined to that city, but extends to the country around; and at Yarmouth their stores, both public and pri-

vate, are so exhausted, that two guineas were given for half a chaldron, which were, with great difficulty, procured even at that price.

12th. A few days ago, two women in De-la-port-court, Hull, were suddenly taken ill after drinking tea in the afternoon. As their illness seemed to be the effect of poison, the kettle was examined, and in the water were found spiders and other insects, which, it is supposed, had remained there so long as to make it putrid, and to occasion the death of both mother and daughter. The former died shortly after, and the latter on Tuesday last.

16th. The following orders were yesterday issued on the parade, in St. James's park:

*Monday, April 15.*

In consequence of communications from the adjutant-general, field-marshal his royal highness the duke of Gloucester orders the following letter to be inserted in the brigade-orders:

*Horse-Guards, April 8, 1799.*

Sir,

I have received the commander-in-chief's directions to transmit to you the king's pleasure, in regard to the 5th, or royal Irish regiment of dragoons, which it is his royal highness, the commander-in-chief's desire that you shall, without delay, carry into execution.

His majesty has taken into his most serious consideration the representation which has been made by his excellency the lord-lieutenant of Ireland of the conduct of this regiment, and is of opinion, that the insubordination and departure from the discipline and principles which have ever distinguished the British army, therein exhibited, required,

required, especially in these times of warfare and exertion, that they should be marked by a punishment which may be severely felt and be long remembered by those misguided persons who have been guilty of the atrocious acts of disobedience, which have brought this indelible stigma on the corps, and may serve as an example to all others, as well of the consequences of such seditious and outrageous proceedings, as of his majesty's firm determination to maintain subordination and discipline in his army, and to support the authority of his officers in the execution of their duty.

It is on these grounds his majesty's royal determination, that the 5th, or royal Irish regiment of dragoons, shall be forthwith disbanded; which you will please to communicate to the corps, and carry it into immediate effect. At the same time that the king judges it requisite, for the good of the service, to make these severe examples, his majesty has graciously condescended to direct that general lord Rosmore shall be assured, that his majesty is persuaded of the concern which, as a soldier, his lordship would feel at such a circumstance occurring in any part of the army; and is sensible of the particular mortification he must experience in the present instance; from the event of which, however, his lordship cannot, in the smallest degree, suffer in his majesty's estimation. His majesty has been pleased farther to direct, that you do express his persuasion, that there are many valuable officers in his regiment who have used their best endeavours to restore the order and preserve the credit of the corps; and though in this measure of indispensable severity it was impossi-

ble to make any exceptions, the majority being clearly implicated in the misconduct in which the whole are suffering, yet his majesty will hereafter make the most pointed discrimination, and those of any rank who are deserving of the royal favour may rely on his majesty's disposition to reward their merit, and to avail himself of their future services.

In consideration of the expense to which the officers of the 5th, or royal Irish regiment, have been unavoidably exposed, his majesty has been graciously pleased to direct that their full pay shall be continued to them to the 24th of December next, at which period they will be placed on half-pay.

I have the honour to be,

(Signed) Henry Calvert,  
Adjutant-general.

*20th. Thellusson v. Woodford, and Woodford v. Thellusson.* These causes were instituted in the court of chancery for the purpose of taking its opinion upon the will of the late Mr. Thellusson. The one bill being filed to pray that the will might be declared void, as containing devises contrary to law; the other, to pray that the purposes of the will might be carried into effect.

The case having been opened long ago before the lord chancellor, his lordship desired the assistance of the judges; accordingly, the master of the rolls, Mr. justice Buller, and Mr. justice Lawrence, attended with the lord chancellor, before whom the case was argued, and this day the court delivered judgement.

Mr. justice Lawrence commenced with opening the two bills; he then read the clause in the will upon which the question turned. He then took a view of the whole case,



case, as did also Mr. justice Buller and the master of the rolls. The objections taken by the counsel against the will came under three distinct heads, of which the following is the substance, and must be disposed of by resolving the following questions:

First, Whether, according to the true construction of this will, the testator has clearly exceeded the utmost bounds within which executory devises, even in their utmost latitude, have been confined by the rules of law, or has transgressed these rules which are established?

Secondly, Whether the testator's meaning be so doubtful as to render it impossible to find it out?

Thirdly, Whether such accumulation as may possibly take place under this will may not be such as to become dangerous to the state, and, therefore, ought not to be suffered? [It may, in one possible event, amount to eighteen millions, in the hands of one individual.]

Upon the two first of these heads, the learned judges, Buller and Lawrence, and the master of the rolls, were most clearly of opinion, that the testator had not exceeded the bounds of executory devise, and that the meaning was not doubtful; and that therefore the will ought to be established.

Upon the last head there are some cases; but if that be matter of complaint, neither a court of law or equity has any authority over it, and the remedy, if any be necessary, must be provided by the legislature, it being a question of mere state policy.

The lord-chancellor.—I am extremely obliged to his honour, and the learned judges, not only for the very able assistance they

have given to me in forming my own opinion on this case, which entirely concurs with theirs in the result, and almost in the whole of the argument, but also because they have been so good as to relieve me from the duty of entering into the particulars of the several points of the case, in the statement of the argument, and in the statement of the ground on which the plaintiff's counsel have failed to produce their intended effect upon my mind. I could not go over the case without a necessity of repeating an argument, a great part of which has been much better stated already, because, although we may vary a little in the expressions, yet, the same arguments must occur to those persons who have studied the same points, and taken the same course of inquiry on the case.

I am not surprized that this cause has been brought forward, and has called forth such great exertion of learning and ingenuity. The great amount of property, and the testator's not having sufficient reason for such a disposition, is a full motive for the plaintiffs to seek to reject the testator's will, and for endeavouring to establish that natural right to this property, which would have been in force, if no disposition had prevented it; and I have no difficulty in saying, that the disposition of the testator is so harsh, so unkind, and illiberal, that I reckon it no breach of duty in the family to endeavour to set it aside.

The great amount of the property is an object which can, in no possible case, enter into the principle of the court in giving judgement:—the same rule of law that governs property to the amount of one hundred pounds governs one million.

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The piety or the prudence of this testator can afford no fair or just ground for the controul of the court, though they leave with me a very fair bias on the mind, and there are before us many considerations that affect the feelings, and that might blind the understanding—but the court must not be affected by considerations of that sort—it is the duty of all courts, in the construction of wills, to give effect to wills as far as the intention of the testator can be found out. It is not permitted to me to be ignorant of the intention of the testator, if the will has no meaning, much less to controul the intention of the testator upon my own ideas of it, on the liberality or political tendency of the disposition.

The argument on the accumulation, used as a ground against the bequest, I apprehend to be (unless in the case of lady Dennison's will) entirely new. I take it, the court has never considered it as essential to the validity of a devise, that the rents and profits should attend the estate until the time the absolute property vests.

In the extent to which this executory devise goes for the lives, though not correctly so either, no valid objection can be raised; for, at the expiration of these lives, there is an estate given to avoid perpetuity. And although this executory devise goes farther than others, yet it is on the same principle as those cases upon which opinions have been given, and cases decided, and that is sufficient.—It is not for me to make new rules of law. I cannot see where I am to draw the line, and fix precisely how many lives shall be included in a limitation, or what is to be the extent of an

VOL. XLI.

executory devise, or on what calculation of chances an executory devise shall continue. I must hold myself bound by the rules and established matter of positive law, as already decided on considered cases of executory devises.

Here his lordship took a view of several decided cases upon this point; that of Long and Blackall, and a case that he had sent to the court of King's Bench, not, he said, on account of any doubt in his own mind, for he had antecedently formed the same opinion as that court delivered upon that case, but because there had been some doubt, whether there was not a difference between the courts of King's Bench and the Common Pleas upon that point.—His lordship then quoted the case of Law and Reeves; and also several others—and likewise the opinion of lord Somers in the house of lords. He observed, that all the cases from 1600 to our own time, proved that the judges had been clearly of opinion, such as had been delivered by the learned judges to day. The last case his lordship quoted, was the case of Doe on the demise of Brown and Clerk, confirming the doctrine that children in the womb were, for all beneficial purposes, the same as if born at a testator's death.

With respect to the only other legal point in this case, "whether the description of the person ultimately to take" is sufficiently certain, the point does not now arise; but if I was called upon to give a decided opinion, I should say it is sufficiently certain, and that for the reason which was so very ably stated by Mr. justice Buller. I have no doubt who is the person meant by "heirs male of the testator;" but if

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there were a doubt upon that point it is impossible for me to say that this will should not now take effect, because events may happen that will put it out of all possible doubt to whom that description will apply at the time the devise shall take effect.

I should do myself no credit, nor give the bar any information, were I to proceed farther—I therefore now return thanks to his honour and the learned judges for what they have done in giving me assistance.

The will was then established, and a future day appointed for giving directions for carrying its purposes into effect.

25th Came on, in the court of King's Bench, at Westminster, a trial at bar on an information filed by the attorney-general against Sackville, earl of Thanet, Denis O'Bryen, Robert Fergusson, Thomas Thompson, and Thomas Gunter Brown, for a riot and assault at Maidstone, at the conclusion of the trials of O'Connor and others for high-treason, which continued until a quarter after ten o'clock, when the jury retired, and returned at half past eleven, and pronounced a verdict of guilty against lord Thanet and Mr. Fergusson. The others were acquitted.

26th This morning, between 6 and 7 o'clock, a genteelly dressed young woman sprung from the walls of London bridge, and before any one could come near her, threw herself into the Thames. A boat immediately put off, and, as she was floating, brought her on shore; she was soon recovered, having been but a few minutes in the water.

DIED. At Arley near Shefford, in the county of Bedford, aged 108,

Abne Day, a gypsy, who died under a hedge near Henlow, an adjoining parish; only two of her own party attended her funeral with a great concourse of other people. She has left a son aged 82 and a daughter 89, and several great grand children. She used to be carried round the country on an ass with 2 or 3 females of her own complexion; she had grown almost double, had not slept in a bed for 70 years, and for the last 40 had not a tooth in her head, nor the sight of more than one eye; had lost 3 toes 12 years ago, and the use of one arm by the frost.

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#### MAY.

3d Lord Thanet and Mr. Fergusson were brought before the court of King's Bench, to receive the judgement of the court, for the part they took in the riot at Maidstone, to facilitate the escape of Mr. O'Connor, when they were committed to the King's Bench prison, and ordered to be brought up the first day of next term. The duke of Bedford and lord Derby attended to give bail, which the attorney-general refused to accept.

Same day, Mr. B. Flower, the printer of the Cambridge Intelligencer, was brought to the bar of the house of lords, for reflecting, in a paragraph in his paper, on the bishop of Llandaff's speech in the house of lords, on the subject of an union with Ireland; and lord Grenville moved that he be fined 100*l.* and committed to Newgate for six months. Lord Holland complained of the practice of this summary proceeding respecting only a breach of privilege; but lord Kenyon justified

fied it, and lord Grenville's motion was carried.

6th. Sir J. W. Anderson (the late lord mayor,) read, in common council, two letters from lord Nelson and captain sir E. Berry, which were ordered to be entered in the city journals.

*Vanguard, Palermo, Jan. 31, 1799.*

Sir,

I have only this day received the honour of your letter (when lord mayor) of the 16th October; and I beg that you will convey to the court of common council my sincere gratitude for all their goodness to me, and assure them it shall be the business of my life to act in the manner most conducive to the prosperity of the city of London, on which depends that of our country. I am truly sensible of your politeness in desiring me to say what particular devices I should wish on the sword, which is to be presented to me by the city of London; but I beg to leave that to the judgement of my fellow citizens. Believe me, when I assure you that I feel myself,

Your most faithful and obliged servant,  
Nelson.

*Kensington, April, 23, 1799.*

Sir,

I have this instant had the honour of receiving your favour of the 16th October last, which I conclude has been travelling in quest of me since that period. Permit me, sir, to return you and the court of common council of the city of London, my warmest thanks and most grateful acknowledgements for the very high compliment I am honoured with; believe me sir, I esteem it as the highest mark of my country's approbation, to gain which is most gratifying; at the

same time I have to assure you, that under the flag of rear admiral lord Nelson I only obeyed his lordship's commands.

I have the honour to be, your very faithful and obedient servant,  
E. Berry.

The two following letters have passed between the commissioners of income and Mr. Horne Tooke.

"TO JOHN HORNE TOOKE, ESQ.

"Office of the commissioners for carrying into execution the act for taxing income.

*"Wandsworth, May 3, 1799.*

"Sir,

"The commissioners having under their consideration your declaration of income, dated the 26th of February last, have directed me to acquaint you that they have reason to apprehend your income exceeds sixty pounds a year.—They therefore desire that you will re-consider the said declaration, and favour me with your answer on or before Wednesday the 8th instant.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
"W. B. Luttly, clerk."

"TO MR. W. B. LUTTLY.

"Sir,

"I have much more reason than the commissioners can have to be dissatisfied with the smallness of my income. I have never yet in my life disavowed, or had occasion to re-consider any declaration which I have signed with my name. But the act of parliament has removed all the decencies which used to prevail between gentlemen; and has given the commissioners (shrouded under the signature of their clerk) a right by law to tell me that they have reason to believe that I am a liar. They have also a right to demand

demand from me; upon oath, the particular circumstances of my private situation. In obedience to the law, I am ready to attend them upon this degrading occasion, so novel to Englishmen; and to give them every explanation and satisfaction which they may be pleased to require.

I am, fir,  
 " Your humble servant,  
 John Horne Tooke."

9th. At the fittings before lord Kenyon, a case was determined, Middleton *qui tam, versus* Blake, which deserves the most serious attention of the clergy; an action was brought against the Rev. Mr. Blake, who is vicar of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, to recover eleven penalties for non-residence. It appeared, that this gentleman had been vicar of that parish for nineteen years, but had resided on his estate at South Molton, Devon, and never came up to London to visit his parish but to receive their Easter offerings. On the part of the reverend defendant, witnesses were produced, to shew that he was in an extremely poor state of health; that he was very much afflicted with the gout; and, very generally after he had resided in London about a month, he was seized with illness, and sometimes was obliged to remain in town three months before he was able to return to the country. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for 110*l*.

This day was tried, in the court of King's Bench, an action for an assault, and for false imprisonment, wherein Mr. Dowding, a respectable wine-merchant, was plaintiff, and general Watson, of the 3d regiment of guards, was defendant. The case made out by the plaintiff

in evidence was shortly thus: the plaintiff and his sister had been dining at the house of a friend of theirs, a few miles from town, on the 22d of July last, and were coming on horseback through Knightsbridge, and as they came near to the gate of the barracks, a gentleman was coming towards them. They were only walking their horses; the gentleman's horse was going on a jog trot; they met, and the lady was frightened, as the horses came nearer one another. They were on the left hand side, which was their proper side of the road, and very near the foot-path. There was abundant room for this gentleman to pass, the road being very wide, and not a carriage in it at that time, but the road was a little dirty. Mr. Dowding came up to the gentleman, and said, " Sir, I hope you will never turn a lady out of the road;" upon which this gentleman made use of very abusive language, and immediately aimed a blow at Mr. Dowding's head, in which he lost his own hat for the moment. Mr. Dowding then rode off towards his sister, to allay her fears, instead of contending with this gentleman, who however followed, and gave him a very violent blow on his head, which cut through his hat, with what is called a crutch stick. Upon this the gentleman who had thus conducted himself, immediately ordered out the soldiers that were at the barracks, who came with their fixed bayonets, and surrounded Mr. Dowding; he demanded Mr. Dowding's name, which he gave him; he ordered the soldiers to take Mr. Dowding into custody, and Mr. Dowding asked for his name, which he refused, and told the soldiers, on the peril of their lives,

lives, not to tell his name : it soon appeared, however, that it was general Watfon.

Not the leaft incivility or provocation was given to the general before he struck the blow, nor any return made to him of his own language by the plaintiff, fuch as roundel, rafcal, &c. and after the general made the firft attempt, unfuccefffully, to ftrike Mr. Dowding, and after he was riding up to his fifter to help her, and to try to difpel her fears, the general turned his horfe round, and was going to ftrike with the fmall end of his ftick, but he changed its pofition, and laid hold of the fmall, and ftruck with the club end of the ftick.

The defendant's cafe was fupported by the evidence of three of the foldiers, who had acted in the bene under his command, but to their evidence the jury paid no credit, as they gave a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 250*l*.

11th. A woman drawing water from a well at Surlingham, in Norfolk, was, by the breaking of the rope, precipitated to the bottom, a depth of 42 feet; the water was not more than 5 feet high; and in this condition fhe remained for fome hours, till, her long abfence from home inducing fearch, fhe was difcovered, and, a cord being lowered, was tied it round her waift, and was drawn up much bruifed, and nearly fuffocated.

12th. Eight gentlemen belonging to the Walton affociation, formed a party to go to Hounflow, to fee James, the highwayman; on their way home, they ftopped at the Tower Pot, at Sunbury, till ten at night; and, being fluffed with what they had drank, in croffing the Thames at Walton, fome of them

jolted the boat fo violently, that it overturned; by which accident three of the gentlemen were drowned.

15th. This morning were executed, purfuant to their fentence, in the Old Bailey, the following malefactors, viz. James Turnbull, for robbing the Mint, and Hugh Campbell, William Harper, and Jofeph Walker, for forgery. Their behaviour was ftrictly becoming their unhappy fituation.

16th. In an action for an affault, brought by a Mr. Humphries, againft lord Camelford, committed by the latter, in a very violent and unprovoked manner, at Drury-lane theatre; a jury this day gave the plaintiff 500*l*. damages.

29th. This morning a fire broke out at the houfe of Mr. Mofes Haman, in Cob-court, Petticoat-lane, which confumed the infide, with a great part of the furniture. A child, about three years of age, was burned fo fhockingly, as to be taken to the London infirmary without hopes of recovery.

30th. At half paff ten this morning, Mr. Wakefield was brought up before the Court of King's Bench to receive judgement, when Mr. juftice Grofe, after an appropriate fpeech, pronounced the following fentence: "The court, having fully confidered the whole of your cafe, do order and adjudge, that you be committed to Dorchefter goal for the term of two years; that at the end of this term you give fecurity for your good behaviour for five years, yourfelf in 500*l*. and two fureties in 250*l*. each; and that you continue in the faid goal until you have given fuch fecurity." The prifoner bowed, and withdrew.

At the same time the attorney-general prayed judgement of the court on Mr. John Perry, the editor; John Vint, the printer; and George Rofs, the publisher; of the Courier newspaper, for a paragraph which appeared in that paper, stating "the emperor of Russia to be a tyrant among his own subjects, and ridiculous to the rest of Europe." Mr. justice Grose pronounced the judgement of the court, which was, "That Mr. John Perry do pay the sum of 100*l.* and be imprisoned in the King's Bench prison for six calendar months, and enter into security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each; and that John Vint and George Rofs be imprisoned in the same prison each for one calendar month."

DIED. 26th. At Edinburgh, in his 85th year, James Burnet, of Monboddo, esq. commonly called lord Monboddo, one of the senators of the college of justice; promoted to the bench in 1767. His first publication was "A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of Language, 1773," 6 vol. 8vo; 2d edit. 1774; ascribing the invention of alphabetical writing to the Egyptians. When he was so near the fountain-head, he might as well have supposed it an immediate communication from the Deity. He published also a work in 3 vol. 4to. just completed in a 6th, intitled, "Ancient Metaphysics;" a performance remarkable for a surprising mixture of penetration and genius with the most absurd whim and conceit. He strenuously maintains, that the Orang Outan is a class of the human species, and that his want of speech is merely accidental. We remember it was said, that Maupertuis

died just as he was going to make monkeys talk. Lord Monboddo also endeavours to establish the real existence of sea nymphs or mermaids.

## JUNE.

4th. Being his majesty's birth-day, the several associations of the metropolis and its neighbourhood, consisting of sixty-five well-equipped corps, and amounting to upwards of 8000 effective men, assembled in Hyde-Park, where they were reviewed by the king. The Temple association, commanded by captain Graham, was the first that entered the Park: it arrived at seven o'clock, during a heavy shower of rain, which continued incessantly from the time it left the Temple-gardens. Several other corps followed soon after; and at half past eight the whole were on the ground. The necessary dispositions, agreeable to the official regulations were then made, and about ten minutes past nine his majesty appeared, attended by the prince of Wales, the dukes of York, Kent, Cumberland, and Gloucester, a number of general officers, and a formidable detachment of the life guards. The line being formed, a cannon was fired, to announce the approach of the king: on which all the corps immediately shouldered in perfect order, and the artillery then fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. A second gun was fired on his majesty's arrival in front of the line, and each corps immediately presented arms, with drums beating and music playing. A third cannon was fired, as the signal for shouldering, which was promptly obeyed. His majesty having passed along the line, and returned by a central point

in front, a fourth cannon was fired, as a signal to load; and upon the fifth gun being fired, the different corps began to fire volleys in succession from right to left. The same loading and firing were repeated, upon the sixth and seventh cannons being fired: in all fifty-nine rounds. On the eighth cannon being fired, three cheers were given, and the music played, "God save the King." The corps then passed his majesty in grand divisions, in a most excellent manner, under the direction of general Dundas, who headed them on horseback; after which they filed off to the stations respectively allotted for them. The whole of the evolutions pointed out to them in the general orders having been performed, and another royal salute of twenty-one guns fired, his majesty, after expressing the highest satisfaction at the martial appearance and excellent conduct of this loyal and patriotic army, departed from the ground at a quarter before one, amidst the joyous shouts and affectionate greetings of the people, who assembled on the occasion to the amount of upwards of 100,000, including all the beauty and fashion of the metropolis. The sight was truly grand and highly gratifying; and, notwithstanding the evolutions were considerably impeded by the high wind and some rain, the whole were performed in a manner that reflects much credit upon every corps present, whose conduct fully entitles them to the very handsome compliment of his royal highness, the commander-in-chief, paid them by order of his majesty, in the Gazette of that evening. The ground was kept clear by the London and Westminster, and Southwark volunteer corps of cavalry, who preserved

the lines from being infringed by the immense multitude who crowded the Park.

10th. Lord Thanet and Mr. Fergusson, accompanied by the duke of Bedford, lord Derby, &c. being brought into the court of King's Bench.

The attorney-general said, he had received his majesty's commands to enter a *nolle prosequi* with respect to the first, second, and third counts.

Mr. justice Grose then addressed the defendants in a speech of considerable length. After commenting upon the impartiality of the trial, and the justice of the conviction, he observed, that the rank and situation of the defendants were such as ought to have made them the last men in the world to have been guilty of such conduct. He then proceeded to pass the sentence of the court upon lord Thanet, which was, that he should be imprisoned for one year in the Tower of London; that he should pay a fine of 1000*l.*; that at the expiration of his imprisonment he should give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 10,000*l.* and two sureties in 5,000*l.* each; and that he should be further imprisoned till the said security was given and the fine paid.

The sentence upon Mr. Fergusson was, that he should pay a fine of 100*l.*; that he should be imprisoned for one year in the King's Bench prison; that at the expiration of his imprisonment he should give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each; and that he should be imprisoned till the said security was given and the fine paid.

On the same day, about three o'clock, the duke de Sorentino, a Sicilian nobleman, who has resided



in this country some years, went into Lowthorp's coffee-house, St. George's Fields, and sent the waiter with a note to count De Lambert, in Lambeth-road. He then desired to have a private room, and was shewn into one up stairs. A short time had only elapsed when the mistress thought she heard the report of a pistol; but, not being certain, she waited the arrival of the servant before she sent up stairs, who, on entering the room, found the duke, in an arm-chair, dead, and the pistol with which he had shot himself laying at his feet. Count De Lambert arrived soon after, and observed, that he had saved his life twice, at a former period, when he had attempted a similar act. The count made particular inquiry after a pocket-book, which he was certain would be found about the deceased, as it contained some secret matter that he would never disclose either to his wife or friend; but it could not be found. The duke resided in Charles-street, Fitzroy-square, and had been married to a respectable English lady a few months. A coroner's inquest was held on his body, which brought in a verdict of lunacy.

15th. This night, about ten o'clock, a fire broke out at the Horse and Groom, public-house, in Curtain-row, Shoreditch; by which accident, the flames caught fire to Mrs. Tomlinson's clothes, and she was burned in so shocking a manner as to cause her immediate death.

21st. This day, between eight and nine o'clock, his majesty, mounted on a beautiful white charger, and followed by the male branches of the royal family, a crowd of general-officers, &c. went from Buckingham-house to inspect all the volunteer-

corps in different streets of the metropolis. He passed over Westminster-bridge, and proceeded by the Oblisk to Blackfriars-bridge, on the centre of which he was met by the lord-mayor and aldermen, who afterwards rode before him, the lord-mayor carrying the sword of state. His majesty proceeded through Bridge-street, St. Paul's square, Cornhill, &c. in front of the different associations, making a circle to the artillery-ground, where the prince of Wales, as colonel, appeared at the head of the artillery-company, and thence to the lord-chancellor's, in Upper Guilford-street, where all the royal family breakfasted; the king then reviewed the Bloombury and other corps in that neighbourhood, and, about six o'clock, returned home.

The number of volunteers visited by the king were 12,200; and no sovereign ever experienced greater proofs of the loyalty of his subjects than did his majesty on this day of parade and rejoicing.

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## JULY.

4th. His majesty reviewed, on Wimbledon-common, the different volunteer-corps of the county of Surrey. The line, which was very extensive, consisted of 12 cavalry-corps and 24 of infantry; the effective strength of the whole, 2300.

9th. As a waggon full of coals, with six horses, was passing over the bridge at Embscole, near Warwick, one of the arches gave way, and waggon and horses were precipitated into the river, where one of them was killed, and the rest so injured that they were not expected to recover.

13th.

13th. This afternoon, about three, one of the largest powder-mills, on Twickenham-common, not far from Hanworth, blew up, with a most violent explosion, attended by circumstances of the most melancholy nature. Four men, employed in corning the powder, were blown to atoms in the air, and many of the timbers of the building thrown to a distance of half a mile. It was only on the Thursday preceding that a smaller mill, belonging to the same proprietors, blew up, but no lives were lost. The explosion of this day broke many panes of glass, at the distance of one and two miles.

*Calcutta*, Jan. 21. It is with much concern we state the loss of the company's armed schooner, the *Ganges*, commanded by captain Wade, the particulars of which are as follow: the *Ganges* came to an anchor, on the evening of the 11th, to the eastward of Lacam's channel. The *Laurel* was then about four leagues farther in the offing, in a south-easterly direction. About eight o'clock at night, while captain Wade and his officers were on deck, a disagreeable smell of burning oil and smoke came from the cabin. On going below, the smoke appeared to be coming from aft. The gun-room was immediately cleared, and, on opening the scuttle of the after gun-room, the smoke rushed out, and plainly indicated that to be the quarter where the mischief lay. Captain Wade directed all the powder that was in the gun-room and cabin to be quickly removed; while himself, his officers, and his people, were employed in throwing water into the after gun-room. Their efforts were greatly impeded by the suffo-

cating vapours, which compelled captain Wade, and those with him, to make their way upon deck. The fire was bursting forth from the cabin-windows; but captain Wade still indulged the hope of being able to get it under, and continued to employ every exertion for that purpose; but, at the same time, as a measure of prudence, he directed his officers to get the boat out, and to keep her clear a little a-head of the schooner. This was no sooner done than thirty or forty people leaped on board, and the officers found it indispensably necessary to put off, in order to prevent the boat from being furcharged. Captain Wade and those who had remained with the schooner persevered in the most spirited exertions to extinguish the fire; but it gained ground in spite of all their efforts. The people, every moment in dread of the vessel blowing up, crowded forward upon her bows, bowsprits, jibboom, &c. In this alarming situation, captain Wade, with great composure, proceeded to prepare rafts. He, his two boatswains, and some others, were stepping aft to cut away the main-mast, that it might serve as a spar; at this instant, the fire communicated to the magazine, which exploded with great violence, tearing up the deck from the taffarel to several feet before the main-mast. By this accident eight men were killed; the second boatswain had his leg broken, and captain Wade was thrown several feet forwards. At length recovering himself, he found that the flames had nearly ceased, most of the parts that were on fire having been blown up with the magazine; he was encouraged, therefore, to renew his efforts to save the remains of the schooner.

schooner; but, unfortunately, a part of the burning materials had been carried up, by the explosion, into the maintop; and, this communicating to the rigging, set the whole on fire, which, falling down from time to time, rekindled the flame in various parts of the hull; and, most of the water-buckets and other implements having been blown overboard, no hope remained of being able to save any part of the wreck that might serve as a raft for those who remained. The flames extending over nearly the whole of the wreck, left no time to deliberate, and but little for a last exertion. Whatever things could be met with to answer the purpose were hastily lashed together, and put overboard as a raft, to which all the men on board, amounting to fifty-nine, were obliged to commit their safety. The poor boatswain, who, from his broken leg, was almost unable to move, was assisted to the raft; and, all hands having got hold, it was pushed from alongside; but, immediately before leaving the schooner, captain Wade had ordered the cable to be cut, that, as it was ebb-tide, the wreck of the schooner and the raft might be drifted together towards the Laurel, that the sight of the burning wreck might guide the boats from that ship in the track to find them; for, as they had fired guns of distress on the breaking out of the fire, and as they knew the light must be seen from the Laurel, they confided in her coming to their assistance. The raft and wreck continued drifting with the ebb tide, within pistol shot of each other, for about two hours, when the wreck suddenly went down; a circumstance that rendered their situation

more dismal, as the disappearance of the light lessened the chance of the expected boats falling in with them. Captain Wade proposed that they should now and then raise a general shout, as the boats might perhaps be within hearing, though they might not be able to discern them. This expedient was readily adopted. After the lapse of six hours in the water, passed under an awful anxiety, the sound of the pulling of oars inspired them with unspeakable joy, and in the course of half an hour they were taken up by the Laurel's boat, and safely carried on board, where they were received with the kindness due to their misfortunes. The cause of the fire on board the Ganges is ascribed to the spontaneous combustion of a small quantity of wood-oil, contained in a dubber, or leather jar, which was stowed in the after gun-room. A fire originating from a like cause occurred in the arsenal in Fort William, about five years ago.

13th. The North west wing of the King's Bench prison was about 9 this evening discovered to be on fire. The flames burst forth with incredible fury, and were driven by the wind towards the centre of the building. The consternation which immediately took place is hardly to be expressed, not only within the prison but without. Many of the prisoners wives and relatives who resided in the rules, alarmed at so dreadful a conflagration, appeared under the walls shrieking, and demanding the release of those whom their fears represented in such imminent danger; but, at the very first intimation of the accident, St. George's, the Bermondsey, St. Saviour's, Lambeth.

Chm

Christ Church, and Newington, volunteers, with a party of the Surrey cavalry, attended and prevented the populace in general from taking that step, which, perhaps, the best feelings of human nature had, upon the spur of the moment dictated. Within the prison, we are happy to learn, not the slightest endeavour was made on the part of any one to escape beyond its walls; all were engaged in assisting those who were more immediately within the reach of danger. Above an hour had elapsed before the engines arrived and began to work, by which time the flames had arrived at an ungovernable height. They raged with such violence, that it was with difficulty a small part of the prisoners furniture and effects were saved. Many wretched and indigent families, whose whole property was contained in their rooms, were compelled to leave it a prey to the devouring element. How the fire was occasioned no one can with certainty tell. It broke out at No. 10, in an upper room, in the farther corner of that part of the building where the tap is, just at the entrance of the prison. There was no fire in the room, nor was there even a fire-place. The person who occupied it was an old man, of the name of Adams, who at the time of the accident was drinking at the Brace, a public room at the farther end of the prison. The story he relates is, that his son had called upon him early in the evening, and had left him two 10l. notes, which he was to call for again on Monday morning; for the better security of these notes he put them in his trunk, and he supposes, at the time he did so, a

spark from the candle fell into the trunk. The part where the fire commenced is called the Old Building, and the upper rooms are not vaulted, consequently the whole was consumed; the flames then spread through the two upper stories, as far as the chapel, consuming near the whole of them, both in front of the parade and in the back part of the prison. Here the firemen prevented it extending farther by forcing off the division No. 6 adjoining, at the back of which it ended, by consuming the apartment occupied by lady Murray, at No. 1, in division 15. There are between 80 and 100 rooms destroyed. When this building was erected, the floor of the upper story was not vaulted; had it been so, the present accident would have been comparatively trifling. The second story was vaulted, otherwise the whole fabrick must have been destroyed. There are a few rooms which were vaulted, and are preserved, though they were surrounded by flames. It was not till one in the morning that the fire was subdued, and it was near 4 before it was finally extinguished.

25th In consequence of some obstructions which the commissioners for dividing and inclosing the open fields of Wilbarston, Northampton, had met with from a number of persons claiming right of common in the said fields; who not only avowed their determination to resist the fencing out of a piece of land allotted them in lieu of the common right, but had even set the civil power at defiance; the Northampton and Althorp troops of yeomanry were ordered to assemble at Harborough yesterday evening, and this morning they set out thence for Wilbarston,

Wilbarfton, under the command of major Cartwright, attended by the officers of the two troops, and by the reverend Mr. Griffin, one of the magistrates of the county, and having under their escort a waggon loaded with posts and rails, for fencing out the above allotment. On approaching the parish they found a mob of about 300 persons, who had lighted a bon-fire in the middle of the road, in order to obstruct the passage of the waggon, which they would not allow to proceed. On which the magistrate read the riot-act; and, after waiting an hour, the troops were ordered to advance and escort the waggon to the spot, which was immediately done and one or two of the most active of the mob were taken into custody, and compelled to assist in setting down the posts and rails. After waiting 2 or 3 hours, the greatest part of the crowd dispersed; when the yeomanry returned, and the workmen were left in quiet possession of the field.

DIED. 23d. At Caistor, near Norwich, — Sayer, a butcher, aged 110 years. He followed his vocation, and retained his faculties, till the day of his death.

Lately, Mrs. Galford, of Horsham, Sussex. She had not passed the threshold of her mansion for more than 20 years before her death. In consequence of which, her carriage was suffered, for want of use, to drop to pieces in the coach-house, and her horses to range uninterruptedly in fields of the richest pastures. She possessed a good fortune; and though, during her life-time, was not known to apply any part of it to charitable uses, yet her will proved, that at her demise she was not totally unmind-

ful of the poor in her neighbourhood; to whom she bequeathed a considerable sum to be distributed in bread, and included other poor objects in the number of her legacies. The most singular of her bequests is 15*l. per annum*, to her cats and dogs, for their maintenance. The directions of her will, with respect to her interment, were, that her body should not be removed from her chamber until a month after her death; that, to prevent her becoming offensive, it should every night be bathed with spirits; and that her remains should be buried in four coffins, the outer one to be of marble, and fixed in the vault; which directions were duly observed at her burial on the 13th of August.

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#### AUGUST.

1st. The king, queen, and princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, accompanied by the countess of Harrington, set off in two carriages, at half past five o'clock, from Kew Palace, for lord Romney's seat in the Moat Park, Maidstone. The royal party stopped to breakfast at earl Camden's seat at Riverhead, where they were met by the prince of Wales, duke of Cumberland, and numbers of the nobility, and the king's equerries in waiting. The royal family reached the ground at twelve o'clock, on which above 5000 of the volunteers of the county of Kent were drawn up, under the command of their different officers, and his royal highness the duke of York. Earl Camden gave the word of command to his own corps of cavalry, and lord Romney to the infantry corps. The regiments went

went through their exercise in a manner highly satisfactory to his majesty, who expressed the great pleasure he experienced in viewing to fine a body of men. After the review, marquees were erected on the lawn for their majesties and the nobility to dine, and tables in view of the royal tents were laid out for the volunteers. The entertainment, to which 6,500 persons sat down, consisted of every delicacy of the season. It was not till six o'clock that their majesties and the princesses took leave of their noble host, on their return to Kew. The town of Maidstone was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and a grand ball was given at the town-hall. The strength of the different associations of the county of Kent at the late royal inspection, according to a return, amounted to 5,721. To give an idea of the dinner provided for the companies of volunteers, there were

3 score lambs, in quarters.  
200 dishes of roasted beef.  
700 fowls, three in a dish.  
220 meat pies.  
300 hams.  
300 tongues.  
220 fruit pies.  
220 dishes of boiled beef.  
220 joints of roasted veal.

Seven pipes of Port were bottled off, and sixteen butts of ale, and as much small beer, was also placed in large vessels, to supply the company.

17th. The female servant of Mr. Goldfinch, in Lombard-street, was discovered hanging in the kitchen, quite dead, and burnt in a most dreadful manner, occasioned, as it is supposed, by a candle that she had placed near her when she tied herself up. This day the co-

roner's jury held their inquest on the body; and, it being proved that she had appeared in a disponding way for some days before, they returned a verdict of lunacy.

The late rains have been more general and more severe than perhaps was ever experienced in this country. Letters from all quarters are replete with the most distressing accounts of their effects.

The mail which should have reached Birmingham at two o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, did not arrive there till seven in the evening. The passengers, &c. were forwarded over the flooded places in boats, the coach being necessarily left behind.

The devastation in Lancashire has been extensive and considerable; almost all the bridges on the Mersey, the Tame, the Wedlock, the Irk, the Irwell, &c. have been destroyed, as well as numerous mills on their banks; the aqueducts and banks of some of the canals have given way, and all the adjoining country has been laid under water. Some dye-houses on the Irwell, &c. have been demolished, and immense quantities of cloth carried away; one house is stated to have lost 800 pieces.

In Worcestershire the inundations, occasioned by the overflow of the Severn, Team, and in fact all the streams and rivulets in the county, have been greatly destructive to the farmers of hay, corn, sheep, &c. The rain here has prevailed three weeks almost without intermission, and travelling during the last week was nearly suspended. The head of a mill-pond on the Ludlow road some days since gave way, owing to the unusual pressure of the water. Five horses in a coal team, some distance

tance from the place, were overwhelmed in the torrent, and drowned before assistance could be procured; as were two horses in a team on the Martley road, in consequence of their being forced by the current into a deep ditch.

In Yorkshire the floods were attended by a storm, which greatly contributed to the damage they occasioned. The canal at Huddersfield has been considerably injured, and several mills and houses near Holmfirth, and other places in the West Riding, have been entirely swept away, by the overflowing of different streams. The rivers Ouse and Tees rose unusually high.

In Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, and in fact in almost every county in the kingdom, the inundations have been extensive and greatly injurious.

The aqueduct bridge for the duke of Bridgewater's canal over Chorlton brook, at Stratford, has given way; as has the aqueduct for the Ashton canal, near Ashton.

On the Cheadle road two horses in a post chaise, were drowned, and the driver narrowly escaped by standing on the top of the carriage.

About Sheffield, the rivers Dunn and Sheaf were swollen to an unusual height, overflowed their banks, inundating the houses and country adjoining.

Many parts of the Carlisle road were, for some time, impassable; the bridges, however, on that line have resisted the torrent.

Many hundred acres of grass, ready for the scythe, have been laid under water, and materially injured, by the overflowing of the river Derwent, and a considerable quantity of new hay has been carried away. Markeaton brook, which runs

through Derby, has likewise done much damage.

The rise of the Trent, on Monday, was almost instantaneous; hundreds of persons were employed on its banks during the morning making hay; and in the course of the evening, thousands of acres were totally inundated, and many tons of hay carried down the stream. Near Sawley, a great number of sheep were lost; and at Catton, a fine boy, twelve years of age, was drowned.

The lower part of the town of Ashbourn was inundated to such extent, that the inhabitants were driven to the upper apartments.

The Manchester heavy coach, in passing Hanging bridge, was nearly lost, the water washed over the bridge, and for a space of nearly 300 yards, poured in a torrent across the road; the carriage, for a considerable distance, was lifted from the road, while the horses swam, till, by extraordinary and fortunate exertion, they regained the road: two hundred persons were collected, expecting every instant to see the coach dashed down a precipice of considerable height, but without being able to afford the least assistance. On other parts of the road the water was so high, that the horses were up to their necks, and the body of the coach in the water; the trees were their only guide, the hedges being in general washed away.

The road about Cardiff has been impassable. Two bridges near Congleton, one near Stone, and another near Newcastle, have been demolished.

DIED. At Annonny, in his 52d year, Stephen Montgolfier, celebrated for his invention of air-balloons.

balloons. He was a paper-maker, and extremely well versed in mechanics and chymistry. The paper which he manufactured equalled the Dutch paper, and contributed considerably to the celebrity of French printing. He was the first who made vellum paper in France.

29th. At Valence, in France, after having reigned 24 years, 6 months, and 14 days, aged 81 years and 8 months, Pope Pius VI. formerly Cardinal John Angelo Braschi. He was born at Cesena, Dec. 27, 1717; was created cardinal by his predecessor, Clement XIV. in April, 1773; elected pope, Feb. 15, crowned the 22d of the same month, and took possession at St. John Lateran's, Nov. 30, in the same year, 1775.

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## SEPTEMBER.

8th. The rain fell this day in such torrents, that the flood next morning at Melbourn, in the county of Leicester, was by far the highest ever remembered by the oldest person, though some of the natives are near 90 years of age. In a few hours the rivulet there rose 10 or 12 feet perpendicular; and several houses were much inundated, in which formerly the water in the highest floods were never known to enter. A bed of large gravel and stones, containing about 60 or 70 loads, was brought down by the rapidity of the stream, and lay together in an oblong heap in the town street; and in some places the brook has changed its course, and entirely formed a new bed. These uncommonly heavy rains are the more alarming, as the greatest part of the wheat and barley are stand-

ing in the fields; and in this neighbourhood much now is not in, some not cut. The beans are nearly all mowed, but none carried; circumstances which the oldest person cannot remember. A small brook, also between Rothwell and Desborough, in the county of Northampton, at the same time rose 14 feet perpendicular.

*Turin.* Yesterday our university was shut, and the colleges sealed, by order of the king. This morning 70 priests, who were hitherto confined in the archbishop's seminary, were embarked on the Po, to be transported. Among the provisors of our university were several jacobins. Our city has presented field-marshal Suvarroff with a beautiful gold-hilted sword, as a token of gratitude for their delivery. He graciously received this present, and invited the deputies who delivered it to dine with him.

At Mantua the feast of the reconquer of that city was celebrated with great solemnity. Before the cathedral the following beautiful inscription was exhibited: "*Deo redemptori quod Mantua feliciter expugnata, et a Clementissimo D. N. Imp. Francisco II. Semp. Aug. iterum in fidem recepta, Italian a triennati captivitate liberavit: placso orbis Christiani universo gratiarum sollemnitas.*"

*Dresden.* On Friday last the princess of Hohenlohe, and suite, arrived here, and alighted at the Hotel de Pologne. This morning the doors of her apartment were found open; the bed of the princess, and the floor of her bed-room, stained with blood; and neither she nor her jewels, money, clothes, and other effects, to be found. None of her servants or equipage are missing. Horsemen



Horsemen have been dispatched in different directions; and every body is anxious to unriddle this mysterious circumstance.

Accounts from Sweden mention the accidental drowning of a woman of the name of Olufson, at the age of 96. The father of the woman was found dead in a street in Stockholm; her mother stabbed herself: of three husbands, to whom she had been married, the first was hanged for killing her own brother; the second was blown up by a mine, at the siege of Schiveindtz; and the third, with whom she lived near 20 years, was suffocated by the fumes of a laboratory. Her youngest son was drowned, and her eldest transported; her daughter, at the age of 20, disappeared, and was never since heard of. In fine, the misfortunes of this family seemed to extend to the relatives of those concerned with it, as a son and daughter of her first husband's also came to an untimely death, soon after his marriage.

The following is a list of claimants in Ireland, who suffered in the rebellion, summer 1798. (These claims were put in before the commissioners appointed, by act of parliament, for the relief of suffering loyalists), in the following counties:

	£	s.	d.
Antrim,	- 17,662	7	10½
Carlow,	- 26,273	5	8
Clare,	- 856	9	11½
Corke,	- 1,832	10	2½
Downe,	- 12,062	7	10
Dublin,	- 24,712	0	11
Galway,	- 4,093	9	8½
Kildare,	- 93,223	6	3½
Kilkenny,	- 27,842	7	10
King's,	- 2,494	9	10½
Leitrim,	- 2,316	19	5½
Longford,	- 1,011	19	8

Mayo,	- 99,739	18	1½
Meath,	- 13,753	6	1½
Queen's,	- 1,815	16	11
Roscommon,	- 329	5	10
Sligo,	- 15,671	18	2
Tipperary,	- 1,366	7	9
Waterford,	- 1,322	18	11
Westmeath,	- 2,808	3	7
Wexford,	- 311,341	1	7
Wicklow,	- 129,978	14	9

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£ 792,508 7 0½

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Before the count d'Artois left Edinburgh, he transmitted the following letter to the lord provost and magistrates:

"Circumstances relative to the good of the service of the king, my brother, making it requisite that I should leave this city, where, during my residence, I have constantly received the most distinguished marks of attention and regard; I should reproach myself, were I to depart, without expressing to its respectable magistrates, and through them to the inhabitants at large, the grateful sense with which my heart is penetrated for the noble manner in which they have seconded the generous hospitality of his Britannic majesty. I hope I shall one day have it in my power to make known, in happier moments, my feelings on this occasion, and express to you more fully the sentiments with which you have inspired me; the sincere assurance of which, time only permits me to offer you at present."

15th. A large and brilliant meteor was observed about half past eight this evening. The sky was tolerably clear, and it passed in a direction from the N. W. to the S. E. at a considerable elevation in the atmosphere. It had the appearance

pearance of a beautifully blazing ball, rapidly passing along, with a gently tremulous motion, but without noise; and, just before it became extinct, a few red sparks detached themselves from it, as is the case when a rocket is falling. Though, probably, like other meteors, it was produced by inflammable air, kindled by an electric spark, the light was much more vivid than inflammable air usually exhibits when burning, resembling rather the white light in fire-works, which is produced by filings of zinc. Its real altitude, and exact course, could only be ascertained by those accustomed to astronomical observations, if any such were fortunate enough to be in a good situation for a view of it; but, as it was certainly pretty high, it must have been visible over a large surface of the earth. The day had been very rainy; in the afternoon there had been a little thunder; and, about ten minutes before the meteor appeared, there were some corruscations of lightning towards the east.

21st. Jeremiah Beck, a young man of fair character, was indicted for feloniously assaulting Jane Gibbs, in Kensington-gardens, on the 20th of June last, and taking from her person a red leather pocket-book, ten guineas in gold, a half guinea, and two seven shilling pieces. Jane Gibbs having given her evidence to the above effect, with the particulars of her following the prisoner, and procuring a gentleman's servant to assist her in taking him; and the servant and another man (Thomas Winter) delivering their testimony likewise, of all they saw and knew of the transaction; the prisoner was called on for his defence: when he stated, that the charge made against

him was wholly unfounded, and that he had taken nothing from the woman; he added a variety of circumstances relating to his apprehension, and concluded by protesting his innocence. A number of persons were then called, to prove that the said Jane Gibbs (an ill-favoured, disgusting figure) had been in the habit of stopping, speaking to, and afterwards charging gentlemen with robbing her. One of these gentlemen that had been so treated by her was Dr. Ford, the ordinary of Newgate; two of the jury also said she had acted in a similar manner towards them.—The issue was, the acquittal of the prisoner, and the hissing and hooting the woman out of court.

28th. At a common hall this day for the election of lord mayor, the return was in favour of aldermen Combe and Skinner, but a poll was demanded for sir William Staines.

DIED. At Vienna (an example of the good effects of industry and parsimony), Charles Abraham Wetzlar, baron of Blankenberg, a baptized Jew, who began his career by performing slight-of-hand tricks, afterwards became an under-commissary in the seven years war, and ended it in the 85th year of his age as a baron. He has left three sons and five daughters, three of whom are married to barons Aughlbergh, Lezency, and Lowenbrunn, and two to counts Testetics and Clary. His fortune is estimated at five millions of florins, about 500,000*l.* sterling.

7th. At Bowood-park (the seat of the marquis of Lansdown), John Ingenhoufz, M. D. physician to his Imperial majesty, fellow of the royal society of London, and of several other learned societies; a man of great

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great simplicity of manners and benevolence of disposition; to whom the public are indebted for several curious and useful discoveries, particularly in the application of pneumatic chymistry and natural philosophy to the purposes of medical and agricultural improvements. His "Experiments upon Vegetables, discovering their great Power of purifying the common Air in Sunshine, and of injuring it in the Shade and at Night," first published in 8vo. 1779, have since been extended and improved, and republished lately on the continent, in collections of his works, in French and German editions, which include his papers in the "Philosophical Transactions." Prefixed to these editions is a portrait of the author. He was a native of Breda, and for some time practised physic in his native country. He came to England about the year 1767, to acquire information concerning the Suttonian method of inoculating the small-pox; and in 1768, (on the recommendation of the late sir John Pringle, who very highly esteemed him) he was engaged to go to Vienna to inoculate the archduchess Theresia-Elizabeth (the only daughter of the emperor Joseph II.) and the archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian, brothers of the emperor. In the Spring of the following year he went to Italy, and inoculated the grand duke of Tuscany. The rewards of these services were the rank of body physician and counselor of state to their imperial majesties, with a pension for life of about 600*l.* sterling *per annum*. For several years past he has resided in this country, to which, from his first acquaintance with it, he has always been much attached, and

where he passed his time almost unceasingly in scientific pursuits. In "Philosophical Transactions," vol. LXV. are his experiments on the torpedo; LXVI. easy methods of measuring the diminution of bulk taking place on the mixture of common and nitrous air, with experiments on platina; LXVIII. a ready way of lighting a candle by a very small electrical spark; *ibid* 1027, electrical experiments to explain how far the phenomena of the electrophorus may be accounted for by Dr. Franklin's theory of positive and negative electricity; LXIX. account of a new kind of inflammable air or gas; *ibid*. 537, some new methods of suspending magnetical needles; *ibid*. 661, improvements in electricity; LXX. on the degree of salubrity of the common air at sea, compared with that of the sea-shore, and that of places removed from the sea; LXXII. some farther considerations on the influence of the vegetable kingdom on the animal creation.

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#### •OCTOBER.

1st. *Tues.* The rains which fell yesterday were, in the eastern part of the county, heavy to an extent almost beyond conception. The damage done by the high and rapid flowings of the water to bridges, mills, roads, hop-gardens, and corn-fields, is immense. Many families, whose habitations were situated high to rivers and streams, and on low ground, were obliged to fly to the upper apartments for the safety of their lives, and there remain until this extraordinary flood had subsided. At our bridge, and at a variety of other places, the water rose

to the height of several feet above what it had ever done before in the memory of the oldest man living; and the swell was so powerful, that it rose at Uckfield, five feet in the space of one minute. Two unfortunate men, who at Uckfield were, by the impetuosity of the torrent, swept away from before their own doors, after in vain attempting to dam the water from their houses, were carried off by the current in sight of some hundreds of persons, who could render them no assistance. They were, however, in 3 hours after discovered, about 50 rods down the stream, lodged against a willow tree, when a man, at the peril of his own life, swam to them, and found Mr. Curteis yet alive, but could then afford him no relief. He was, however, by the help of ropes and a long ladder, soon afterwards got out, and taken to a public house, where he appeared sensible, and uttered several words, but expired in about an hour and a half afterwards. Attempts were at the same time made to get out the body of Wood, the other sufferer, but it again got afloat, and was not found till the next day. Curteis was a very useful man in his neighbourhood, and much respected. He kept the parish accounts, which, with a number of other accounts, of consequence to individuals, was carried away by the flood; but the desk that contained most of them was found, a few days since, at the bottom of the river, and the parish poor-book picked up yesterday. This disastrous event was witnessed by lord Gage, who gave the man that ventured into the water 2 guineas, for his humane exertions.

8th. Sir William Staines having

early declined the poll for lord mayor; and alderman Coombe and Skinner being returned to the court of aldermen; the latter, on a scrutiny, was declared duly elected; but declined taking on him the high office.

In consequence of a misunderstanding which took place between admiral lord St. Vincent and vice-admiral sir John Orde, while they were employed on the service of their country in the Mediterranean, a challenge was sent by the latter a few days since to the noble earl, and accepted by him. Yesterday morning was the time appointed for the hostile meeting; but their intention having been privately made known to Mr. justice Ford, a warrant was granted against both those brave and meritorious officers, under the authority of which, sir John was arrested early yesterday morning, at Durant's hotel in Jermyn-street, by Townshend and Sayers, who kept him in custody till ten o'clock, when Mr. Ford bound him over in the penalty of 2000*l.* to keep the peace, and two sureties in 1000*l.* each. Mr. Ford then set off express, attended by Townshend, to the seat of lord St. Vincent, at Brentwood, near which the duel was to have been fought, and where they found his lordship preparing to set out to receive his antagonist. Mr. Ford immediately informed him of the nature of his errand, and bound him over to keep the peace in the same terms as those to which sir John Orde had been obliged to subscribe. We understand that earl Spencer and Mr. secretary Dundas are the sureties for each. Thus terminated a business, which, had it proceeded to the extremity intended, might have afforded a most serious

serious cause of regret to the country, which must naturally be interested in the personal safety of two such excellent officers.—The misunderstanding alluded to, originated, it is said, in the neglect which the latter conceived to have been manifested towards him, by rear-admiral Nelson being appointed to the command of the Squadron with which he vanquished the French fleet off the coast of Egypt, although sir John was his superior in naval rank in the fleet of lord St. Vincent, from which it was detached. Sir John remonstrated on the subject, and the correspondence which passed between him and the noble admiral on the occasion was of so unpleasant a nature that he resigned his command, and returned to England. On his arrival he applied to the admiralty to be allowed an opportunity of justifying his conduct; but lord Spencer, in the most handsome and becoming terms, endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose; at the same time assuring him, that their lordships entertained the highest opinion of his conduct, both as an officer and a gentleman. In this situation the affair rested, till the recent return of lord St. Vincent afforded sir John an opportunity of making a personal application to his lordship for the satisfaction to which he considered himself to be entitled.

19th. Intelligence was this day received at the admiralty, from admiral Mitchell, communicating the total loss of *La Lutine*, of 32 guns, captain Skynner, on the outward bank of the Fly island passage. on the night of the 9th instant, in a heavy gale at N. N. W. *La Lutine* had, on the same morning, sailed from Yarmouth roads with several

passengers, and an immense quantity of treasure, for the Texel; but a strong lee-tide rendered every effort of captain Skynner, to avoid the threatened danger, unavailable, and it was alike impossible, during the night, to receive any assistance, either from the *Arrow*, captain Portlock, which was in company, or the shore, from whence several schoots were in readiness to go to her. When the dawn broke, *La Lutine* was in vain looked for; she had gone to pieces, and all on board unfortunately perished, except two men, who were picked up, and one of whom has since died from the fatigue he had encountered. The survivor is Mr. Schabracq, a notary public. In the annals of our naval history, there has scarcely ever happened a loss attended with so much calamity, both of a public as well as private nature. The return from the bullion-office makes the whole amount to 600,000 dollars, about 140,000*l.* sterling, in specie, on board the *Lutine*, which had been shipped by individual merchants in this country, for the relief of different commercial houses in Hamburg. There were also several merchants on board.

22d. This day another common hall was held, for the election of a lord-mayor. Alderman Combe and sir William Plomer were returned by the livery to the court of aldermen; whose choice falling upon the former, he was accordingly invested with the gold chain, &c.

23d. A grand requiem and solemn dirge were this day performed, at the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador, on the occasion of the death of pope Pius VI. The titular bishop officiated at the altar; and Mr. Dignum, of Drury-lane theatre,

theatre, sung the dirge in a masterly and impressive style. A splendid mausoleum was erected in the middle of the chapel; and the whole ceremony was truly graceful and magnificent.

**DIED.** 28th. At Norwich, sir George Dunbar, baronet, major in the 14th regiment of light dragoons, quartered there, and where he was unhappily involved in a dispute at mels with his brother officers. He was a man of quick sensibility, which may have betrayed him into error on the occasion; but, whichever party was to blame, the quarrel was of a most violent nature, and he returned home much bruised from blows received in the scuffle. The next day, repairing to the mels-room, he declared to the other officers, "that, if he had offended any of them, he was ready to make an apology; or, if that was not thought sufficient, to give them honourable satisfaction." This proposal was refused; and the officers insisted, "that he must sell out; for that, as he had abused the whole regiment, nothing else would or could satisfy them." To this sir George replied, "that he would live and die in the regiment, of which he had been an officer for 20 years, and that a pistol should end the dispute." Here ended all communication; but the business made a most deep impression on his mind. For two successive days he neither took food or slept, and his melancholy appearance filled his family with the most lively apprehensions. Lady Dunbar locked up his razors, pistols, &c. and watched him with unceasing vigilance. Her distress at seeing him so wretched was very great, and in the night she moaned very

much, and was quite restless. Sir George said, "Maria, you disturb me, I will get up," which he immediately did, put on his watch-coat, and lay down on the floor. Lady Dunbar then endeavoured to conceal the anguish of her mind, in hopes to pacify him, and being overcome with watching fell asleep. Sir George, as soon as he perceived it, left the room, and at about five or six in the morning walked out. Her ladyship, when she awoke, being much alarmed by his absence, eagerly inquired for him, and was told he had taken a morning walk, having a violent head ach, and thinking the air would do him good. This however, proved only a pretence; for he had gone to purchase a case of pistols, and stood by while the bullets were casting, which, with the pistols, he brought home concealed under his watch-coat. On his return he went to lady Dunbar, who took hold of his hand, observing, at the same time, 'How cold you are!' To which he answered, "Yes I shall be better presently." She then proposed to make breakfast; but he declined it, saying, that he had a letter to write first, and that he would ring to let her know when he should have finished it. He then parted from her, after pressing her hand very hard; went to his study, wrote his will, and instantly after blew out his brains. Lady Dunbar, who heard the report of the pistol, ran down into the room, and fell insensible on his body, which lay extended on the floor, and from which she was taken up all covered with his blood, and immediately removed to a friend's house. They were a very happy couple, and she had accompanied him in all his campaigns. His remains were interred,

with military honours, at St. Peter's church, the dean having refused leave (which was applied for) to have him buried in the cathedral. He is succeeded by his cousin-germane, George Dunbar, esq. a gentleman of the highest respectability as a merchant and magistrate in Liverpool, of which he served the office of mayor 1797.

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### NOVEMBER.

6th. Last night, on the receding of the tide, the body of a middle aged man was found in an erect position upon the mud of the Thames near Black-friers bridge. From circumstances it is believed, that the deceased walked deliberately into the water. The body proved to be that of a watchmaker, of St. John's street, Clerkenwell, who had been absent from his family eight days. He was skilful and ingenious in his profession; and has left a wife and five young children. He had been for some weeks in a desponding way.

*Nice.* The funeral ceremonies of pope Pius VI. ended on the 31st ult. They disposed with the usual form of opening a conclave, for the election of a new pope, on the last day of the funeral of the deceased one, in order to know from Vienna, where they dispatched a courier, the sentiments of that court, and which of the cardinals the emperor would wish to see elevated to the papal dignity.

The brilliant sword given by his Neapolitan majesty to lord Nelson was made a present to the king of Naples by Charles III. on his departure for Spain, in the following words:—"With this sword I con-

quered the kingdom which I now resign to thee:—it ought in future, to be possessed by the first defender of the fame, or by him who restoreth it to thee, in case it should ever be lost."

Mr. Horneman, the present African traveller, who is a young Hanoverian, full of health and enterprize, has written a letter to sir Joseph Banks, from Tripoli. He had travelled from Cairo, in Egypt, through the Lybian desert, to Fezzan, the largest Oasis in the Great Sahara, a route hitherto unexplored by any European whose travels have been communicated to the public. In the journey from Cairo to Fezzan he halted at Sewah, which, from the notices of Mr. Brown, some months ago, had been clearly ascertained to be the Oasis of Ammon. Mr. Horneman's new observations, made at his leisure on the spot, now place the matter beyond all manner of doubt. Mr. Horneman was too late this season for the caravan that goes from Fezzan to Soudan, comprehending under that name Hourfes Cahnou Bournon, the great kingdom near the Niger. Meanwhile he has sent from Tripoli, by another conveyance not yet arrived, the journal of his present travels; and there is every reason to hope, that he will accomplish his great undertaking of visiting the unknown central regions of Africa, especially from the following occurrences mentioned in his letter: he was followed from Sewah by a large party sent to seize him, on suspicion of his being a French spy. But, his manners and behaviour were so completely Moslem, and he proved himself so thoroughly master of the Koran, that he was released with blessings and alms as a good musliman,

fulman, and sent forward on his journey.

A blackish worm, not unlike a caterpillar, has this year destroyed whole forests of trees in America. The oaks are the first objects of their depredation. In some places scores of acres are as naked as in the middle of winter.

16th. A solemn dirge was this day chaunted at St. Patrick's chapel, Soho-square, for the repose of the soul of the Roman pontiff, pope Pius VI. to whose remains the accustomed sepulchral rites were refused by the abbé Sieyes and his accomplices. The service was performed in a very splendid style by Dr. Douglas, the Roman catholic bishop of London, assisted by Dr. Hulse, bishop of Waterford, several French bishops, and most of the clergy of that persuasion in the vicinity of the metropolis.—A very eloquent and affecting funeral oration was delivered by Dr. O'Leary, who concluded by felicitating his flock on the happiness they enjoyed in this country, on which, and its constitution, he pronounced a glowing panegyrick. Though the ceremony began at 10 in the morning, yet the audience, which, beside a great concourse of those who are numbered, but not named, consisted of several foreign ambassadors; and many of the nobility of both sexes, waited patiently till half past four in the evening, when they retired highly gratified.

27th. A very dreadful accident happened last night in Fitzroy-square. The earl of Scarborough, with his sister, lady Louisa Hartley, passing in his lordship's carriage through that square, which is badly lighted, the coachman mistook his way, and unfortunately drove over

into the area which is dug on the North, for the row of houses on that side of the square. Mr. Shield, the celebrated musical composer, happening to pass that way soon after, was alarmed by violent groanings, issuing from the dark side of the square. He hastened to the spot, and procuring a light, discovered the very melancholy accident which had taken place. He immediately got proper assistance; and lord Scarborough and his sister, who had both fainted, but most providentially had received no very dangerous hurt, were removed to the house of a French surgeon in the neighbourhood, together with the coachman, who had his ribs broke, and the footman, whose leg was shattered in so dreadful a manner, that immediate amputation was declared necessary. Lord Scarborough very humanely ordered the best assistance to be procured; and Mr. Heavyside, the surgeon, was sent for, who concurring in opinion with the French gentleman, the operation was immediately performed. A hackney coach having been procured, lord Scarborough and his sister went to Mr. Hartley's house, in Gower-street; and we are happy to learn, that they have suffered no material injury from the accident, except that his lordship received a small contusion in his head. Their escape is to be considered as very providential, as the height of the fall could not be less than 10 or 12 feet.

DIED. Kien Long, upwards of 64 years emperor of China, over which kingdom he began to reign 1735. He is succeeded by his son Ka Hing, who has for two years administered the government of that country. He was perhaps the best



known to Europe of all the monarchs of China who had preceded him; and more particularly to England by the embassy sent thence to him in 1792. The author of the "Pursuits of Literature" has addressed a poetical epistle to him; and Voltaire had before done the same, on his majesty's talent for versifying, in which he styles him "*Monarque au nez camus.*" Peter Pindar also wrote a poetical epistle to him. The whole empire is in great distress on account of the death of the emperor, whose virtues had endeared him to all his subjects. He was a person of a very graceful appearance, of about five feet ten inches in height, and of a slender and elegant form; his nose was rather aquiline; and the whole of his countenance presented a perfect regularity of features, which by no means announced the great age he was said to have attained; his person was attracting and his deportment accompanied by an affability which, without lessening the dignity of the prince, evinced the amiable character of the man. His dress consisted generally of a loose robe of yellow silk, a cap of black velvet, with a red ball on the top, and adorned with a peacock's feather which is the peculiar description of Mandarins of the first class; he usually wore boots embroidered with gold; and a sash of blue silk girded his waist. The emperor died in the 90th year, and the grand Choulai, who is the prime minister, and retained in office, still preserves the affections of the people. The late emperor of China, Kien Long, began his reign in 1735, and his grandfather Canghy reigned almost as long, he having ascended the throne in 1660, and died in

1722. It was Canghy, who, with allusion to the one storied houses of his subjects, exclaimed, "Undoubtedly, this Europe must be a very small and pitiful country, since the inhabitants cannot find ground enough to spread out their towns, but are obliged to live up thus in the air."

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#### DECEMBER.

2d. This afternoon two uninhabited houses, on Snow-hill, fell down. They were used as warehouses by a wholesale grocer; but, being old, and the floors extremely overloaded, they came down, and very fortunately without any person receiving any injury.

4th. Six waggons, loaded with part of the treasure taken in two rich Spanish frigates, reached the Bank from Plymouth. At nine o'clock the waggons arrived at Kensington, where they were met by a captain's guard of the grenadier battalion of the guards, and the procession moved along Piccadilly, St. James's street, Pall-Mall, the Strand, Fleet-street, and Cheapside. When the cavalcade reached the Mansion-house, the lord mayor, the lady mayores, capt. Young, &c. came in front of the house, and drank out of a golden cup, "Success to the British navy," the band playing Rule Britannia, while the honest tars, who were regaled at the same time, gave his lordship three cheers.

6th. A numerous meeting took place at the London Tavern, for the purpose of alleviating the wants of the industrious poor. Mr. Devaynes, being called to the chair, recommended an extension of the plan commenced

commenced with so good effect, in 1795. Mr. W. Forster entered largely into the benefits that had resulted from that subscription, and stated, that in the months ending the 27th of last April, 40,000 persons had been relieved by 750,918 meals from the soup-shops, at an aggregate expence of 3,476*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* and concluded by moving resolutions to extend the meritorious establishment. A subscription then took place, and a committee of 35 persons was appointed to conduct the same.

12th. *Waterford.* On Saturday night the most tremendous fire, we have ever had the mortification of being witness to, broke out in the sugar-house of Messrs. Perriers, which, notwithstanding the most extraordinary exertions of the mayor and sheriffs, of gen. Myers, the officers and privates of the garrison, and of the gentlemen, and other inhabitants, who attended, the entire fabric, with an amazing quantity of sugars, the utensils, &c. were reduced to ashes.

14th. The sword which has been voted to earl St. Vincent, by the corporation of London, was this day delivered to his lordship, by Richard Clark, esq. the present chamberlain.

22d. The footman who was with earl Scarborough, when his carriage was upset near Fitzroy-square, died of his wounds, and was this day buried.

23d. Jean Baptiste Prevot, a Frenchman, was taken from Newgate to Execution-Dock, attended by the water-bailiff, carrying the silver oar, the sheriffs, and city marshals, to suffer the sentence of the law, for the murder of capt. Wilcox, on board the Lady Shore tran-

sport. He was accompanied in the cart by a Romish priest, to whom he paid great attention, being penitently resigned to his fate. The body, after hanging the usual time, was brought back for dissection.

24th. Early this morning, a terrible fire broke out at the premises of Messrs. Lucas and Martin, sugar-bakers, in Osborne-street, White-chapel, which consumed the same. The cause is not known, but it is generally supposed to have been from accident. On the preceding evening, about eight, Mr. Martin went over the premises to see if all was safe, as was his usual custom, previous to returning home. About the hour first mentioned, the people in a warehouse opposite were made sensible of an approaching conflagration by the excessive heat arising from the flames, and on going into the street (which was totally enveloped in fire and smoke), fortunately recollected the imminent danger in which the two porters were placed, who slept over the sugar ware-rooms; upon which they, with difficulty, found their way to the principal gate, where they endeavoured to force an entrance: in this, however, they could not succeed; but, happily, the noise which they made with sledge-hammers so far answered their purpose, as to awaken and preserve the lives of the men, one of whom escaped over the roof; the other, in his shirt, ventured down stairs, and jumped from the lower windows into the street, without sustaining any other injury than being scorched by the fire. The premises were built in the summer of 1798, at upwards of 5,000*l.* expence; and the whole property was insured much under its real value.

30th. The consuls of the French republic considering that for six months past, the body of Pius VI. has been lying in the city of Valence without having had the honours of burial granted to it, have published a decree, reciting,—that, though this old man, respectable by his misfortunes, was for a moment the enemy of France, it was only when seduced by the councils of men who surrounded his old age;—that it becomes the dignity of the French nation, and is conformable to the sensibility of the national character, to bestow marks of consideration upon a man who occupied one of the highest ranks upon earth: and therefore, “1st. The minister of the interior shall give orders that the body of Pius VI. be buried with the honours due to those of his rank. 2d. That a simple monument be raised to him, on the place of his burial, expressing the dignity which he bore.”

The light-house erected on the island of Anbolt, being 112 feet above the surface of the water, so that the fire on it, on account of its extraordinary height, often misleads mariners in point of distance; measures have been taken for placing a lanthorn, at about half the height above-mentioned, on the east side of the light-house, facing the flat and point of Knobon, which may also be seen from a southern and northern direction; but to ships coming from a western direction it will not be visible, being covered by the light-house. This lanthorn-fire will be lighted, for the first time, on the 1st of January, 1800, from which time it will be continued every night, in addition to the usual fire.

The largest bell in the known world, is in the cathedral of Moscow, presented by the empress Anne, and weighs the most extraordinary weight of 432,000lbs. or 193 tons.

The following vessels, of different nations, passed through the Sound, in the course of the year 1799:

English	....	2,399
Danish	.....	1,571
Swedish	....	1,674
Prussians	....	1,420
Americans	..	152
Rostockers	..	137
Pappenburgers,		97
Hamburgers,		5
Oldenburgers,		33
Bremeners	..	61
Lubeckers	..	54
Russians	....	13
Portuguese	..	2

Together 7,818 ships  
of all nations.

The following is a statement of the quantity of table beer brewed by the first twelve houses in London, for the last two years, ending on the 5th of July in each year.

1798.

	<i>Barrels.</i>
Kirkman and co.	. 30,029
Sandford and co.	. 20,217
Charrington and co.	. 14,482
Edmonds and co.	. 13,343
Nieman and co.	. 13,294
Cape and son.	. 12,793
Bond, Edward	. 10,572
Satchell, Richard	. 9,681
Park and co.	. 9,633
Levelque, John	. 8,333
Cowell and co.	. 7,571
Holbrook, James	. 6,957

1799.

1799.

*Barrels.*

Kirkman and co. .	28,266
Sandford and co. .	18,726
Combrune, Gideon,	18,667
Charrington and co.	14,363
Edmonds and co. .	13,964
Cape and son . .	12,327
Satchell, Richard .	10,253
Park and co. . .	10,129
Levesque, John .	9,317
Bond, Edward . .	9,245
Cowell and co . .	7,547
Holbrook, James .	6,486

**DIED.** Of an apoplexy, at Abbeville, in the department of the Lower Seine, where he had for several years lived in great retirement, in a state bordering upon want, in his 79th year, Marmontel, author of "Belisarius." When, three years ago, he was nominated to the legislature, he went to the electoral assembly; and, thanking his fellow-citizens for this mark of respect, said to them, "You behold, my friends, a body enfeebled by age; but the heart of an honest man never grows old." He was ill only a few hours before he died. He has left a wife and two children in very indifferent circumstances.

*BIRTHS in the Year 1799.*

*Jan.* 3d. The lady of sir J. Ken-  
naway, bart. a daughter.

22d. The lady of sir Francis Lin-  
ley Wood, bart. a son and heir.

The lady of sir John Harrington,  
bart. a daughter.

29th. Lady Margaret M'Lean, a  
son.

*Feb.* 16. Countess Conyngham, a  
daughter.

Duchess of Athol, a son.

Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a  
daughter.

*March* 4th. Lady of lord Robert  
Fitzgerald, minister at Copenhagen,  
two daughters.

5th. Countess of Derby, a daugh-  
ter.

17th. Lady of sir John Trollope,  
bart. a daughter.

20th. Lady Charlotte Wingfield,  
a son.

*April* 3d. Lady Bruce, a daugh-  
ter.

5th. Lady Brownlow, a daugh-  
ter.

8th. Lady Elizabeth Lowther, a  
daughter.

9th. At Vienna, the empress of  
Germany, an archduke, baptized  
by the name of Joseph Francis  
Leopold.

23d. Lady of A. Allardyce, esq,  
M. P. a daughter.

25th. Lady of Inigo Freeman  
Thomas, M. P. a daughter.

Lady Riverdale, a son.  
The lady of sir Thomas Parkyns,  
bart. a daughter.

*May* 2d. Countess Camden, a son  
and heir.

4th. Countess of Cassilis, a daugh-  
ter.

The lady of the Hon. Col. Vaugh-  
an, M. P. a son.

8th. The lady of William Baker,  
esq. M. P. a son.

12th. The hon. Mrs. Gunning, a  
son.

14th. The lady of Sam. Smith,  
esq. M. P. a son.

25th. Lady Rodney, a son.

28th. Lady Mulgrave, a daugh-  
ter.

29th. At St. Petersburg, the  
young grand duchess, consort of the  
grand duke Alexander, a princess.

*June* 11. The marchioness of  
Donegal, a son.

14th. The

## 44 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

14th. The lady of sir John Char-  
din Mulgrave, bart. a son.

21st. Countess of Harborough, a  
daughter.

The lady of Edward Berkeley  
Portman, esq. a son.

Lady of the hon. and rev. T. J.  
Twisleton, a son.

25th. The lady mayorefs, a son.

July 6th. The marchionefs of  
Tichfield, a son.

10th. The right hon. lady Auck-  
land, a son.

11th. The duchefs of Manchester,  
a son and heir.

15th. Viscountefs Deerhurst, a  
daughter.

The lady of Sackville Gwynne,  
esq. a daughter.

16th. The duchefs of Montrose,  
a son and heir.

18th. Right hon. lady Charlotte  
Nares, a son.

The countefs of Aylesford, two  
children

21st. The right hon. lady Rous,  
a daughter.

Lady Mary Fludyer, a daughter.

August 15th. Countefs of Aboyne,  
a daughter.

16th. Lady of the hon. Lawrence  
Dundas, a son.

September 2d. The lady of sir James  
Saumarez, a son.

6th. The lady of Edward Law,  
esq. a daughter.

14th. Lady Lucy Bridgeman, a  
daughter.

At Potsdam, the queen of Prussia,  
a princefs.

16th. The lady of alderman Per-  
ring, a daughter.

19th. Lady Harriet Sullivan, a  
son.

22d. The countefs of Cork, a  
son.

31st. Viscountefs Fielding, a  
son.

November 4th. The lady of his ex-  
cellency Mr. Spencer Smith, Englifh  
ambaffador at Conftantinople, a  
daughter.

The lady of gen. Cradock, one  
of the daughters of the earl of Clan-  
william, a son and heir, at Dublin.

The lady of fir Edward Pellew,  
bart. a son.

7th. Lady Dynevor, a daughter,  
The lady of Thomas Tyrwhitt  
Jones, esq. M. P. a daughter.

The hon. Mrs. Stanley, a daugh-  
ter.

Lady Charles Aynfley, a son.

9th. At Stockholm, her majesty  
the queen of Sweden, a prince  
and heir to the throne.

13th. Lady Inverary, a son.

22d. Lady Arden, a son.

27th. The lady of George Henry  
Rose, esq. M. P. a son.

The lady of Robert Brudenell,  
esq. M. P. a daughter.

Countefs Spencer, a son.

### MARRIAGES in the Year 1799.

Jan. 8th. Count Francis Byland,  
of the Hague, to the hon. Mrs.  
Naylor.

14th. The hon. Hugh Lindsay,  
to Mifs J. Gordon.

25th. George Abercrombie, esq.  
fon of fir Ralph Abercrombie, to  
Mifs Montagu Dundas, youngest  
daughter of the right hon. Henry  
Dundas, one of his majesty's princi-  
pal fecretaries of ftate.

Feb. 13th. Major-general Jones,  
to Mifs E. A. Williams.

25th. Sir Thomas Boulden  
Thompson, knight, to Mifs  
Raikes.

March 10th. Lord Charles Fitz-  
roy, fecond fon of the duke of Graf-  
ton, to lady Frances Stewart, eldeft  
daughter

daughter of the earl of Londonderry.

14th. Sir Thomas Webb, bart. to the hon. Miss Dillon, daughter of lord viscount Dillon.

28th. Captain Durham, of the royal navy, to lady Charlotte Bruce.

The right hon. lord William Beauclerk, second son to the duke of St. Alban's, to Miss Nelthorpe.

30th. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart Worthy, to lady Caroline Creighton, youngest daughter of the earl of Erne.

The right hon. earl of Clanricarde, to Miss Burke, daughter of sir Thomas Burke, bart.

*April 16.* Major-general sir Charles Ross, bart. to lady Mary Fitzgerald, eldest daughter of the duke of Leinster.

22d. The duke of Rutland, to lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the earl of Carlisle.

26th. Sir Harry Vane Tempest, bart. to the right hon. Anne, countess of Antrim.

*May 1.* The earl of Chesterfield, to lady H. Thynne.

14th. Viscount Southwell, to Miss Jane Berkeley.

19th. Lord Wentworth, eldest son of the earl of Stafford, to Miss Louisa Packington, eldest daughter of sir John Packington, bart.

21st. Captain Copley, of the guards, to lady Cecil Hamilton, late marchioness of Abercorn.

23d. The hon. Joseph Bourke, dean of Offory, to Miss Gardiner.

Colonel viscount de Bruges, a French nobleman, to Miss Sarah Harvey, eldest daughter of the late colonel Stanhope Harvey.

30th. Lieutenant-colonel Driffield, of his majesty's marine forces, to Miss Anne Caroline Bligh, se-

cond daughter of vice-admiral Bligh.

Lord Bagot, to the hon. Miss Fitzroy, sister to lord Southampton.

The right hon. Francis, earl of Llandaff, to Miss Coghlan, sister to the countess of Barrymore.

*June 1.* Lord Hobart, to the hon. Miss Eleanor Agnes Eden, eldest daughter of lord Auckland.

11th. Sir Robert Williams, bart. M. P. to Miss Ann Hughes.

*July 25.* Colonel de Charmilly, to Miss D. Blackwood, daughter of sir J. Blackwood, bart.

*August 1.* The hon. Richard Ryder, M. P. for Tiverton, second son of lord Harrowby, to Miss Frederica Skinner, daughter of sir John Skinner, with a fortune of 100,000*l.*

4th. Vere Inham, esq. second son of sir Justinian Inham, bart. to Miss Chambers.

6th. Francis Barlow, esq. to the right hon. lady Catharine Brabazon, fifth sister of William, the late and ninth earl of Meath, and cousin to Edward, the present earl of Meath.

7th. Captain Carrington Smith, to the hon. Charlotte Juliana Butler, only daughter of Edmond, the late, and eleventh lord viscount Mountgarret, and sister of Edmund, present and first earl of Kilkenny, and twelfth viscount of Mountgarret.

9th. Culling Smith, esq. to the right hon. lady Anne Fitzroy, daughter of Garret, late earl of Mornington, sister to Richard, the present earl of Mornington, and relict of the hon. Henry Fitzroy, fourth son of the late, and brother of the present, lord Southampton.

Lieutenant-colonel Houghton, of the royal artillery, to Miss Thurlow, eldest

eldest daughter of the late bishop of Durham.

Lieutenant-colonel Chester, of the Coldstream regiment of guards, to Miss Clinton, daughter of sir Henry Clinton, K. B. deceased.

James Duff, esq. nephew and heir to the earl of Fife, to Miss Maria Manners, one of the daughters of lady Louisa Manners, and sister to lady Heathcote.

Charles Nathaniel Bayly, esq. to lady Sarah Villiers, fourth daughter of the earl of Jersey.

Sir Henry Wilson, to lady Frances Elizabeth Brudenel Bruce, daughter of the earl of Aylesbury.

James Frampton, of Moreton, Dorsetshire, esq. to lady Harriet Strangeways, third daughter of the earl of Ilchester.

Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, bart. to Miss Elizabeth Smith.

*Sept.* 28th. The right hon. earl Ferrers, to Miss Elizabeth Mundy.

John Angerstein, esq. M. P. to Miss Amelia Lock.

Sir Thomas Durrant, bart. of Scottow, in Norfolk, to Miss Steenberg.

Rear-admiral Chichagoff, of the Russian navy, to Miss Proby, youngest daughter of the late commissioner Proby.

Sir William Loraine, bart. to Miss Campart, of Kensington-Gore.

*Oct.* 16th. Hon. Edward John Tournour, youngest son of the late earl Winterton, to Miss Richardson.

Major John Macdonald, of the regiment of the Isles, to Miss Chambers, daughter of sir Robert Chambers.

Sir Charles Wale Mallet, to Miss Wale, late of Bombay.

The right hon. lord Riversdale, to Miss Charlotte St. Ledger, daughter of lord viscount Doneraile.

26th. Major O'Loghlin, of the 14th light dragoons, to Miss Dupré, daughter of Mrs. Dupré, of Portland-place.

At the Imperial residence of Gatchina, near St. Petersburg, his royal highness the archduke Joseph palatine of Hungary, to her Imperial highness the great duchess Alexandra.

*Nov.* 3d. At Petersburg, her Imperial highness Helena Pawlowna, to his serene highness the hereditary prince Frederick, of Mecklenburg.

Vice-admiral Dickson, to Miss Willins.

14th. James Carstairs Bruce, esq. of Tillicoultry, to the hon. Elizabeth Cecilia Rollo, fourth daughter of the late lord Rollo.

Sir William Cunningham, of Copprington, to Miss Græme.

Lord Bantry, to Miss Hare.

23d. Lieutenant-colonel Henry Clinton, of the 1st foot-guards, second son of the late gen. sir Henry Clinton, to the hon. Susan Charteris, second daughter of lord Elcho.

The earl of Portsmouth, to Miss Norton, sister to lord Grantley.

#### PROMOTIONS *in the Year 1799.*

*Jan.* 8th. Lieutenant-general the hon. Charles Stuart, created knight of the bath.

9th. Dr. Thomas Somerville, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, in Scotland.

Dr. Gerald, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, in Scotland.

Dr. Wm. Gloag, to be his majesty's almoner, in Scotland.

12th. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such

to long only as the respective regiments of militia shall remain embodied for actual service; col. the right hon. William, lord Milfintown, of the North Lincolnshire militia; col. George, earl of Buckinghamshire, of the 3d regiment of Lincolnshire militia.—Staff. Col. Henry Calvert, of the Coldstream foot-guards, to be adjutant-general to his majesty's forces. Lieutenant-colonel William Wynyard, of the Coldstream foot-guards, to be deputy adjutant-general to the said forces, *vice* Calvert. Captain James Mackenzie, of the 85th foot, to be major of brigade in the forces in South Britain; capt. Allan Cameron, of the 66th foot, to be major of brigade to the said forces. Garrison. Col. Charles Crauford, of the 2d dragoon guards, to be lieutenant-governor of Tyne-mouth and Clifford's fort.

19th. Hospital-Staff. Surgeon William Holmes, from the 5th foot, to be garrison-surgeon of Quebec.

22d. Sir John Macartney, of Lesh, county of Armagh, created a baronet.

23d. General sir William Fawcett, K. B. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Right rev. Dr. Hugh Hamilton, bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, translated to Ossory; rev. Matthew Young, D. D. promoted to the united bishopricks of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh.

Right hon. Isaac Corry, to be chancellor of the exchequer, in Ireland.

Sir George Daly, esq. to be his majesty's prime serjeant-at-law.

26th. Thomas Barclay, esq. appointed his majesty's consul-general for the Eastern States of America.

Brevet. Col. sir John Morshead,

bart. of the Devon and Cornwall miners, to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as the said miners shall remain embodied for actual service. Major Thomas Vincent Reynolds, of the 30th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Staff. Colonel Donald Macdonald, of the 55th foot, to be brigadier-general in the island of Guernsey only; captain Drigue Morgan, of the 36th foot, to be major of brigade to the forces.

Right rev. Tho. Lewis O'Beirne, bishop of Meath, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

31st. Charles Fauquier, esq. to be page of honour to her majesty.

*Feb. 5.* George Wardell, M. D. to be physician to the forces.

9th. Charles Arbuthnot, esq. to be his majesty's consul-general in Portugal. Alexander Cockburn, esq. to be his majesty's agent and consul to the circle of Lower Saxony, and to the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck.

Staff. John Gordon, gent. to be assistant-commisary of stores and provisions in the island of Dominica.

13th. Thomas Boulden Thompson, esq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

14th. Admirals of the blue, sir Chaloner Ogle, knt. right hon. Samuel viscount Hood, sir Richard Hughes, bart. John Elliot, esq. right hon. William lord Hotham, Joseph Peyton, esq. John Carter Allen, esq. sir Charles Middleton, bart. sir Richard King, bart. Philip Affleck, esq. right hon. John, earl of St. Vincent, K. B. right hon. Adam, viscount Duncan, to be admirals of the white.—Vice-admirals of the red, Richard Braithwaite, esq. Philip Cosby,



Cosby, esq. Samuel Cornish, esq. John Brisbane, esq. Charles Wolfeley, esq. Samuel Cranston Goodall, esq. his royal highness William Henry duke of Clarence, sir Richard Onslow, bart. Robert Kingmill, esq. sir George Bowyer, bart. sir Hyde Parker, knt. Benjamin Caldwell, esq. hon. William Cornwallis, to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the white, William Allen, esq. John Macbride, esq. George Vandeput, esq. Charles Buckner, esq. John Gell, esq. William Dickson, esq. sir Alan Gardner, bart. to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the blue, Robert Linzee, esq. sir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, esq. sir Thomas Pasley, bart. John Symons, esq. sir Thomas Rich, bart. sir Charles Thompson, bart. James Cumming, esq. sir John Colpoys, K. B. Skeffington Lutwich, esq. Archibald Dickson, esq. George Montagu, esq. Thomas Dumaresq, esq. right hon. George lord Keith, K. B. James Pigott, esq. hon. William Waldegrave, to be vice-admirals of the red.—Rear-admirals of the red, Thomas Mackenzie, esq. Thomas Pringle, esq. sir Roger Curtis, bart. Henry Harvey, esq. Robert Man, esq. sir William Parker, bart. Charles Holmes Everitt Calmady, esq. John Bourmaster, esq. sir George Young, knt. John Henry, esq. Richard Rodney Bligh, esq. Alexander Gram, esq. George Keppel, esq. Samuel Reeve, esq. to be vice-admirals of the white.—Rear-admirals of the white, Robert Biggs, esq. Francis Parry, esq. Isaac Prescott, esq. John Bazeley, esq. Christopher Mason, esq. Thomas Spry, esq. sir John Orde, bart. William Young, esq. James Gambier, esq. Andrew Mitchell, esq.

Charles Chamberlayne, esq. Peter Rainier, esq. right hon. lord Hugh Seymour, to be vice-admirals of the blue.—Rear-admirals of the blue, John Stanhope, esq. Christopher Parker, esq. Philip Patton, esq. Charles Morice Pole, esq. John Brown, esq. John Leigh Douglas, esq. William Swiney, esq. Charles Edmund Nugent, esq. Charles Powell Hamilton, esq. Edmund Dod, esq. right hon. Horatio lord Nelson, K. B. Thomas Lenox Frederick, esq. sir George Home, bart. sir Charles Cotton, bart. to be rear-admirals of the red.—The undermentioned captains were also appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet, viz. captains Matthew Squire, Roddam Home, John Thomas, to be rear-admirals of the red.—Captains James Blake, John Pakenham, sir Erasmus Gower, knt. John Holloway, John Blanket, George Wilson, sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deane, Cuthbert Collingwood, Jas Hawkins Whitshed, Arthur Kempe, Smith Child, right hon. lord Charles Fitzgerald, Thomas Taylor, John Thomas Duckworth, to be rear-admirals of the white.—Captains John Knowles, John Willet Payne, sir Robert Calder, bart. James Richard Dacres, hon. George Berkeley, Thomas West, James Douglas, Peter Aplin, Henry Savage, Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, sir Richard Bickerton, bart. George Bowen, Robert Montagu, John Ferguson, Edward Edwards, sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B. to be rear-admirals of the blue.—Edward Thornborough, esq. sir William George Fairfax, knt. and sir James Saumarez, knt. to be colonels of his majesty's marine forces, viz. lord Thomas Pakenham, hon. George Berkeley

Berkeley, and John Thomas Duckworth, esq. appointed flag-officers of the fleet.

19th. Ralph lord Lavingdon, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. B. to be captain-general and governor in chief in and over the islands of Nevis, St. Christopher, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, Anquilla, and all other countries and plantations in America, commonly called or known by the name of the Charibee islands *vice* major general C. Leigh.

Staff. Capt. James Muter, of the 42d foot, to be major of brigade to the forces in the island of Minorca: capt. Richard Pigott, of the 14th light dragoons, to be major of brigade to the said forces.

Hon. George Napier, appointed examiner and comptroller of army accounts in Ireland.

25th. George Granville Leveson Gower (commonly called earl Gower), called to the house of peers, by the title of baron Gower, of Sittenham, in the county of York.

26th. Frederick, earl of Carlisle, appointed lord-lieutenant and *custos rotularum* of the East-riding of the county of York, and of the town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull, *vice* the duke of Leeds, deceased.

Staff. Brevet major William Lumfden, of the 55th foot, to be major of brigade to the forces, in the island of Guernsey, *vice* Donnellan, who resigns. James Laughnan, esq. to be commissary of musters to the forces in the East Indies, *vice* Strachey resigned. Richard Yeldham, esq. to be commissary of musters to the forces on the coast of Coromandel. Garrison. major general Thomas Murray, to be lieutenant-governor of the garrison of Portsmouth.

VOL. XLI.

March 1st. George-John, earl Spencer, created a knight of the garter.

6th. John Bodenham, esq. of Discord, to be sheriff of the county of Radnor.

13th. Lord Hawkesbury, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

James Durno, esq. of Atrochie, late consul at Memel, knighted.

19th. Staff. Major Alexander Stewart, of the 42d foot, to be quarter-master-general to the forces serving in Minorca, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Hospital staff. — Moore, M. D. acting inspector of hospitals, to be inspector of hospitals in Portugal. Garrison. — Moodie, D. D. to be chaplain of the garrison of Stirling-castle.

26th. Rev. George William Lukin, L. L. D. and prebendary of Westminster, to be dean of Wells, and the reverend Thomas Causton, to be a prebendary of Westminster.

30th. George Canning, esq. appointed one of the commissioners for managing the affairs of India.

April 5d. Sir George Yonge, bart. K. B. took the oaths on being appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope.

9th. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments shall remain embodied for actual service; col. John Kemys Tynte, of the West Somersetshire militia; col. John Strode, of the East Somersetshire militia; col. John Colby, of the royal Pembroke-shire militia.

13th. The earl of Elgin, to be his majesty's ambassador extraordinary at the Sublime Porte.

E

Thomas

Thomas Jackson, esq. to be minister-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia.

James Talbot, esq. to be secretary of legation at the court of Stockholm.

Justinian Casamajor, esq. to be secretary of legation at the court of Petersburg.

Anthony Merry, esq. to be consul-general in the dominions of the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia.

16th. Staff. Col. John Scerret, of the late 7th West India regiment, to be brigadier-general to the forces in the island of Newfoundland. Capt. John Lawrenson, of the 18th light-dragoons, to be major of brigade in North Britain.

23d. His royal highness prince Edward, created duke of Kent, and of Strathern, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Dublin, in the kingdom of Ireland.

His royal highness prince Ernest Augustus, created duke of Cumberland, and of Teviotdale, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Armagh, in the kingdom of Ireland.

23d. Staff. Col. the hon. Cochran Johnstone, of the 8th West India regiment, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward Islands only.

May 3d John Harrison, esq. to be one of the commissioners for victualling the royal navy.

10th. Thomas Hayward, esquire, knighted.

The earl of Leven and Melville, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

William Macleod Bannatyne, esq. appointed one of the lords of session in Scotland.

10th. Lieut. general his royal

highness the duke of Kent, appointed a general in the army.

14th. Philip Lybbe Powys, jun. esq. appointed clerk of the checque to the band of gentlemen-pensioners.

17th. His royal highness gen. Edward duke of Kent, K. G. to be general and commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in North America.

29th. David Rae, esq. of Eskgrove, one of the lords of session, and a senator of the college of justice, appointed his majesty's justice clerk in Scotland.

June 4th. Staff. Colonel George Moncrieffe, of the 90th foot, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving in the Mediterranean only. Major Kenneth Mackenzie, of the 90th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major John Duncan, of the royal artillery, to be deputy quarter-master general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Serjeant J. Mitchell, from the 2d battalion royals, to be provost-marshal to the said forces.

5th. Their royal highnesses the dukes of Kent and Cumberland, sworn of his majesty's privy-council.

11th. Francis Drake, esq. to be his majesty's envoy-extraordinary to the Elector-Palatine, and minister to the diet at Ratisbon.

14th. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Brownrigg, of the 3d foot, to be deputy quartermaster-general in Ireland. Lieut. col. Quin John Freeman, to be deputy barrack master-general in Ireland.

22d. Claud Irvine Boswell, esq. appointed one of the lords of session in Scotland, and Neil Ferguson, esq. advocate

advocate, to be sheriff-depute of Fife and Kinross.

20th. Christopher Pegge, M. D. reader of anatomy in the university of Oxford, and major of the Oxford university association, knighted.

Lord Grenville, elected governor of the Levant company, *vice* the duke of Leeds, *dece*.

John Vaughan, esq. of Lincoln's Inn, barrister-at-law, and recorder of Leicester, called to the degree of serjeant-at-law.

25th. Brevet. Col. John lord Cawdor, of the Caermarthenshire militia, to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as the said regiment of militia shall remain embodied for actual service.—Staff. Brevet. Lieutenant colonel John Le Couteur, from the 1st foot, to be inspector of the militia serving in the island of Jersey. Brevet. Lieut. col. sir Thomas Saundarez, from the royal fuzileers, to be inspector of the militia in the island of Guernsey. Wm. Boothby, *etc.* to be paymaster of a recruiting district.

28th. Sir Frederick Morton Eden, bart. K. B. created a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the name, style, and title of baron Henley, of Chardstock.

29th. Major-generals Edmund Fanning, William Gardiner, Henry Johnston, honourable Henry Edward Fox, John W. T. Watson, James Lumsdaine, Lowther Pennington, Philip Goldworthy, Duncan Drummond, William Spry, Charles Eustace, Francis Edward Gwyn, Robert Morfe, Francis lord Heathfield, D. S. Stanwix, and sir James Pulteney, bart. to be lieutenant-generals in the army.—Garri-  
son. Major-general John White-  
lock, to be lieutenant-governor of

the garrison of Portsmouth, *vice* Murray, resigned. Captain Flaylett Framingham, of the royal artillery, to be governor of the fort of Fornelles, in the island of Minorca.

July 2d. Right hon. Gilbert, lord Minto, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna.

3d. Thomas, earl of Elgin, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

—James Allan Park, of Lincoln's Inn, constituted and appointed one of his majesty's counsel learned in the law.

6th. Staff. Lieut. col. Albert Gledstanes, of the 57th foot, to be adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Leeward Islands. Lieut. colonel Frederick Maitland, of the 27th foot, to be quartermaster-general to the said forces.

10th. John Henry, duke of Rutland took the oaths on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Leicester.

Robert Cullen, of Cullen, esq. one of the lords of session, appointed a lord of justiciary in Scotland. William Honeyman of Armadale, esq. to be a lord of justiciary in Scotland. George Fergusson, esq. to be one of the lords of session in Scotland. Mr. John Anstruther, to be one of the four commissaries of Edinburgh. Dr. George Hill, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland.

13th. His royal highness Ernest Augustus duke of Cumberland, K. G. to be lieutenant-general in the army.

17th. Right hon. sir John Scott, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

18th. Right hon. sir John Scott, knt. late his majesty's attorney-general, created a baron of the king-

dom of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Eldon, of Eldon, in the county of Durham.

18. Rev. John Kearney, D. D. to be provost of Trinity college, Dublin, sir Geo. Shee, bart. to be secretary to the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury in this kingdom.

23d. Garrison. Hon. lieutenant-gen. sir Charles Stuart, K. B. to be governor, and the hon. lieutenant-gen. Henry Edward Fox, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of Minorca.

27th. Garrisons. Col. John Callow, of the 3d dragoons, to be lieutenant-governor of Quebec. E. B. Brenton, esq. deputy judge-advocate of Nova-Scotia and New Brunswick, to be deputy judge-advocate to the forces in all the British provinces of North America.

Aug. 6th. Staff. George Brinley esq. to be commissary-general in British North America. John Butler Butler, esq. to be deputy-commissary-general in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, St. John's Island, and Cape Breton. John Craigie, esq. to be deputy-commissary-general in the Canadas.

10th. Brevet. Major Lewis Hay, of the royal engineers, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Staff. Major gen. George Hewitt, to be inspector-general of the recruiting service. Capt. Henry Erskine, of the Scotch brigade, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces at the Cape of Good Hope, with the rank of major in the army.

12th. Right hon. John Berresford, right hon. sir Hercules Langrishe, bart. right hon. Richard Hely viscount Donoughmore, right hon. Richard Annesley, Charles Henry Coote, Maurice Fitzgerald,

John Ormsby Vandeleur, John Townshend, and Montifort Longfield, esqrs. to be chief commissioners of his majesty's revenues of excise and customs in the kingdom of Ireland.

13th. Staff. Hon. col. J. Hope, of the 25th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces under the command of lieutenant-gen. sir Ralph Abercromby. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Anstruther, of the 68th foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the said forces. Henry Motz, esq. to be commissary-general to the said forces.—Hospital staff. Thomas Young, esq. from half-pay, to be inspector-general of hospitals for the said forces.

John Falcon, esquire, to be his majesty's agent and consul-general for the city and kingdom of Algiers.

Rev. John Randolph, D. D. recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Oxford.

14th. Right hon. John Jessop earl Camden, installed a knight of the garter.

17th. Shadrach Moyle, esq. appointed a commissioner of the customs of Scotland.

20th. Staff. Lieutenant-col. J. Drinkwater, on the half-pay of the late 109th foot, to be commissary of accounts to the forces under the command of sir Ralph Abercromby.

Hon. Samuel Barrington, admiral of the white, to be general of his majesty's marine forces, and the right hon. Alexander, lord Bridport, K. B. admiral of the white, to be lieutenant-general of the said forces.

Sept. 3d. Right hon. John, earl of Clare, of the kingdom of Ireland, and lord-chancellor of the said kingdom, created an English baron, by the title of baron Fitz-Gibbon, of Sidbury, in the county of Devon.

Bene

Brevet. Capt. Rowland Edward, of the 9th foot, to be major in the army.—Hospital staff. To be physician to the forces, Dr. Stewart Crawford.

4th. Brevet-major William Raymond, of the 89th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

7th. His royal highness field-marshal Frederick, duke of York, K. G. to be captain-general of all and singular his majesty's land forces raised, or to be raised and employed, in his majesty's service within the kingdom of Great Britain; and also of all and singular his majesty's land forces which are or shall be employed on the continent of Europe, in conjunction with the troops of his majesty's allies.

William Meikleham, LL. D. to be professor of practical astronomy, and observer in the university of Glasgow. Rev. Alexander Fleming, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland. Rev. John Thomson, presented to the church and parish of Dailly, in the presbytery and county of Ayr.

10th. Brevet. Major Oliver Grace, of the Minorca regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major James Kempt, on the half-pay of the late 113th foot, to be lieutenant colonel in the army.

23d. Andrew Stewart, esq. and Robert Dundas, esq. (lord advocate for Scotland), constituted and appointed conjunctly to the sole and only clerks and keepers of the general register for feilins and other writs in Scotland.

25th. Right hon. Isaac Corry, chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Right hon. George Granville Leveson Gower, earl Gower, took the

oaths on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Stafford.

Oct. 8. Hospital staff. Andrew Mitchell, M. D. to be physician to the forces.

16th. Richard Maister, esq. took the oaths on being appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief of the island of Tobago, and its dependencies.

19th. Brevet count Bentinck de Rhone, to be colonel in the army on the continent of Europe only. Capt. James Fitzgerald, of the 3d foot guards, to be major in the army. Capt. Thomas Browne, of the 59th foot, to be major in the army. Frederick Vander Hooven, gent. aid-du-camp to count Bentinck de Rhone, to be captain in the army on the continent of Europe only.—Staff. Hon. col. John Hope, deputy-adjutant-general, to be adjutant-general to the army serving under the command of his royal highness the duke of York. Hon. lieutenant-col. Alexander Hope, assistant-adjutant-general, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the said army, vice John Hope. Lieutenant-col. John Sontag, to be military commissary to the troops forming under his serene highness the hereditary prince of Orange. Capt. Stephen Watts, to be assistant-barrack-master-general in the island of Jersey, with the rank of major in the army, so long only as he shall continue in the barrack-department. Henry Castleman, esq. to be assistant-barrack-master-general.

26th. Staff. Lachlan Maclean, gent. to be barrack-master at Fort St. George. John Johnston, gent. to be barrack-master in the island of Minorca.

30th. Right hon. Ralph, lord Lavingdon, K. B. sworn of his majesty's

## 54. ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

jefty's most honourable privy-council.

*Nov.* 2d. Brevet. Col. Samuel Twentymen, of the 87th foot, to be brigadier-general in the West Indies only.—Capt. R. Sacheverell Newton, of the 9th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Lieut.-col. George Townshend Walker, of the 50th foot, to be military commissary to the Russian troops.—Hospital staff. Samuel Cave, M. D. from half-pay, to be physician to the forces. Rob. Jackson, M. D. from half-pay, to be inspector of hospitals for the Russian troops.

12th. Brevet. Capt. William Culen, of the Scotch brigade, to be major in the army.

13th. Major-general his highness prince William to be lieutenant-general in the army.

16th. Dr. James Playfair, to be principal of the united colleges of St. Salvador, and St. Leonard, in the university of St. Andrew.

19th. Garrison. Rev. Frederick Neve, to be chaplain to the garrison of Minorca.

23d. Thomas Troubridge, esq. captain in the royal navy, and of Plymouth, created a baronet.

Geo. Napier, esq. to be commissary of the commissariat of Caithness. Mr. William Taylor, to be commissary-clerk of Caithness and Sutherland.

26th. Rev. Charles Henry Hall, B. D. to be a canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

Garrison. Major-general John Graves Simcoe, to be commandant of the garrison of Plymouth in the absence of the governor and of lieutenant. Grenville.

*Dec.* 2d. Richard, earl of Morington, K. P. created a marquis of Ireland, by the title of marquis

Wellesley, of Norrah, in that kingdom.

3d. Major-general Eccles Nixon, knighted.

Brevet. Capt. Henry Bird, of the 54th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Jonathan Page, gent. to be assistant barrack-master to the barracks occupied by the Dutch troops in the Isle of Wight.

10th. Hospital staff. Surgeons James Borland and Alex. Baillie, to be assistant-inspectors of Russian hospitals.

14th. Brevet. Major-gen. sir Hew Dalrymple, knt. to be lieutenant-gen. in the island of Guernsey only. Major-gen. Andrew Gordon, to be lieutenant-general in the island of Jersey only.

21st. Staff. Serjeant-major James Lee, from the 1st foot guards, to be provost-marshal, with the rank of captain in the army, on the continent of Europe only.

23d. Major Colyer, to be equerry to the duke of Cumberland.

28th. Staff. Lieut.-col. Rob. Anstruther, of the 3d foot guards, to be a deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces.

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### DEATHS in 1799.

*Jan.* 1st. Aged 80, lady dowager Clementina Elphinstone, mother of lord Keith, and only daughter of John earl of Wigton.

Sir George Rich, bart.

Lord Swinton, one of the judges of the high court of judicary, and one of the senators of the college of justice.

The right hon. Arthur Chichester, marquis of Donegal. He was born on the 13th of June, 1730, and succeeded

ceeded his uncle in the title and estates in 1756. In 1761, he married a daughter of the duke of Hamilton, by whom he had issue four daughters and three sons, all of whom died young, except lord Belfast, born in 1769, and his brother Spencer. Lady Donegal dying in 1780, his lordship married in 1788, Mrs. Moore, who died a year afterwards without issue. The marquis next married a Miss Godfrey, a daughter to the late Dr. Godfrey, a clergyman of the county of Kerry in Ireland.

At Port Royal, Jamaica, of the yellow fever, the hon. lieut. Roger Montgomerie, of the royal navy, second son of the earl of Eglintoune.

6th. Prince William George Frederick, second son of the Stadtholder of Holland.

11th. The right hon. lady Charlotte Bertie, eldest daughter of the earl of Abington.

Lady Rebecca Honora Lewes, wife of sir Watkin Lewes.

22d, Frances lady Ongley, relict of the first lord, who died 1785.

Lady Christian, wife of admiral sir Hugh Cloberry Christian, K. B. commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope.

Lady Wilton, wife of sir Henry W. Her remains were removed for interment in the family-vault at Crofton, in the county of York.

31st. After a short illness, of an erysipelas in his side, which turned to a mortification, the most noble Francis Godolphin Osborne, fifth duke of Leeds, marquis of Carmarthen, earl of Danby, viscount Lattimer, and viscount Dunblaine, in Scotland, baron Osborne of Kiveton, a baronet, K. G. lord lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the east-riding of the county of York,

governor of the Scilly Islands, one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, governor of the Levant company, high steward of Hull, &c. and filled the office of principal secretary of state for the foreign department, from December 1783 to April 1791. His grace was born Jan. 29, 1731, and married, 1773, lady Amelia D'Arcy, only surviving child of the late earl of Holderness, by whom he had issue George-William-Frederick, (who succeeds him), born July 15, 1773, and, on the death of his mother, in 1784, succeeded to the barony of Conyers; Mary-Henrietta, born Sept. 7, 1776; and Francis Godolphin, born Oct. 11, 1777; and who, in the early years of conjugal intercourse, displayed the utmost degree of domestic virtue, and held forth the fairest prospect of connubial happiness: but these flattering prospects of nuptial felicity were all blighted, for this accomplished and amiable woman listened to the voice of seduction, and was the mark of public obloquy. This marriage was dissolved in 1779, when her grace married Mr. Byron, and died in 1784. The second wife of the late duke, was Miss Catharine Anguish, daughter of the late Thomas A. esq. a master in chancery, and one of the commissioners of public accounts, to whom he was married Oct. 14, 1788, and by whom he had one son, Sidney Godolphin, born Dec. 16, 1789, and a daughter, Catharine-Anne-Sarah. The now dowager dutchess chiefly attracted the attention of his grace by her peculiar taste and skill in music. The present duke married, August 7, 1797, Charlotte, daughter of the marquis Townshend.



Sir Hugh Christian, K. B. commander-in-chief of the ships at the Cape of Good Hope.

Hon. Henry Grey, son of the earl of Stamford and Warrington, wrecked on board his ship, the *Weagle*.

The dowager lady Tichbourne.

Thomas Naud, esq. of Eurlay-Hall, near Otley, Yorkshire, aged 81. He was the author of 1. *Wensley Dale; or Rural Contemplation*; a poem, 4to. 1771. 2. *Verbein; or, Wharfedale*; a poem, descriptive and didactic, 4to. 1782. 3. *Viator, a Poem*; or, a journey from London to Scarborough, by the way of York, with notes historical and topographical, 4to. 1782. 4. *The Invitation*; or, *Urbanity*; a poem, 4to. 1791.

Feb. 9. Hon. and rev. lord Francis Seymour, son of the duke of Somerset.

12th. George Augustus Clavering Cowper, earl Cowper.

20th. Lionel, twelfth earl of Dyffart.

In her 85th year, the hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Kerr, last surviving daughter of the late lord Charles Kerr.

At Munich, of an apoplexy, with which he had been struck four days before, Charles Theodore, elector of Bavaria, the only remaining heir of the branch of Saltzbach, one of those of the house of Bavaria Palatine. Few sovereign princes have had so long a reign. He was born in 1724, and became elector palatine in 1742; so that, including the time at Mannheim and Munich, he reigned 57 years; for, as the elder branch of the house of Bavaria became extinct in 1778, by the death of Maximilian-Joseph, Charles-Theodore united the palatine electorate to that of Bavaria, and transferred his residence from Mannheim to Mu-

nich. At that period Austria asserted its pretensions to Bavaria, which it had long coveted, and, after a short war, in which the great Frederick interfered, the emperor obtained, by the peace of Teschen, the eastern portion of that duchy, which included a space of 38,000 square German miles, and a population of 60,000 souls. The late elector, though twice married, left no children. His first wife was his cousin, Maria Elizabeth; by her he had a male child, which died in the birth. This electress died in August, 1794. In six months afterwards Charles-Theodore, notwithstanding his advanced age, married Maria-Leopoldine of Austria, the daughter of the archduke Ferdinand, then governor of Austrian Lombardy, but, as might be expected, had no children by her. His territories, on his death, devolved to his nearest relation, Maximilian-Joseph, the duke of Deux Ponts, who was born in 1756. The elector was distinguished for the patronage which he bestowed on the arts, with the professors of which he was constantly surrounded, whether he was at Munich or at Mannheim. The two electorates are indebted to him for some most useful institutions, which were suggested to him and carried into effect by one countryman, count Rumford. Including the palatinate and the duchies of Juliers and Berg, he reigned over more than two millions of subjects. His character was distinguished by many amiable qualities, and he is universally regretted on the continent.

At Leipzig, in his 68th year, John Hedwig, professor of botany. His researches respecting the Cryogamia class of plants will secure him

him immortal fame. His death will be a great loss to the General Literary Journal of Jena, to which he was a contributor, and which was indebted to him for many interesting communications.

Lazarus Spallanzani, of Reggio, the celebrated natural historian, died at Pavia, on the 11th of February.

George-Christopher Lichtenberg, public professor of philosophy in the university of Gottingen, and counsellor of state to his Britannic majesty.

In a very advanced age, Thomas Birmingham, earl of Louth, and 22d baron Athenry de Birmingham, premier baron of Ireland, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council. By his death the earldom of Louth becomes extinct, and the barony of Athenry lies in abeyance. His lordship was born 1717; chosen 1745, to represent the county of Galway in parliament; and was created, 1759, earl of Louth. He married, first, Jane, eldest daughter of sir John Bingham, of Castlebar, in the county of Mayo, bart. by whom he had a daughter, who died an infant; and secondly, 1750, Margaret, youngest daughter of Peter Daly, of Quansbury, in the county of Galway, counsellor-at-law, by whom he had two sons, who died young, and four daughters: 1. Elizabeth, married to William lord St. Lawrence, eldest son of Thomas earl of Howth; 2d. Mary, born 1756, married, 1759, to Francis Duffield, esq. late captain in the 60th regiment of foot; 3. Louisa-Catharine Mary, born 1764, married 1784, to Joseph-Henry Blake, of Ardsry, in the county of Galway, esq. 4. Matilda-Dorothea-Margaretta, died 1788. He is succeeded in his estates by lady Elizabeth Duffield and lady Louisa Blake.

The right hon. Robert Ross, one of the commissioners of his majesty's revenue, and M. P. for Newry.

At Aberdeen, the right rev. John Geddes, whose extensive learning and amiable manners endeared him to a numerous and respectable acquaintance.

4th. The right hon. William Ann Hollis Capel, earl of Essex, viscount Malden, baron Hadham. He was born 7th October, 1732, and married, first, Frances, daughter and heiress of sir Charles Hanbury Williams, by his wife lady Frances, daughter of Thomas, earl of Coningsby, by whom he had issue William, the present earl, and lady Elizabeth, who married John lord Monson. His lordship secondly married on March 3, 1767, Harriet, daughter of col. Thomas Bladon, by whom he has four sons now living. His lordship was lord of the bed-chamber to the late and present king.

6th. Miss Seddon, daughter of Mr. Seddon, upholsterer, of Aldersgate-street, aged 24 years. She was sitting alone by the fire, reading a book, a coal flew out and caught her clothes, which immediately blazed into a flame. The young lady ran down stairs, but finding no one there, she went up again. The maid servants were so alarmed at this shocking spectacle, that they fainted, and the unfortunate young lady was nearly consumed, before any assistance could be given. She lingered till this morning, and then expired.

8th. At his house in Fenchurch-street, Abraham Newman, esq. He was one of the richest citizens of London, and a happy instance of the wonderful powers of accumulation by the steady pursuit of honourable

nourable industry. Without speculation or adventure, he acquired 600,000*l.* as a grocer. He retired from trade about four years ago; but, so forcible was his habit, that he came every day to the shop, and ate his mutton at two o'clock, the good old city hour, with his successors. He has bequeathed upwards of 100,000*l.* to each of his two daughters, Mrs. Calwall, of Portland-place, and Jane, married, May 22d, 1788, to William Thoyts, esq. of Sulhamstead-Abbot, Berks.

In an advanced age, at Bognor, Suffex, sir Richard Hotham, knt. formerly M. P. for the borough of Southwark. To the spirit and liberality of this gentleman this country is indebted for the establishment of the new and fashionable watering-place called Hothampton, but better known by the name of Bognor-Rocks, which was erected entirely at his expence, and was solely his property. He is succeeded in his estates by his great nephew William Knott, esq.

14th. At Bladud's Buildings, Bath, William Melmoth, esq. aged 89 years. He was the son of William Melmoth, esq. author of "The Great Importance of a Religious Life," of which the numerous impressions sufficiently speak the praise. He was himself the author of 1. "Of Active and retired Life, an Epistle to Henry Coventry, esq." 2. The Letters of Pliny, the Consul, with occasional remarks, 2 vol. 8vo. 1747. 3. The Letters of sir Thomas Fitzosborne, 2 vol. 1748. 4. The Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero, to several of his Friends, with remarks, 3 vol. 8vo. 1753. 5. Cato, or an Essay on Old Age, by Marcus Tullius Cicero, with remarks, 8vo. 1773. 6. Lelius, or

an Essay on Friendship, by Marcus Tullius Cicero, with remarks, 8vo. 1777. 7. The Translator of Pliny's Letters vindicated from certain objections to his Remarks respecting Trajan's Persecution of the Christians in Bithynia, 4to. 1793. 8. Memoirs of a late eminent Advocate and Member of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, (the author's father) 8vo. 1796."

Lately, aged 67, John Strange, esq. of Portland-place, LL. D. F. R. S. and F. S. A. also member of many of the learned and literary societies of Europe. Mr. Strange was many years British resident at Venice, where he formed one of the best collection of pictures, (particularly of the Venetian school) now in England; his library was also most extensive and splendid. By his will he has directed the whole to be sold. Thomas Gould, esq. his brother-in-law; Edward Nares, his nephew; and Mr. Alexander, his solicitor, are appointed trustees and executors. Several papers by him are published in the *Archæologia*.

17th. Chas. Thompson, bart. M. P. for the borough of Monmouth, vice-admiral of the red, and third in command under admiral lord Bridport, of the channel fleet.

18th. At Exmouth, Devon, after a short illness, aged 45, Dr. James Ford formerly physician of St. George's hospital.

21st. The countess of Portmore, youngest daughter of John, earl of Rothes, born Aug. 29, 1753.

At his house in Charles-street, Berkley-square, in his 69th year, the right hon. Charles Bingham, earl of Lucan, baron Bingham of Castle-bar, in the kingdom of Ireland, and a baronet of Scotland.

At Edinburgh, Mr. Gillespie, the celebrated Scotch snuff-maker. He has left about 40,000*l.* to be applied to the establishing of an hospital for the maintenance of old men and women.

At Durham, the rev. Dr. Charles Cooper, prebendary of the first stall in that cathedral, to which he was translated from a prebend of York 1779.

At Leicester, John Howard, esq. only son of the late great Philanthropist.

26th. In Paul-street, Shoreditch, aged 61, Mr. James Calvert, formerly of Old-street, vinegar-merchant. He was the person who obtained the first 20,000*l.* in the lottery, about thirty years since, but died in a state of poverty.

30th, Elizabeth lady Gordon, relict of sir Samuel Gordon, bart. and mother of sir Jenison Gordon of Haverholm-Priory, and three daughters.

The right hon. Robert King, earl of Kingston, viscount Kingborough, and baron Kingston, of Rockingham, and a baronet. His lordship was the sixth baronet, and second earl, of this noble family (which has been three times elevated to the peerage. His lordship was born in 1754; and, before the decease of his noble father, represented the county of Cork in parliament. He succeeded his father Edward in 1797; and married, Dec. 5, 1769, Caroline, only daughter of Richard Fitzgerald, of Mount Ophaly. His lordship has left issue, George viscount Kingborough, born in April, 1771, who succeeds to the earldom; Robert-Edward; Edward; Henry; lady Margaret; lady Jane; lady Caroline, married to the right hon. Stephen earl of Montcashel, and has

issue lord Kilworth and others; lady Isabella Letitia. George the present and third earl of Kingston, before his father's decease, was member in parliament for the county of Roscommon, and succeeds to a clear estate of 26,000*l. per annum.* Caroline, countess of Kingston, has for some years been separated from her husband Robert, the late earl, through some unfortunate misunderstanding, and retired to Old Windsor, in England.

At Demarara, sir C. Lindsay, bart. commander of the *Daphne* frigate. He had dined on shore; and, though the night was dark and windy, could not be dissuaded from going off to his vessel in a very small boat he had ashore, and the *Daphne* at least ten miles out. The consequence was, the boat filled, and the service lost a valuable officer. Two men were washed on shore alive, one of whom died soon after. The body of sir Charles was also washed ashore.

April. Aged 43, Gregory Lewis Way, esq. author of a version of "*Fabliaux*; or, *Tales abridged from French Manuscripts of the 12th and 13th centuries.*" 8vo. 1796.

7th. Mr. John Churchill, apothecary, brother of the celebrated Charles Churchill.

10th. In his 61st year the hon. H. Hobart, brother to the earl of Buckinghamshire and member for Norwich.

In his 60th year, sir Robert Clayton, bart. member for Icheister.

11th. Sir William Bowyer, bart. of Denham, Bucks, a captain in the army, who succeeded his father, sir William, 1768.

Mrs. Elizabeth Hollier, of Pancras-lane. This lady, amongst other charitable legacies has bequeathed to St. Anne's Society 200*l.*

3 per cent Consols; Society of poor pious Clergymen 300*l.*; Orphan Working school 300*l.*; Hoxton Academy 300*l.*; Society for promoting religious Knowledge among the Poor 200*l.*; Coporation of Sons of the Clergy 150*l.*; Society for Relief of necessitous Widows and Children of Protestant Dissenting Ministers 300*l.*; Lady Huntingdon's College at Chestnut 1000*l.*; Missionary Society 2000*l.*; Society for Relief of casual Poor 100*l.*; Society called *Societas Evangelica* 200*l.*; Society called the Congregational Society in London 300*l.* In money: Homerton Academy 200*l.*; Independent Fund 300*l.*; Society in Lilypot-lane for Relief of sick Poor at their own Habitations 200*l.*; London Itinerant Society 100*l.*; Homerton Itinerant Society 200*l.*; Tabernacle in Moorfields 100*l.*; Baptist fund 50*l.*; Lying-in Charity 30*l.*; Presbyterian fund 30*l.* And amongst other legacies to her friends, has given to the rev. John Gill, St. Alban's 20*l.*; rev. Mr Reynolds, of Hoxton-square, 50*l.*; rev. John Newton, of Coleman-street 50*l.*; rev. Robert Winter, of Islington, 20*l.*; to two poor pious clergymen 8*l.* each; William Parker, esq. of South Lambert 200*l.*; Mrs. Rachel Taylor, 50*l.* &c. &c. &c.

12th. The hon. Mrs. Cary, relict of the hon. gen. Cary, and mother of lady Amherst and the late lady Ruffel.

19th. Lady Margery Murray, niece to William the first earl of Mansfield, and sister to the late earl.

The right hon. H. Yelverton, earl of Suffex, in the 70th year of his age.

21st. In his 80th year, the rev. Robert Sherrard, earl of Harborough. He was born Oct. 1, 1719, succeeded his brother Feb. 20,

1770, and in 1773 resigned his ecclesiastical preferments.

24th. William Seward, esq. F.R.S. and A. S. S.

In her 81st year, Elizabeth duchess-dowager of Beaufort, relict of Charles Noel, duke of Beaufort, baroness Botetourt, and sister to Norborne lord Botetourt.

At Paris, the celebrated Beaumarchais.

At Paris, in the 64th year of his age, Charles Borda, an eminent mathematician, and one of the authors of the new French system of weights and measures. He was lieutenant *du vaisseau de roi* under the old French government, and with de la Crene and Pingre made a voyage to America in order to ascertain the utility of certain instruments for determining the latitude and longitude. The account of this voyage was published under his inspection, with the title of "*Voyage fait par Ordre du Roi en 1771 et 1772, en diverses parties de l'Europe et de l'Amerique, pour verifier l'Utilite de plusieurs Methodes, et Instrumens servant a determiner la Latitude et la Longitude tant du vaisseau que des Cotes, Isles, &c. par M. M. Verdun de la Crene, les Chevaliers de Borda, et Pingre.*" 1778, 2 vol. 4to. Hewas author also of "*Description et Usage du Cercle de Reflexion,*" 1757, 4to. and several physical and mathematical memoirs in different journals. He has been succeeded in the Bureau des Longitude by C. Bourganville.

At Paris, aged 60 years and upwards, the chevalier St. George, celebrated for fencing and other bodily exercises.

26th. The rev. Mr. Villette, almost 30 years chaplain to Newgate; which important office he sustained.

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it may with truth be said, to the general satisfaction of the numerous magistrates under whom he served. He has left a widow and 6 children to lament his death.

At the Cape of Good Hope, colonel Harvey Aston, in a duel. An unfortunate quarrel with his officers induced him to go out on two successive days with the two majors of his regiment. In the second duel he fell; major Allan was his antagonist. When the eccentricities and irregularities of this gentleman, while in England, are recollected, his fate will create but little surprise or concern. He appears however to be less in fault in this than on some former occasions.

May 9th. Countess of Kerry. She was the second daughter of the late Peter Daly, esq. of Quansbury, in the county of Galway, in Ireland; and, upon the deaths of her sisters, the countess of Louth and viscountess Kingland, she inherited the whole of his very great estates in that and the adjoining counties.

At Cork, sir John Haly, M. D. He received the honour of knighthood from the late duke of Rutland when lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Hon. John Tufton, M. P. brother of the earl of Thanet.

Hon. Robert M<sup>c</sup>Queen, lord Braxfield, lord-chief-justice clerk of Scotland.

Murdered, lieut.-col. Shadwell, of the 25th light dragoons. He was a native of Castlebar, in Ireland, and, by his merit as a soldier, had risen from the ranks; he was, a few years since, adjutant to the prince of Wales's regiment of dragoons; was always deemed a strict disciplinarian; and to an indiscreet zeal seems to have sacrificed a life

fitted for higher duties in his country's service.—The following facts transpired before the coroner's inquest: That the colonel supposing two men, going along the Kentish road, near Wrotham, to be deserters, walked up to them, and began to examine them, and, on receiving very impertinent answers, collared one of them, and asked him for his furlough; the ruffian replied, "I'll shew you my furlough and be d—d to you"; and, drawing a pistol from his pantaloons-pocket, shot the colonel immediately through the heart: that a farmer, who was fortunately going about one of his fields adjoining the road, with his fowling-piece seeing the colonel fall, and the two men walk hastily off, pursued them to the gate of a wood, when the murderer halted, and began to recharge his pistol in great haste; whereupon the farmer leveled his gun at his head, and, though it was loaded only with small shot, wounded him so severely in his face, that he found no difficulty in securing him; that, some other persons now coming up, the other man was soon pursued and also taken. The verdict of the jury was, wilful murder against both.

20th. Sir John Lambert, bart. of Vatchel, Surrey, who had lately returned from Paris, where he resided many years, as a banker.

June. Other Windfor Hickman, earl of Plymouth, lord Hickman, a vice-president of the Welsh charity, and F. R. S.; born May 30, 1751; succeeded his father 1771. His remains were interred in the family-vault at Howel-grange, in the county of Worcester.

Mrs. Herbert, sister of the earl of Carnarvon, and bedchamber-woman to her majesty.

7th. Of a dropfy, at the house of the Spanish consul, Monf. de Lellis, at Trieste, the French princess Marie Victoire, aunt to Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII. ; and born May 3, 1733. She arrived there from Corsu, on the 20th of May. The funeral was celebrated with due ceremony; and the sepulchral monument of her highness, in the cathedral church, has an appropriate Latin inscription.

Lady-dowager Dungannon, relict of the late lord viscount Dungannon, of the kingdom of Ireland.

Mr. Samuel Galton, aged near 80. He was formerly a gun-maker of Duddleston, near Birmingham, and had acquired by his business a fortune of 200,000*l*.

26th. The right rev. Edward Smallwell, D. D. bishop of St. David's in 1783; and translated thence to Oxford in 1788; canon also of Christ's Church; and rector of Batford in the county of Gloucester.

July 4. Sir John Anstruther, of Anstruther, bart.

Sir William Lee, bart. of an ancient and distinguished family, in the county of Bucks. He was born in 1726.

In his 65th year, the right hon. sir James Eyre, knt. lord-chief-justice of the court of common pleas.

At Bristol Hot Wells, of a deep decline, Anthony Morris Storer, esq. of Devonshire-street, and Purley, Berks.

19th. Aged 77, lady Betty Mackenzie, fourth daughter, by his second wife, of John, duke of Argyle and Greenwich, and married to James Stuart Mackenzie, second son of James second earl of Bute.

At his seat at Knowle, Kent, in his 55th year, the right hon. John Frederick Sackville, duke of Dorset,

earl of Middlesex, baron Buckhurst, in Suffex, and baron Cranfield, of Cranfield, co. Bedford, hereditary high steward of Stratford-upon-Avon, vice-admiral of the coasts, colonel of the west regiment of Kent militia, lord-lieutenant of that county, lord-steward of his majesty's household, and K. G. He succeeded his uncle, Jan. 6, 1769, and, in 1790, married Miss Arabella-Diana Cope, daughter of the present countess of Liverpool, by her first marriage with sir Charles Cope. The surviving issue are, lady Mary Sackville, born July 30, 1792; George-John-Frederick, earl of Middlesex, who succeeds to the title and estates, born Nov. 15, 1793; and lady Elizabeth Sackville, born August 9, 1795. His grace, previous to his succeeding to the peerage, represented the county of Kent. He filled the office of ambassador to France at the commencement of the revolution. On his return, he was invested with the order of the garter, made lord-steward of his majesty's household, and lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent, which last situation he retained till within a short period of his death, being succeeded by lord Romney. He was not distinguished for mental vigour or literary attainment. At one time his grace was quite the fashion in the annals of gallantry. His remains were interred in the family-vault at Witham, Suffex.

The hon. Miss Upton, only daughter of lord Templetown.

25th. At Athens, on his travels, of a fever, which terminated fatally in a few days, in his 32d year, John Tweddell, esq. of the Inner Temple, London, B. A. and fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge; a very distinguished classical scholar. While resident

resident in the university, he obtained unprecedented honours by the numerous prizes adjudged to him for his classical compositions. Encouraged by Dr. Parr, and other distinguished scholars, he published 1798, when only twenty-two, a collection of these pieces in an octavo volume, under the title of "*Prolusiones juveniles Præmiis Academicis dignatæ.*" If this volume have a fault, it is the occasional appearance of affectation in the author; as one instance of which, among others, it may be remarked, that his beautiful Latin prose sometimes appears unnatural, and even obscure, from his efforts to introduce choice phrases and expressions which may display his learning. He had resided abroad near four years, in the course of which he had visited many different parts of Europe, particularly Russia, and the Turkish empire.

Aug 18. At Hamilton-palace, Scotland, his grace Douglas Hamilton, duke of Hamilton in Scotland, duke of Brandon in England, duke of Chatelherault in France, marquis of Hamilton, of Clydesdale, and of Douglas, earl of Angus, of Arran, and of Lanerk, lord Macanshire, Polmont, Abernethy, and Aberbrothick, in Scotland, and baron Dutton and Hamilton in England, lord-lieutenant of Lanerkshire, and hereditary keeper of the palaces of Holyroodhouse and Linlithgow. His grace was born July 25, 1756; married April 5, 1778, to Elizabeth daughter of the late Peter Burrell, esq. of Beckenham, Kent, sister to the duchess of Northumberland, to the countess of Beverley, and to lord Gwydir, deputy lord chamberlain of England; from this lady he was divorced in February, 1797, at

her grace's suit. His grace's father, James, sixth duke of Hamilton, married, on Feb. 24, 1752, Elizabeth, second daughter of John Gunning, esq. of Ireland, (by his wife Bridget, daughter of Theobald lord viscount Mayo,) by whom he had issue James George, late duke; Douglas Hamilton, afterwards duke; Elizabeth, married Edward, earl of Derby, and died in 1797. The duke died in 1758; and her grace married secondly, John, duke of Argyle, then marquis of Lorn, and had issue. Her grace was created a peeress of England May 20, 1770, by the title of baroness Hamilton, of Hameldon, in the county of Leicester. James George, the seventh duke, succeeded his father in the title Jan. 17, 1758, and also succeeded to the titles of marquis of Douglas and earl of Angus, on the death of Archibald last duke of Douglas, who died without issue, July 21, 1701. His grace being lineally descended of William, earl of Selkirk, eldest son, by the second marriage, of William first marquis of Douglas, and his grace dying unmarried July 7, 1769, was succeeded by his brother, Douglas Hamilton, late duke, whose death we now commemorate. By the second marriage of his mother Elizabeth Gunning duchess of Hamilton, with the duke of Argyle, his grace was brother to the marquis of Lorn, and nephew to lord Coventry. Her grace died Dec. 30, 1790, when her barony of Hamilton descended to her son, the late duke. His grace is succeeded in the English dukedom of Brandon, by lord Archibald Hamilton, his uncle (being son of the second duke of Brandon, by his third duchess); and the son of the earl of Derby by his grace's sister



sister succeeds to the dukedom of Hamilton, it being an honour in fee.

4th. At his house in Dublin, in his 71st year, the right hon. James Caulfield, earl of Charlemont, viscount Caulfeild, baron Caulfeild of Charlemont, knight of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, a member of his majesty's most honourable privy council, governor of the county of Armagh, president of the royal Irish academy, fellow of the royal and antiquarian societies in London, and LL. D. He was born August 18, 1728, and from June, 1746, to July, 1754, pursued his travels in foreign countries. In July, 1754, he was created LL. D. appointed governor of the county of Armagh, and member of the privy council in Ireland. October 7, same year, he took his seat in the house of lords, as fourth viscount Charlemont; and, by patent 23d December, 1763, was advanced to the title of earl. His lordship married, July 2d, 1768, Mary, daughter of Thomas Hickman, of Clare, esq. (a descendant of the noble family of Windfor Hickman, viscount Windfor, which family have now the title of earl of Plymouth); and hath left issue by her ladyship, one daughter, lady Elizabeth Caulfeild, born Dec. 13, 1773, and three sons, Francis William, lord Caulfeild, now earl of Charlemont, born Jan. 3, 1775; James Thomas, born Aug. 1, 1776; and Henry, born July 29, 1779. His lordship was the eighth nobleman of this illustrious house of Charlemont.

Sir Peter Nugent, bart. of West Meath, Ireland.

5th. In his 3d year, the right hon. Richard Howe, earl and viscount Howe, of Langar, in Nor-

thamptonshire, viscount Howe and baron Ctenawley, in Ireland. He succeeded his brother George Augustus, the late viscount, July 3, 1758.

Lady Anne Heathcote, daughter of the rev. Mr. Tollet, of Westminster, and relict of the late sir Thomas H. of Hurley, Hants, baronet, which last died an infant.

Frederick Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, viscount Wentworth, baron Stainborough, and baron of Raby, New March, and Overley, and a baronet. He was born 1730; succeeded his cousin William, the late earl, in 1791. His lordship came to the White Lion inn, Nottingham, where he supped, and went to bed in perfect health. On the next morning he was found dead.

Maj. general Wm. Rob. Fielding, lord viscount Fielding. He was born June 15, 1763, and married, April 26, 1791, to Miss Powis.

Charles Townshend, esq. of Chislehurst, in Kent, second son of the hon. Thomas T. one of his majesty's tellers of the exchequer, and M. P. for the university of Cambridge, by Albinia, the daughter of the hon. col. John Selwyn, and brother to lord viscount Sydney.

Lady Williams, relict of sir Booth Williams.

10th. William Champion, esq. joint-sheriff of the city of London, and alderman of Billingsgate ward.

At Osborn's hotel, in the Adelphi, Cha. Barber, esq. late a free merchant at Calcutta, and chief partner in the well-known house of Barber, Palmer, and Co. the business of which, for some years, is supposed to have cleared 30,000*l.* a year. He had realized in India a fortune certainly of upwards of

200,000*l.*

200,000*l.* since it is known he had lodged 80,000*l.* in the English funds, and brought home with him 100,000*l.* in Danish bills. He declared on his death bed that he did not know any relation, and that it was out of his power to name an heir to his great wealth. Inquiries are set on foot to discover the proper heir; and a young woman, who says she is a second cousin by the mother's side, has appeared; but attempts are making to discover a nearer relation.

Aged 22, Philip Shelley Sidney, esq. of Penhurst, in Kent. While paddling in a canoe, which he brought with him from Nova Scotia, it suddenly overset in the large pond before the castle. Notwithstanding there were three persons on the spot, one of them Mr. Sidney's brother, the unfortunate young gentleman, though an excellent swimmer, by being entangled with weeds, sunk, and was not found till nine hours after the accident.

At the palace of St. Asaph, Mrs. Bagot, wife of the bishop of St. Asaph, and daughter of the late Henry Edward Hay, governor of Barbadoes.

At Xanten, near Aix-la-Chapelle, M. De Pauw, the author of three ingenious French works, intituled, "Researches on the Americans, the Egyptians and Chinese, and the Greeks," and uncle of Anacharsis Cloots.

On the continent, Madame Rossi, the celebrated dancer, who performed a few years since at the Opera-house here.

At Paris, Le Monnier, the French astronomer. He was one of those on whom the journey made to the north, in 1735, for the admeasurement of the globe, principally rested.

The right hon. Nicholas lord Cloncurry, baron of Cloncurry, in the county of Kildare, and a baronet. His lordship was eldest son and heir of the late Patrick Lawles, esq. of Cloncurry, who left issue, beside the lord Cloncurry, one daughter, Margaret, countess of Clonmell, (who married, June 23, 1779, the right honourable John Scott, earl of Clonmell, late lord-chief-justice of his majesty's court of King's Bench in Ireland, and has issue by his lordship, who died June 23, 1798, Thomas lord Earlsfort, now earl Clonmell, born August 15, 1783, and lady Charlotte Scott, born May 11, 1787.) Lord Cloncurry, in the early part of his life, was of the Romish persuasion.

Sept. 1st. Gen. Lascelles, colonel of the 3d or king's own regiment of dragoons, and groom of the bed-chamber to his majesty. He was a very respectable character through life. The celebrated Miss Catley,\* who had been so distinguished in the circles of wit and gallantry, lived with him many years, and attached herself wholly to him, with the utmost fidelity. It is believed that he at length privately married her.

Elizabeth countess Ferrers, wife of the present earl F. She has left one son, the present lord viscount Tamworth.

8th. Arthur Robinson, esq. formerly treasurer to the prince of Wales, and lately managing the affairs of the dukes of York and Clarence. Returning from the North in a stage-coach, about three miles from Stone, in Staffordshire, the vehicle was upset, in a torrent, occasioned by the heavy rain, and Mr. Robinson, his wife, and servant,

\* For an account of this lady, see our Annual Register for 1789, p. 226.

three out of six passengers, were drowned.

11th. At Cagnart, in his 37th year, Maurice Joseph Maria, duke of Montferrat, brother to the king of Sardinia, born Sept. 13, 1762.

Samuel More, esq. aged 74 years, secretary to the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce; a place which he had held with great ability upwards of 29 years.

John Kenrick, esq. a benchor of the Middle Temple, and formerly member for Bleehenly.

20th. Lady Hales, wife of sir John Hales, bart.

24th. The lady of sir John Cox Hippesley, bart. daughter of the late sir John Stuart, bart. of Allan Bank, in the county of Berwick.

26th. The right hon. Willoughby Bertie, earl of Abingdon, and baron Norreys of Rycote; and high steward of Abingdon and Wallingford. He was born January 16, 1740; succeeded his father William, the third earl, June 20, 1760; married July 7, 1768, Charlotte, daughter of the late admiral sir Peter Warren, K. B. and had issue, (by her ladyship, who deceased Jan. 28, 1794,) lady Charlotte Bertie, born October 12, 1769; died Jan. 11, 1799. 2. Lady Amelia, born Jan. 6, 1774; died in May, 1784. 3. Willoughby, lord Norreys, born Feb. 8, 1779; died an infant. 4. Lord Norreys, now earl of Abingdon, born in April 1781. 5. Lady Louisa Anna Maria Bridget, born March 8, 1786; and another daughter, born October 18, 1788. He was educated at Geneva, and imbibed some of the democratic principles of that republic. He generally opposed the measures of administration; and his frequent

speeches in the house of peers were peculiarly eccentric. In 1777, he published "Thoughts on Mr. Burke's Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, on the Affairs of America," which was read with considerable applause, and answered in a style of the most exquisite irony, by an anonymous writer, in another anonymous pamphlet. This pamphlet went through five editions, and was, in 1780, addressed a sixth time in "Dedication to the collective Body of the People of England, in which the Sources of our present political Distractions are pointed out, and a Plan proposed for their Remedy and Redress." "A Letter to Lady Loughborough, in consequence of her Presentation of the Colours to the Bloomsbury and Inns of Court Association, with a public Letter to the University of Oxford, 1798." It was customary with his lordship to send copies of his speeches to the different news-papers, which brought him into a disagreeable situation; for, having, in one of them, made a violent attack on the character of Mr. Sermon, an attorney, the court of King's Bench sentenced him to a few months imprisonment, as the publisher of a libel.

In the 59th year of his age, William Withering, M. D. fellow of the royal societies of London, Edinburgh, and Lisbon.

Oct. 1st. In his 68th year, at Vienna, count Leopold Palfy, imperial chamberlain.

8th. Sir Tho. Hayward, knt. late an officer of the honourable band of gentleman pensioners; upon quitting which he received the honour of knighthood in May last. He has left a widow, who is daughter of the late sir James Harrington, bart. of Penisound, in the county of Monmouth;

month; and an only daughter, who inherits the greatest part of the property by the will of her late uncle, Henry Southby, esq.

Thomas Bromley lord Montfort. He was born Feb. 11, 1733, and succeeded his father Jan. 1, 1755. He married Feb. 29, 1772, Mary Ann Blake, by whom he has left several children.

Aged 40, The reverend sir John Bakes l'Anson, bart. and, Nov. 4, his remains were interred in the family-vault at Corfe-castle, of which parish he was rector, having, in February last, succeeded his father, sir Thomas, who had enjoyed the living 51 years.

Lady Anne Howard, sister to the earl of Carlisle.

Major sir George Dunbar, bart. of the 14th regiment of light dragoons, at Norwich. He deliberately put an end to his existence in the public street at noon-day, by shooting himself through the head.

In Germany, lady Elizabeth Luttrell, sister to the duchess of Cumberland.

In Italy, the most famous of its poets, Abbé Marini, a Milanese, the author of a poem, intituled, "The Morning: or, The Fashionable Day."

At Prague, the cardinal Bathiany, prince primate of Hungary, who, by his will, has appropriated 38,000 florins for the expenses of his funeral; and who has, among many other small legacies, bequeathed his stores of wines and provisions, estimated at 300,000 florins to the emperor's magazines. He has appointed his brother, by the father's side, the count Theodore Barthiany, heir of his immense possessions. It is thought that the primateship will remain va-

cant for two years, and that the crown will enjoy, during that period, its immense revenues.

Nov. 13th. Michael Dodson, esq. of Boswell-court, Lincoln's Inn Fields, barrister-at-law. He was nephew of sir Michael Foster, and published an edition of his reports.

Right hon. lady Martha Dashwood, wife of the rev. James D. of that place, and sister of the hon. and rev. Francis Knollis, of Burthorne, in the county of Gloucester.

General George Morrison, colonel of the 4th or king's own regiment of foot, and the oldest staff-officer in the service, having been appointed quarter-master-general in November 1761.

18th. In her 72d year, Mrs. Parker, wife of Dr. William Parker, rector of St. James's, Westminster, and sister of the late lord Howard, on whose death she became a baroness in her own right, but never assumed the title.

23d. Lady Knatchbull, wife of sir Edward K. bart. M. P. for Kent.

Charles Erskine, earl Kellie, viscount Fenton, and a captain in the Fife-shire fencible cavalry. The late earl succeeded his brother Archibald, 8th earl, 1797, and is succeeded by Thomas Erskine, esq. of Cambo, his cousin. The earl of Kellie is the premier viscount of Scotland.

At Buckeburg, after a short and painful illness, in her 39th year, her serene highness Juliana Wilhelmina Louisa, princess dowager of Schaumburg Lippe, regent and guardian. This princess was sister to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and one of the brightest ornaments of her sex and age. In many of her public and private actions she imitated the illustrious

illustrious Frederick the Great: like him, she rose early in the morning to work in her cabinet, in the affairs of state; and there was hardly a petty law-suit the judgement of which she did not revise. Like Joseph II. she travelled all over the Continent, for observation and instruction; the fruits of her travels she applied to the good of her small dominions, which travellers will find more cultivated and improved than the countries which surround it.

Sir John William de la Pole, bart. of Shute, Devon, and Colleton and Colcombe-castle, the residence of sir William.

Mark Robinson, esq. senior rear-admiral on the superannuated list; a gentleman of the most distinguished merit in his profession. He was born on St. Mark's day, 1722, O.S.; and, at the age of fourteen, entered into the service of his country.

Dec. 7th. Hon. Lady Forbes, of Cragievar.

Lady Affleck, relict of sir E. Affleck, bart. late an admiral in the royal navy.

Sir David Ogilvy, bart. of Barras.

19th. Lady Mackworth, relict of sir Herbert Mackworth, bart. of Gnoll-castle, sister of the late Robert Trefusis, esq. and mother of Mrs. Drake.

In his 89th year, sir James Napier, knight, E. R. and A. SS. and formerly inspector-general of his majesty's hospitals in North America.

Philip Affleck, esq. admiral of the white; a zealous and brave officer; a firm advocate, both in theory and practice, for the Christian religion; an honest man, and a faithfully affectionate friend. He was made captain in 1759, rear-admiral, 1787, vice-admiral, 1793, and full admiral, 1795.

*SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1799.*

Berkshire, James Sibbald, of Sunninghill.

Bedfordshire, Robert Trevor, of Flitwick.

Bucks, George Morgan, of Biddlesdon-park.

Cumberland, John Hamilton, of Whitehaven.

Cheshire, Joseph Green, of Poulton-Lancelyn.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshires, John Westwood, of Chatteris.

Devonshire, John Burton, of Jacobstowe.

Dorsetshire, Henry Seymer, of Handford.

Derbyshire, Joseph Walker, of Aston-upon-Trent.

Essex, Capell Cure, of Blakehall.

Gloucestershire, John Elwes, of Colebourne.

Hertfordshire, Archibald Paxton, of Watford.

Herefordshire, Sir Henry Tempest, of Caldwell.

Kent, Samuel Chambers, of Woodstock-house.

Leicestershire, Henry Green, of Rolleston.

Lincolnshire, Henry Hopkinson, of Castle-Bytham.

Monmouthshire, Capel Leigh, of Pontypool.

Northumberland, Sir John Edward Swinburne, of Capheaton.

Northamptonshire, Martin Lucas, of Northampton.

Norfolk, John Motteux, of Beauchamp Wells.

Nottinghamshire, Samuel Britowe, of Beesthorpe.

Oxfordshire, George Stratton, of Great Dew.

Rutlandshire.

Rutlandshire, Samuel Reeve, of Ketton.

Shropshire, Thomas Dicken, of Wem.

Somersetshire, James Bennet, of North Cadbury.

Staffordshire, Joseph Scott, of Great-Barr.

Suffolk, George Rush, of Benhall.

County of Southampton, John Norris, of Hawley-house.

Surry, Robert Hankey, of Putney.

Suffex, Charles Pigou, of Frant.

Warwickshire, Francis Fauquier, of Stoney-Thorpe.

Worcestershire, Edward Dixon, of Dudley.

Wiltshire, Edward Hinxman, of Great Durnford.

Yorkshire, Sir Rowland Wilm, of Nostell.

Cardigan, Pryce Lovedon, of Goverthan.

Glamorgan, John Goodrich, of Energlyn.

Brecon, Edward Lovedon Loveden, of Langorse.

Radnor, John Boddenham, of Discord.

## NORTH WALES.

Carnarvon, Evan Lloyd, of Porth yr Aur.

Anglesea, Hugh Wynne, of Beaumaris.

Merioneth, Sir Thomas Mostyn, of Corfygedol.

Montgomery, John P. Chichester, of Gengrogfawr.

Denbigh, John Wilkinson, of Brymbo-hall.

Flint, Thomas Mostyn Edwards, of Kilken-hall.

## SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen, Richard Mansel Phillips, of Coedgain.

Pembroke, Gwynne Vaughan, of Jordanston.

*SHERIFF appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year 1799.*

Cornwall, Edward John Glynn, of Glynn.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*London Gazette, June 22.*

*Admiralty Office.*

*Extract of a Letter from Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, to Mr. Nepean, dated Tigre, off Tripoly, in Syria, the 2d of April.*

I Beg leave to transmit, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of my report to the right hon. earl St. Vincent, of the late events in this quarter.

*Tigre off St. John d Acre, 23d March.*

My lord,

I have the honour to inform you that, in consequence of information from Ghezar Pacha, governor of Syria, of the incursion of general Buonaparte's army into that province, and approach to its capital, Acre, I hastened, with a portion of the naval force under my orders, to its relief, and had the satisfaction to arrive there two days before the enemy made his appearance.

Much was done in this interval under the direction of captain Miller, of the *Thelus*, and colonel Pelypeaux, towards putting the place in a better state of defence, to resist the attack of an European army; and the presence of a British naval force appeared to encourage and decide the Pacha and his troops to make a vigorous resistance.

The enemy's advanced guard was discovered at the foot of mount Carmel, in the night of the 17th, by the Tigre's guard-boats: these troops, not expecting to find a naval force of any description in Syria, took up their ground close to the water-side, and were consequently exposed to the fire of grape-shot from the boats, which put them to the rout the instant it opened upon them, and obliged them to retire precipitately up the side of the mount. The main body of the army finding the road between the sea and mount Carmel thus exposed, came in by that of Nazareth, and invested the town of Acre to the east, but not without being much harassed by the Samaritan Arabs, who are even more inimical to the French than the Egyptians, and better armed.

As the enemy returned our fire by musketry only, it was evident they had not brought cannon with them, which were therefore to be expected by sea, and measures were taken accordingly for intercepting them; the *Thelus* was already detached off Jaffa (Joppa.) The enemy's flotilla, which came in from sea, fell in with and captured the *Torride*, and was coming round mount Carmel, when it was discovered from the Tigre, consisting of a corvette and nine sail of gun-vessels, on seeing us they hauled  
off

off. The alacrity of the ship's company in making sail after them was highly praiseworthy: our guns soon reached them, and seven, as per enclosed list, struck; the corvette, containing Buonaparte's private property, and two small vessels, escaped, since it became an object to secure the prizes without chasing farther; their cargoes, consisting of the battering train of artillery, ammunition, platforms, &c. destined for the siege of Acre, being much wanted for its defence. The prizes were accordingly anchored off the town, manned from the ships, and immediately employed in harassing the enemy's posts, impeding his approaches, and covering the ship's boats sent farther in shore to cut off his supplies and provisions conveyed coastwise. They have been constantly occupied in these services for these five days and nights past; and such has been the zeal of their crews, that they requested not to be relieved, after many hours excessive labour at their guns and oars.

I am sorry to say we have met with some loss, as per enclosed list, which, however, is balanced by greater on the part of the enemy, by the encouragement given to the Turkish troops from our example, and by the time that is gained for the arrival of a sufficient force to render Buonaparte's whole project abortive. I have had reason to be perfectly satisfied with the gallantry and perseverance of lieutenants Colbly, Inglefield, Knight, Stokes, and lieutenant Burton of the marines, and of the petty officers and men under their orders.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) W. Sidney Smith,  
Right hon. earl St. Vincent,  
commander-in-chief.

*List of the Gun-vessels composing the French Flotilla, bound from Alexandria and Danietta to St. John d' Acre, taken off Cape Carmel by his Majesty's Ship Tigre, Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, K. S. the 18th March, after a Chase of three Hours.*

La Negresse, of 6 guns and 53 men; La Fondre, of 8 guns and 52 men; La Dangereuse, of 6 guns and 23 men; La Maria Rose, of 4 guns and 22 men; La Dame de Grace, of 4 guns and 35 men; Les Deux Freres, of 4 guns and 23 men; La Torride, taken in the morning of that day, and retaken, of 2 guns and 30 men.

Total—7 gun-boats, 34 guns, and 238 men.

These gun-boats were loaded, besides their own complements, with battering cannon, ammunition, and every kind of siege-equipage, for Buonaparte's army before Acre.

(Signed) W. S. Smith,  
On-board the Tigre, off  
Acre, March 23.

N. B. The Marianne gun-boat was taken previously, and the transport, No. 1, subsequently, by the Tigre.

*Return of the killed and wounded in the Boats of his Majesty's Ships Tigre and Theseus, and in the Gun-vessels employed against the French Army before Acre, from the 17th to the 25th of March.*

Total—4 midshipmen and 8 seamen killed; 1 midshipman and 26 seamen wounded.

W. S. Smith,  
On-board the Tigre,  
March 23.



*London Gazette, August 3, 1799,  
Admiralty-Office.*

*Copy of a Letter from Sir William  
Sidney Smith, Knight, Captain of  
his Majesty's Ship Tigre, to Etan  
Nepean, Esq. dated at Acre, the 3d  
of May.*

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose you copies of my letters to earl St. Vincent, of the 7th of April and 2d instant, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty; as also a sketch of the position of the forces. The enemy have made two attempts since yesterday morning to force the two English ravelines, but were repulsed with loss. The works have now cannon mounted on them, and are nearly completed. We have thus the satisfaction of finding ourselves, on the 46th day of the siege, in a better state of defence than we were the first day the enemy opened their trenches, notwithstanding the increase of the breach, which they continue to batter with effect; and the garrison, having occasionally closed with the enemy, in several sorties, feel greater confidence that they shall be able to resist an assault, for which they are prepared.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

*Figra, St. Jean d'Acre Bay, April 7.*

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that as soon as the return of fine weather, after the equinoctial gale, allowed me to approach this unsheltered anchorage, I resumed my station in the bay with the squadron under my orders. I found the enemy had profited, by our forced absence, to push their approaches to the counterescarp, and

even in the ditch of the N. E. angle of the town-wall, where they were employed in mining the tower, to increase a breach they had already made in it, and which had been found impracticable when they attempted to storm on the 1st instant. The Alliance and prize gun-boat, which had been caught in the gale, had fortunately rode it out except one; and captain Wilmot had been so indefatigable in mounting the prize-guns, under the direction of an able officer of engineers, colonel Phelipeaux, that the fire therefrom had already slackened that of the enemy; still, however, much was to be apprehended from the effect of the mine, and a sortie was determined on, in which the British marines and seamen were to force their way into it, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The fall of day-light; the impetuosity and noise of the Turks rendered the attempt to surprise the enemy abortive, though in other respects they did their part well. Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm, as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed in its then state, by pulling down its supporters.

Colonel Douglas, to whom I had given the necessary step of rank to enable him to command the Turkish colonels, supported the seamen in this desperate service with his usual gallantry, under the increased fire of the enemy, bringing off lieutenant Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trench.

from

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 79

from which they were not dislodged, as also Mr. Janveria, midshipman of the Tigre, and the rest of the wounded. The action, altogether, speaks for itself, and says more than could be said by me in praise of all concerned. I feel doubly indebted to colonel Douglas for having preserved my gallant friend, lieutenant Wright, whose life, I am happy to say, is not despaired of by the surgeon. We have, however, to lament the loss of a brave and tried officer, major Oldfield, who commanded the Theseus's marines, and fell gloriously on this occasion, with two of the men under his command.

Our loss in wounded is 23, among which is lieutenant Beatty, of the marines, slightly. The Turks brought in above 60 heads, a greater number of muskets, and some intrenching tools, much wanted in the garrison. A farther attack on the enemy's second parallel was not to be attempted without a greater number of regular troops. The return of the detachment was well covered by the Theseus's fire, captain Miller having taken an excellent position to that effect.

The result of our day's work is, that we have taught the besiegers to respect the enemy they have to deal with, so as to keep at a greater distance. The apprehensions of the garrison are quieted as to the effect of the mine, which we have besides learnt how to countermine with advantage, and more time is gained for the arrival of the reinforcements daily expected.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Right hon. earl St. Vincent,  
commander-in-chief, &c.

*Tigre, moored under the Walls  
of Acre, May 2.*

My lord,

The enemy continue to make the most vigorous efforts to overcome our resistance in the defence of this place. The garrison has made occasional sorties, protected by our small boats, on their flank, with field-pieces, in which the most essential service has been performed by lieutenant Brodie and Mr. Atkinson, of the Theseus, and Mr. Joes, master of the Tigre, who commanded them.

Yesterday the enemy, after many hours heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery brought from Jaffa, made a fourth attempt to mount the breach, now much widened, but were repulsed, with loss. The Tigre moored on one side, and the Theseus on the other, flank the town walls; the gun-boats, launches, and other rowing-boats, continue to flank the enemy's trenches, to their great annoyance. Nothing but desperation can induce them to make the sort of attempts they do to mount a breach practicable only by the means of scaling-ladders, under such a fire as we pour in upon them; and it is impossible to see the lives even of our enemies thus sacrificed, and so much bravery misapplied, without regret.

Our loss is as per list enclosed; and we have therein to lament some of the bravest and best among us. Captain Wilmot was shot on the 8th ult. by a rifleman, as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach: his loss is severely felt.

We have run out a ravelin on each side of the enemy's nearest approach, in which the marines of the Tigre and Theseus have worked under a heavy and incessant fire from the enemy, in a way that commands the

the admiration and gratitude of the Turks, as it is evident the flanking fire produced from them contributed much to save the place yesterday. Colonel Phelipeaux, of the engineers, who projected and superintended the execution, has fallen a sacrifice to his zeal for this service; want of rest and exposure to the sun having given him a fever, of which he died this morning: our grief for this loss is excessive on every account. Colonel Douglas supplies his place, having hitherto carried on the work under his direction, and is indefatigable in completing it for the reception of cannon. I must not omit to mention, to the credit of the Turks, that they fetch the gabions, fascines, and those materials which the garrison does not afford, from the face of the enemy's works, setting fire to what they cannot bring away. The enemy repair in one night all the mischief we do them in the day, and continue within half pistol-shot of the walls, in spite of the constant fire kept up from the ramparts, under the direction of lieutenant Knight.

I hope I need not assure your lordship that we shall continue to do our duty to the utmost of our power, in spite of all obstacles; among which, climate, as it affects health, and the exposed nature of our rocky anchorage, are the most formidable, since they are not to be overcome, which I trust the enemy are by our exertions.

I am, &c.

W. Sidney Smith,  
The right hon. earl St. Vincent,  
commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

*Return of the killed and wounded belonging to his Majesty's Ships Tigre, Thefeus, and Alliance, at the Sortie*

*from the Town of Acre, against the French besieging that Town, on the 7th Day of April.*

**Tigre**—Lieutenant Wright, Mr. Janverin, midshipman, and 11 men, wounded.

**Thefeus**—Major Oldfield, of marines, and 2 private marines, killed; lieutenant Beatty, of marines, Mr. James M. B. Forbes, midshipman (slightly), sergeant Cavanagh, and 4 private marines, wounded.

**Alliance**—One seaman and 2 marines, wounded.

**Total**—One major and 2 private marines, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 lieutenant of marines, 2 midshipmen, 1 sergeant, 6 private marines, and 12 seamen, wounded.

W. Sidney Smith.  
On-board his majesty's ship Tigre,  
off Acre, April 8.

*Return of the Casualties, killed, and wounded, belonging to his Majesty's Ships Tigre, Thefeus, and Alliance, between the 8th of April and the 2d of May following, employed in the Defence of Acre.*

**Tigre**—Mr. Edward Morris, midshipman, and James Maugham, Andrew Wall, and Robert Bennet, seamen, killed; lieutenant Knight, a contusion on his breast; John Bolton, boatswain's mate, William Hutchinson, William Pickard, James Bailey, Joseph Hudson, Joseph Vinquez, and William Price, seamen, wounded.

**Thefeus**—John Rich, seaman, killed; John Chidlow, marine, wounded.

**Alliance**—Captain Wilmot, killed by a rifle-shot, as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach.

**Total**—One captain, 1 midshipman, and 4 seamen, killed; 1 lieutenant,

tenant, 1 boatswain's mate, six seamen, and 1 marine, wounded.

W. Sidney Smith.

On-board his majesty's ship Tigre,  
St. Jean d'Acre bay, the 2d day  
of May.

*London Gazette, August 17, 1799.*

*Admiralty-Office, August 13.*

*Extract of a Letter from Rear-admiral  
Lord Nelson, K.B. to Evan Nepean,  
Esq. dated Bay of Naples, 27th of  
June.*

I am happy in being able to congratulate their lordships on the possession of the city of Naples, St. Elmo is yet in the hands of the French; but the castles of Ovo and Nuovo I took possession of last evening, and his Sicilian majesty's colours are now flying on them.

*Extract of another Letter from Rear-admiral Lord Nelson, K.B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Bay of Naples, 14th of July.*

Herewith I have the honour of sending you copies of my letters to the commander-in-chief, and the capitulation granted to the French in St. Elmo. All the chief rebels are now on-board his majesty's fleet. Capua and Gaieta will very soon be in our possession, when the kingdom will be liberated from anarchy and misery.

*Foudroyant, Bay of Naples,  
13th July.*

My lord,

I have the pleasure to inform you of the surrender of fort St. Elmo (on the terms of the enclosed capitulation), after open batteries of eight days, during which time our heavy batteries were advanced within 180

6

yards of the ditch. The very great strength of St. Elmo, and its more formidable position, will mark with what fortitude, perseverance, and activity, the combined forces must have acted. Captain Troubridge was the officer selected for the command of all the forces landed from the squadron. Captain Ball assisted him for seven days, till his services were wanted at Malta, when his place was ably supplied by captain Hallowell, an officer of the most distinguished merit, and to whom captain Troubridge expresses the highest obligation. Captain Hood, with a garrison for the castle of Nuovo, and to keep good order in the capital, an arduous task at that time, was also landed from the squadron: and I have the pleasure to tell you, that no capital is more quiet than Naples. I transmit you captain Troubridge's letter to me, with returns of killed and wounded. I have also to state to your lordship, that although the abilities and resources of my brave friend Troubridge are well known to all the world, yet even he had difficulties to struggle with in every way, which the state of the capital will easily bring to your idea, that has raised his great character even higher than it was before.

I am, &c.

Nelson.

Right hon. lord Keith, commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

*Antignano, near St. Elmo, July 13.*

My lord,

Agreeable to your lordship's orders I landed with the English and Portuguese marines of the fleet on the 27th of June; and after embarking the garrisons of the castles Ovo and Nuovo, composed of French and

and rebels, I put a garrison in each, and on the 29th took post against fort St. Elmo, which I summoned to surrender; but the commandant being determined to stand a siege, we opened a battery of three 36-pounders and four mortars, on the 3d instant, within 700 yards of the fort, and on the 5th, another of two 36-pounders. The Russians, under captain Baillie, opened another battery of four 36-pounders and four mortars, against the opposite angle, intending to storm it in different places as soon as we could make two practicable breaches in the work. On the 6th, I added four more mortars; and on the 11th, by incessant labour, we opened another battery of six 36-pounders within 180 yards of the wall of the garrison, and had another of one 18-pounder and two howitzers, at the same distance, nearly completed. After a few hours cannonading from the last battery, the enemy displayed a flag of truce, when our firing ceased; and their guns being mostly dismounted, and their works nearly destroyed, the enclosed terms of capitulation were agreed to and signed.

In performing this service I feel much satisfaction in informing your lordship, that I received every possible assistance from captain Ball for the first seven days, when your lordship ordered him on other service, and did me the honour to place captain Hallowell under my orders in his room, whose exertions and abilities your lordship is well acquainted with, and merit every attention.

Lieutenant-colonel Strickland, major Creswell, and all the officers of marines, and men, merit every praise I can bestow; as does Antonio Sal-

dineo de Gama, and the officers and men belonging to her most faithful majesty the queen of Portugal; their readiness on all occasions does them great honour. The very commanding situation of St. Elmo rendered our approaches difficult, or I trust it would have been reduced much sooner; the ready acquiescence to all our demands, and the assistance received from the duke de Sallandra, I beg may be made known by your lordship to his Sicilian majesty.

I feel myself also much indebted to colonel Tschudy for his great zeal and exertions on all occasions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. Troubridge.

The right hon. lord Nelson, K. B.

*Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between the Garrison of Fort St. Elmo and the Troops of his Sicilian Majesty and his Allies.*

Art. I. The French garrison of fort St. Elmo shall surrender themselves prisoners of war to his Neapolitan majesty and his allies, and shall not serve against any of the powers actually at war with the French republic, until regularly exchanged.

II. The English grenadiers shall take possession of the gate of the fort in the course of the day.

III. The French garrison shall march out of the fort to-morrow, with their arms and drums beating. The troops shall lay down their arms on the outside of the gate of the fort; and a detachment of English, Russian, Portuguese, and Neapolitan, troops, shall take possession of the castle.

IV. The officers shall keep their arms.

V. The

V. The garrison shall be embarked on-board the English Squadron, until the necessary shipping are provided to convey them to France.

VI. When the English grenadiers take possession of the gate, all the subjects of his Sicilian majesty shall be delivered up to the allies.

VII. A guard of French soldiers shall be placed round the French colours, to prevent their being destroyed: that guard shall remain until all the garrison has marched out, and it is relieved by an English officer and guard, to whom orders shall be given to strike the French flag, and hoist that of his Sicilian majesty.

VIII. All private property shall be reserved for those to whom the same appertains; and all public property shall be given up with the fort, as well as the effects pilaged.

IX. The sick, not in a state to be removed, shall remain at Naples, with French surgeons, and shall be taken care of at the expense of the republic. They shall be sent back to France as soon as possible after their recovery.

Done at fort St. Elmo, the 22d Messidor, in the seventh year of the French republic, or 12th July, 1799.

(Signed) The duke Della Salandra, captain-general of the forces of his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies.

Thomas Troubridge, of his majesty's ship Culoden, and commander of the British and Portuguese troops at the attack of St. Elmo.

Chevalier Belle, captain-lieutenant, commanding

the troops of his Imperial Russian majesty at the attack of St. Elmo.  
Jh. Mejaux, commanding fort St. Elmo.

*Return of killed and wounded at the Siege of the Castle St. Elmo, which surrendered July 12.*

Five officers, 32 rank and file, killed.

Five officers, 79 rank and file, wounded.

Foudroyant, Naples Bay,  
July 13.

*Copy of a Letter from Rear-admiral Lord Nelson, K. B. to Vice-admiral Lord Keith, K. B. dated Foudroyant, Naples Bay, July 13.*

My lord,

His Sicilian majesty arrived in this bay on the 10th, and immediately hoisted his standard on-board the Foudroyant, where his majesty still remains with all his ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Nelson.

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*London Gazette Extraordinary,  
September 3, 1799.*

*Downing-street, Sept. 2.*

*A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Day received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-general Sir R. Abercrombie, K. B.*

*Helder, Aug. 28.*

Sir,

From the first day of our departure from England, we experienced such a series of bad weather, as is very

very uncommon at this season of the year.

The ardour of admiral Mitchell for the service in which we were jointly engaged, left it only for me to follow his example of zeal and perseverance, in which I was encouraged by the manner that he kept a numerous convoy collected.

It was our determination not to depart from the resolution of attacking the Helder, unless we should have been prevented by the want of water and provisions.

On the forenoon of the 21st instant, the weather proved so favourable that we stood in upon the Dutch coast, and had made every preparation to land on the 22d, when we were forced to sea by a heavy gale of wind.

It was not until the evening of the 25th that the weather began once more to clear up.

On the 26th we came to anchor near the shore of the Helder, and on the 27th, in the morning, the troops began to disembark at daylight.

Although the enemy did not oppose our landing, yet the first division had scarcely began to move forward before they got into action, which continued from five in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon.

The enemy had assembled a very considerable body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, near Callanfloog, and made repeated attacks on our right with fresh troops.

Our position was on a ridge of sand-hills, stretching along the coast from north to south. Our right flank was unavoidably exposed to the whole force of the enemy. We had no where sufficient ground on our right to form more than a bat-

talion in line; yet, on the whole, the position, though singular, was not, in our situation, disadvantageous, having neither cavalry nor artillery.

By the courage and perseverance of the troops, the enemy was fairly worn out, and obliged to retire in the evening to a position two leagues in his rear.

The contest was arduous, and the loss has been considerable. We have to regret many valuable officers lost to the service, who have either fallen or been disabled by their wounds. The corps principally engaged were the reserve, under the command of colonel Macdonald, consisting of the 23d and 55th regiments.

The regiments of major-general Coote's brigade, which have been much engaged, were the Queen's, the 27th, 29th, and 85th regiments.

Major-general D'Oyley's brigade was brought into action towards the close of the day, and has sustained some loss.

As the enemy still held the Helder with a garrison of near 2000 men, it was determined to attack it before day-break in the morning of the 28th, and the brigade under major-general Moore, supported by major-general Burrard's, were destined for this service; but about eight o'clock yesterday evening the Dutch fleet in the Mars Diep got under way, and the garrison was withdrawn, taking their route through the marshes towards Medemblick, having previously spiked the guns on the batteries, and destroyed some of the carriages.—About nine at night, major-general Moore, with the second battalion of the Royals, and the 92d regiment, under the command of lord Huntley,

ley, took possession of this important post, in which he found a numerous artillery of the best kind, both of heavy and field train.

All that part of the Dutch fleet in the Nieuve Diep, together with the naval magazine at Nieuve Werk, fell into our hands this morning, a full detail of which it is not in my power to send. This day we have the satisfaction to see the British flag flying in the Mars Diep, and part of 5000 men, under the command of major-general Don, disembarking under the batteries of the Helder.

During the course of the action I had the misfortune to lose the service, of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, from a wound he received in his arm, but not before he had done himself the greatest honour, and I was fully sensible of the loss of him. Major-general Coote supplied his place with ability.

Colonel Macdonald, who commanded the reserve, and who was very much engaged during the course of the day, though wounded, did not quit the field.

Lieutenant-colonel Maitland, returning to England, to go on another service, and major Kempt, my aid-du-camp and bearer of this letter, whom I beg leave to recommend to your notice and protection, will be able to give any farther information which may be required.

A list of the killed and wounded, as far as we have been able to ascertain it, accompanies this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Ralph Abercrombie.

To the right honourable  
Henry Dundas,  
&c., &c., &c.

*Head-quarters, Klein Keelen,  
August 28.*

*Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. in the Action of the Helder, on the 27th August, 1799.*

Total—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 subaltern, 3 sergeants, 51 rank and file, killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 9 captains, 6 subalterns, 18 sergeants, 1 drummer, 334 rank and file, wounded; 26 rank and file, missing.

*Return of Officers killed and wounded.*

Killed.—Lieut.-colonel Smollett, of the 1st regiment of the guards, brigade-major of 1st brigade; lieutenant-colonel Hay, of the royal engineers; lieutenant Crow, of the 3d brigade of the 27th regiment of foot.

Wounded.—Lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, bart. second in command; the hon. colonel John Hope, of the 25th foot, deputy adjutant-general; lieutenant-colonel Murray, of the 3d regiment of guards, assistant quarter-master-general; captain Arthur McDonald, of the 5th West India regiment, assistant quarter-master-general; captain Manners, of the 82d regiment, aid-du-camp to major-general Coote; lieutenant Chapman and lieutenant Squire, of the royal engineers; captain Gunthorpe, of the 1st brigade of the grenadier battalion of the guards; captain Ruddock, of the 1st brigade of the 3d battalion of the 1st regiment of guards; lieutenant Swan of the 3d brigade, of the 2d (or queen's) regiment; lieutenant-colonel



colonel Graham, of the 3d brigade of the 27th regiment of foot; captain Wyatt and lieutenant Grove, of the 3d brigade of the 29th regiment of foot; major Otley, captain M'Intosh, lieutenant Traverse, lieutenant Berry, of the 3d brigade of the 85th regiment of foot.

The reserve—Captain Berry, captain Ellis, captain hon. G. M'Donald, of the 23d regiment of foot; colonel M'Donald, captain Brown, capt. Power, volunteer, John M'Gregor, of the 55th regiment of foot; 1 non-commissioned officer and 4 gunners of the royal artillery; 1 sergeant and 14 rank and file of the 92d regiment, drowned in landing.

N. B. The casualties in the general staff are noticed in the detail, but not in the body of the return.

Alex. Hope,

Lieutenant-colonel,

R. A. general.

*Admiralty-Office, Sept. 2.*

Captain Hope, of his majesty's ship Kent, and captain Oughton, of his majesty's ship Isis, arrived this afternoon with a dispatch from admiral lord viscount Duncan, of which the following is a copy:

*Kent, off Aldborough, 1st Sept.*

Sir,

I transmit, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter to me from vice-admiral Mitchell, giving a distinct detail of the great success with which it has pleased Almighty God to crown his majesty's arms. The boldness of the vice-admiral, in running in on an open shore with so numerous a fleet, and in so very unsettled weather, could only be equalled by the gallantry of sir Ralph

Abercrombie and his brave troops, landing in the face of a most formidable opposition. During the whole of the conflict, on Tuesday, I could plainly perceive the vast superiority of the British troops over those of the enemy, though opposed with obstinacy; and, in justice to both the land and sea service, I must say, that I never witnessed more unanimity and zeal than have pervaded all ranks to bring the expedition to its present happy issue.

Finding the Kent, with several of the Russian 74-gun ships, to draw too much water to be able to get into the harbour, I have returned with them to this anchorage; but previous to my getting under weigh at eight o'clock on Friday morning, I had the pleasure to see vice-admiral Mitchell, with the men of war, transports, and armed vessels, in a fair way of entering the Texel, with a fair wind, and have not the least doubt but the whole of the Dutch fleet were in our possession by noon on that day.

The dispatches will be delivered by captains Hope and Oughton, both able and intelligent officers, and who will give their lordships more satisfactory information relative to our successful operations.

I shall now only add my sincere congratulations to their lordships on this great event, which, I think, in its consequences may be ranked among one of the greatest that has happened during the war.

I am sir, &c.

Duncan.

P. S. The winds having proved unfavourable has occasioned my anchoring here; but I shall proceed to Yarmouth as soon as the weather moderates.

*As,*

*Isis, at Anchor off the Texel,  
August 29.*

My lord,

In a former letter I had the honour to write your lordship, I there mentioned the reasons that had determined sir Ralph Abercrombie and myself, not to persevere longer than the 26th in our resolution to attack the Helder and port of the Texel, unless the wind became more moderate. Fortunately, the gale abated that morning, and although a very heavy swell continued to set in from the northward, I thought a moment was not to be lost in making the final attempt. The fleet, therefore, bore up to take the anchorage, and I was happy to see the transports and all the bombs, sloops, and gun-vessels in their stations, to cover the landing of the troops, by three in the afternoon of that day, when the signal was made to prepare for landing. The general, however, not thinking it prudent to begin disembarking so late on that day, it was determined to delay it until two in the morning of the 27th. The intervening time was occupied in making the former arrangements more complete, and by explaining to all the captains, individually, my ideas fully to them, that the service might profit by their united exertions. The troops were accordingly all in the boats by three o'clock, and the signal being made to row towards the shore, the line of gun-brigs, sloops of war, and bombs, opened a warm and well-directed fire to scour the beach, and a landing was effected with little loss. After the first party had gained the shore, I went with sir Ralph Abercrombie, that I might superintend the landing of the rest, and with the aid of the different captains, who appeared animated

VOL. XLI.

but with one mind, the whole were disembarked with as great regularity as possible. The ardour and glorious intrepidity which the troops displayed, soon drove the enemy from the nearest Sand-hills, and the presence of sir Ralph Abercrombie himself, whose appearance gave confidence to all, secured to us, after a long and very warm contest, the possession of the whole neck of land between Kick Down and the road leading to Alkmaar, and near to the village of Callanstoog.

Late that night the Helder Point was evacuated by the enemy, and taken possession of by our troops quietly in the morning, as were the men of war named in the enclosed list, and many large transports and Indiamen by us the next day. I dispatched captain Oughton, my own captain, to the Helder Point last evening, to bring off the pilots, and he has returned with enough to take in all the ships necessary to reducing the remaining force of the Dutch fleet, which I am determined to follow to the walls of Amsterdam, until they surrender, or capitulate for his serene highness the prince of Orange's service.

I must now, my lord, acknowledge, in the warmest manner, the high degree of obligation I am under to your lordship, for the liberal manner in which you continued to entrust to my direction the service I have had the honour to execute under your immediate eye; a behaviour which added to my wish to do all in my power to forward the views of sir Ralph Abercrombie.

It is impossible for me sufficiently to express my admiration of the bravery and conduct of the general and the whole army, or the unanimity with which our whole operations

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tions were carried on; the army and navy, on this occasion, having (to use a seaman's phrase) pulled heartily together.

Where the exertions of all you did me the honour to put under my orders, have been so great, it is almost impossible to particularise any; but captain Oughton has had so much to do, from the first embarking the troops to the present moment, and has shewn himself so strenuous in his exertions for the good of the expedition, as well as given me much assistance from his advice on every occasion, that I cannot but mention him in the highest manner to your lordship; and at the same time express my wish that your lordship will suffer him to accompany whoever may bear your dispatches to England, as I think the local knowledge he has gained may be highly useful to be communicated to their lordships of the admiralty.

The manner in which the captains, officers, and seamen landed from the fleet, behaved, while getting the cannon and ammunition along to the army, requires my particular thanks; and here let me include, in a special manner, the Russian detachment of boats, from whose aid and most orderly behaviour the service was much benefited indeed.

I am also much indebted to captain Hope, for the clear manner in which he communicated to me your lordship's ideas at all times, when sent to me by your lordship for that purpose, as every thing was better understood from such explanation, than they could otherwise have been by letter.

It is impossible for me to furnish your lordship, at present, with any

list of the killed, wounded, or missing seamen, or of those that were unfortunately drowned on the beach in landing the troops, having as yet no return made, but I am very sorry to say, that I was myself witness to several boats oversetting in the surf, in which I fear several lives were lost.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Mitchell.

Right hon. admiral lord viscount  
Duncan, commander-in-chief,  
&c. &c. &c.

*A List of Men of War, &c. taken  
Possession of in the Nieuwe Diep.*

Broederschap (guard ship), 54 guns; Velsvagtig, of 64 guns; Helder, of 32 guns; Venus, of 24 guns; Dalk, of 24 guns; Minerva, of 24 guns; Hector, of 44 guns; and about 13 Indiamen and transports.

A. Mitchell.

*Admiralty-Office, September 2.*

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were this morning received by Mr. Nepean, from rear-admiral lord Nelson, commanding his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean:

*Foudroyant, Naples-Bay,  
1st August.*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit you copies of my letter to the commander-in-chief, with its several enclosures, and most sincerely congratulate their lordships on the entire liberation of the kingdom of Naples from the French robbers, for by no other name can they be called, for their conduct in this kingdom. This happy event will not, I am sure, be  
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the less acceptable, from being principally brought about by part of the crews of his majesty's ships under my orders, under the command of captain Trowbridge. His merits speak for themselves; his own modesty makes it my duty to state, that to him alone is the chief merit due. The commendation bestowed on the brave and excellent captain Hollowell, will not escape their lordships' notice, any more than the exceeding good conduct of captain Oswald, colonel Strickland, captain Cresswell, to whom I ordered the temporary rank of major, and all the officers and men of the marine corps; also the party of artillery, and the officers and men landed from the Portuguese Squadron.

I must not omit to state that captain Hood, with a garrison of seamen, in Castel Nuovo, has, for these five weeks, very much contributed to the peace of the capital; and Naples, I am told, was never more quiet than under his directions.

I send captain Oswald, of the *Perseus* bomb, with this letter, and have put lieutenant Henry Compton (who has served with me since January, 1796, as a lieutenant) into the *Perseus*; and I beg leave to recommend these two officers as highly meriting promotion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Nelson,

*Foudroyant, Bay of Naples,  
1st August.*

My lord,

I have the honour to transmit you a copy of captain Trowbridge's letter to me, and the capitulation of Capua and Gaeta, &c. Too much praise cannot be given to captain Trowbridge, for his wonderful

exertion, in bringing about these happy events, and in so short a space of time. Captain Hollowell has also the greatest merit. Captain Oswald, whom I send to England with a copy of my letter, is an officer most highly deserving promotion. I have put lieutenant Henry Compton, who has served as a lieutenant with me from January, 1796, in the *Perseus* bomb, in his room, and whom I recommend to your lordship.

I sincerely congratulate your lordship on the entire liberation of the kingdom of Naples from a band of robbers; and am, with the greatest respect, &c. &c.

Nelson.

Right hon. lord Keith, K. B.  
commander-in-chief, &c.

*Culloden, Naples-Bay,  
July 29.*

My lord,

Agreeable to your lordship's orders, I marched, on the 20th instant, with the English and Portuguese troops from Naples, and arrived at Calerta the following morning. After resting the people, we marched, and encamped near Capua. The Swiss under colonel Tschudy, the cavalry under general Aston, and the different corps of infantry under general Boucard and colonel Gams, took up their appointed situations; the former to the left of our camp, and the latter to the right of the river.

On the 22d, a brigade of pontoons was thrown over the river, to establish a communication; batteries of guns and mortars were immediately begun, within five hundred yards of the enemy's works; and on the 25th, the gun-battery of four 24-pounders, another with two howitzers, and two mortar-batteries

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were

were opened, and kept up a constant and heavy fire, which was returned by the enemy, from eleven pieces of cannon: on the 26th, trenches were opened, and new batteries began within a few yards of the glacis.

The enemy, on finding our approach so rapid, sent out the enclosed terms, which I rejected *in toto*, and offered, in return, the enclosed capitulation, which the French general agreed to, and signed the following morning at six o'clock. The French garrison marched out this morning, at three A. M. and grounded their arms, and proceeded to Naples, under the escort of 400 English marines, and two squadrons of general Acton's cavalry.

In performing this service, I feel much indebted to captains Hollowell and Oswald, to whose abilities and exertions I attribute the reduction of the place in so short a time, as they staid night and day in the field, to forward the erecting of the batteries. I also beg leave to commend lieutenant-colonel Strickland and major Creswell, the officers and marines, for their constant and unremitting attention, as well as the officers and men of her most faithful majesty, the queen of Portugal. The Russian forces, under captain Buillie, rendered every assistance. Generals Acton and Boucard, and colonel Gams, merit much for their zeal in cheerfully performing all the different services that arose. Colonel Tchudy's zeal merits great attention, for his constant readiness to send working parties to the batteries, as well as pushing his men forward on all occasions.

To M. Monfrere, a volunteer gentleman, from the Sea Horse,

whom I had the honour to recommend to your lordship's notice, at Saint Ilmo, I feel indebted for his great ability and assistance as an engineer, which forwarded our operations much.

Lieutenants Lowcay and Davis, who served as aides-du-camp to me, have also great merit, as well as Mr. Greig, an officer in the Russian service (serving as a volunteer in his majesty's ship under my command), whom I beg your lordship to recommend to the court of Petersburg as a promising officer.

Count de Lucci, chief of the *etat-major*, was unremitting in his attention. I have the honour to enclose to your lordship a return of the ordnance, stores, and provisions, found in Capua, as well as a return of the garrison (not including jacobins), which were serving with the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. Trowbridge.

Right hon. lord Nelson,

K. B. &c. &c.

*Articles of the Capitulation concluded between the Troops of his Sicilian Majesty and his Allies, and the Garrison of Capua.*

Article I. The French garrison, Cisalpine, and Polonese, of Capua, shall surrender prisoners of war to his Neapolitan majesty and his allies, and shall not serve against any of the powers actually at war with the republic, until regularly exchanged.

II. The English grenadiers shall take possession of the two gates, and of the town, after the articles shall have been exchanged.

III. The French garrison shall march out of the town to-morrow, bearing

bearing their arms, and with drums beating. The troops shall lay down their arms and colours outside the gate; and a detachment of English, Russian, Portuguese, and Neapolitan troops, shall take possession of the place to-morrow night.

IV. The officers shall retain their arms.

V. The garrison shall be embarked on board the English squadron, until the necessary shipping can be provided for transporting it to France. It shall be escorted, under the guarantee of the English, to Naples.

VI. When the English grenadiers shall have taken possession of the place, all the subjects of his Sicilian majesty shall be delivered up to the allies.

VII. A guard of French soldiers shall be stationed round the French colours, to prevent their being destroyed. This guard shall remain so stationed until the whole of the garrison shall have marched out, and until it shall have been relieved by an English officer and guard, to whom orders shall be given to haul down the French colours, and to hoist those of his Sicilian majesty.

VIII. All private property shall be secured to its proprietors, and all public property given up with the place.

IX. The sick, who may not be in a condition to be removed, shall remain at Capua, under the care of French surgeons, and be maintained at the expense of the republic, and shall be sent to France as soon as possible after their cure.

Done at Capua, the 6th Thermidor, 7th year of the French republic, (29th July, 1799.)

(Signed) Girardón, general of brigade, commanding at Capua.

Tho. Trowbridge, captain of his majesty's ship Culloden, and commander-in-chief of the forces employed at the siege of Capua.

De Boucard, marshal commanding his Sicilian majesty's troops.

Builie, captain-lieutenant, and commander of his Imperial majesty's troops, at the siege of Capua.

\_\_\_\_\_, commander of the Ottoman troops, at the siege.

*Articles for the Surrender of the Town of Gaeta.*

Article I. Considering that the garrison of Gaeta has not been regularly besieged, but only blockaded, his majesty, the king of the two Sicilies, will allow the troops of the said garrison to march out of the place with the honours of war, taking with them their firelocks, bayonets, swords, and cartouch-boxes, without deeming them prisoners of war, on their being sent to France.

II. In virtue of the preceding article, the place shall be delivered up, free of all pillage, and without any part of the effects being removed or injured, to the officer who shall be appointed to take possession thereof.

III. The French garrison shall be allowed to remove all their effects, being personal or private property; but all public property shall be given up with the place.

IV. No subject of his Sicilian majesty shall be sent to France with the French garrison, but the whole,

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without exception, given up to the officer appointed to take possession of the place.

V. The sick belonging to the garrison shall be taken care of by their own surgeons, at the expense of the French republic, and shall be sent to France as soon after their cure as possible.

VI. A detachment of his Sicilian majesty's troops, and of his allies, shall take possession of the place two hours after this capitulation shall have been delivered; and the embarkation of the garrison shall have effect twenty-four hours after the gates are given up, according as may be agreed upon and settled between the respective commanding officers.

Done at Naples, the 12th Thermidor, seventh year (July 31, 1799).

(Signed) General Acton.

Nelson.

Girardon, general of brigade.

*Return of the Cannon and the Garrison at Capua.*

Ordnance from 24 to 4 pounders—108 serviceable, 10 unserviceable.

French troops—199 officers, 2618 non-commissioned officers and privates.

12,000 muskets—414,000 musket cartridges, filled—67,848 pounds weight of powder.

*Return of Cannon and the Garrison at Gaeta.*

Ordnance—58 brass guns, from 24 to 18 pounders; 12 iron 6 ditto; 2 brass 4 ditto; 4 mortars, 12-inch; 9 ditto, 10-inch; with an immense quantity of powder and other garrison-stores.

French troops—83 officers, 1415 privates, besides rebels.

T. Trowbridge.

*London Gazette Extraordinary.*

*Admiralty-Office, September 3.*

Lieutenant Collier, of his majesty's ship *Ifis*, arrived this day with dispatches from vice-admiral Mitchell to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following are copies.

*Ifis, at Anchor at the Red Buoys, near the Vleiter, August 30, two P. M.*

Sir,

I have the very great satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the whole of the Dutch fleet near the Vleiter surrendered to the Squadron under my command, without firing a gun, agreeably to a summons I sent this morning. The Dutch Squadron was to be held for the orders of his serene highness the prince of Orange, and the orders I may receive from the lords commissioners of the admiralty for my farther proceedings.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, &c. &c.

(Signed) A. Mitchell.

Evan Nepean, esq.

*Ifis, at Anchor at the Red Buoys, near the Vleiter, August 31.*

Sir,

It blowing strong from the south-west, and also the flood tide, I could not send away my short letter of late night; I therefore have, in addition, to request you will lay before the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the morning of yesterday I got the Squadron under weigh at five o'clock.

o'clock, and immediately formed the line of battle, and to prepare for battle.

In running in, two of the line-of-battle ships, *Ratvian* and *America*, and the *Latona* frigate, took the ground. We passed the *Helder Point* and *Mars Diep*, and continued our course along the *Texel*, in the channel that leads to the *Vleiter*, the Dutch Squadron lying at anchor in a line at the *Red Buoy* in the east-fourth-east course.

The *Latona* frigate got off and joined me; but as the two line-of-battle ships did not, I closed the line. About half past ten I sent captain *Reinnie*, of the *Victor*, with a summons to the Dutch admiral, as it was lord Duncan's wish that I should do so; and in her way she picked up a flag of truce, with two Dutch captains, from the Dutch admiral, to me. Captain *Reinnie* very properly brought them on-board; and from a conversation of a few minutes I was induced to anchor in a line, a short distance from the Dutch squadron, at their earnest request. They returned with my positive orders not to alter the position of the ships, nor do any thing: whatsoever to them, and in one hour to submit, or take the consequences.

In less than the time, they returned with a verbal answer, that they submitted according to the summons, and should consider themselves (the officers) on parole, until I heard from the lords commissioners of the admiralty and the prince of Orange, for my farther proceedings.

I have now the honour to enclose you herewith the line of battle in which the squadron advanced; a copy of my summons to the Dutch

admiral, and also a list of the Dutch fleet.

Admiral Storey's flag is down, and I have sent an officer on-board each of his ships, to have an eye over and the charge of them, as they themselves requested that it should be so.

I have also furnished them with the prince of Orange's standard, many of them not having had it before, and they are now all under these colours.

To maintain quiet among their crews, I issued a short manifesto, of which I also enclose a copy herewith.

The animated exertions and conduct of the whole squadron are far above any praise I can bestow on them; but I shall ever feel most sensibly impressed on my heart their spirited conduct during the whole of this business. We have all felt the same zeal for the honour of our sovereign and our country; and although the conclusion has not turned out as we expected, yet the merit, I may say, in some measure, is still not the less due to my squadron; and if I had brought them to action, I trust it would have added another laurel to the navy of England in this present war. The Dutch were astonished and thunderstruck at the approach of our squadron, never believing it possible that we could so soon have laid down the buoys, and led down to them in line of battle in a channel where they themselves go through but with one or two ships at a time.

I have sent lieutenant *Collier* with these dispatches, who will give their lordships every information, as he has been employed in the whole of the communication with the Dutch



squadron, and was also on-shore with me as my aid-du-camp on the day of landing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Mitchell.

P. S. Since writing the above, I received the Dutch admiral's answer in writing, which I enclose herewith.

*Line of Battle, at Noon, August 30.*

Glatton—Captain Charles Cobb, 54 guns, 343 men.

Romney—Captain John Lawford, 50 guns, 343 men.

Ifis—Vice-admiral Mitchell, captain James Oughton, 50 guns, 343 men.

Veteran—Captain A. C. Dickson, 64 guns, 491 men.

Ardent—Captain T. Bertie, 64 guns, 491 men.

Belliqueux—Captain R. Bulteel, 64 guns, 491 men.

Monmouth—Captain Geo. Hart, 64 guns, 491 men.

Overysfel—Captain J. Bazeley, 64 guns, 491 men.

Mistisloff—Captain A. Moller, 66 guns, 672 men.

Melpomone, Latona, Shannon, Juno, and Lutine, frigates.

Given on-board the Ifis, in the Vleiter Channel, August 30.

A. Mitchell.

To —, captain of his majesty's ship the —, by command of the vice-admiral.

*Ifis, under Sail, in Line of Battle, August 30.*

Sir,

I desire you will instantly hoist the flag of his serene highness the prince of Orange. If you do, you will be immediately considered friends of the king of Great Britain,

my most gracious sovereign, otherwise take the consequences. Painful it will be to me for the loss of blood it may occasion, but the guilt will be on your own head.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,  
(Signed) Andrew Mitchell,  
Vice-admiral and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships employed on the present expedition.

To rear-admiral Storey, or the commander-in-chief of the Dutch squadron.

*A List of the Dutch Squadron taken Possession of in the Texel by Vice-admiral Mitchell, August 30.*

Washington—Rear-admiral Storey, captain Capelle, 74 guns.

Gelderland—Captain Waldeck, 68 guns.

Admiral du Ruyter—Captain Huijs, 68 guns.

Utrecht—Captain Kolf, 68 guns.

Cerberus—Captain De Jong, 68 guns.

Leyden—Captain Van Braam, 68 guns.

Beschermer—Captain Eilbracht, 54 guns.

Batavier—Captain Van Senden, 54 guns, under the Vleiter.

Amphitrite—Captain Schutter, 44 guns, under the Vleiter.

Mars—Captain De Bock, 44 guns.

Ambuscade—Captain Riverij, 32 guns.

Galathea—Captain Droop, 16 guns.

A. Mitchell.

*Ifis, August 30.*

The undersigned vice-admiral in the service of his majesty the king of Great Britain, charged with the execution

execution of the naval part of the expedition to restore the stadtholder and the old and lawful constitution of the Seven United Provinces guaranteed by his majesty, having agreed that in consequence of the summons to rear-admiral Storey, the ships, after hoisting the ancient colours, will be considered as in the service of the allies of the British crown, and under the orders of his serene highness the hereditary stadtholder, captain and admiral-general of the Seven United Provinces, has thought it proper to give an account of this agreement to the brave crews of the different ships, and to summon them by the same to behave in a peaceable and orderly manner, so that no complaints may be represented by the officer; the undersigned will send on-board of each of the ships to keep proper order, until the intentions of his majesty and his serene highness the prince of Orange, as admiral-general, shall be known, for the farther destination of these ships, on account of which dispatches will be immediately sent off. And to make them aware, that in case their conduct should not be so as may be expected from the known loyalty and attachment of the Dutch navy to the illustrious house of Orange on this occasion, any excess or irregularity will be punished with the severity which the disorders may have been committed merit.

(Signed) Andrew Mitchell.

*On-board the Washington, anchored under the Vleiter, 30th August.*

Admiral,

Neither your superiority, nor the threat that the spilling of human blood should be laid to my account, could prevent my shewing to you,

to the last moment, what I could do for my sovereign, whom I acknowledge to be no other than the Batavian people and its representatives, when your prince's and the Orange flags have obtained their end. The traitors whom I commanded refused to fight; and nothing remains to me and my brave officers but vain rage and the dreadful reflection of our present situation: I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I commanded. From this moment it is your obligation to provide for the safety of my officers and the few brave men who are on-board the Batavian ships, as I declare myself and my officers prisoners of war, and remain to be considered as such.

I am with respect,

S. Storey.

To admiral Mitchell, commanding his Britannic majesty's squadron in the Texel.

*Isis, at Anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vleiter, August 31.*

Sir,

Since my letter of the 29th, by captain Oughton, I received a letter from captain Winthrop, of the *Circe*, containing a more particular account of the men of war, &c. taken possession of in the New Diep, than I had then in my power to send, of which you will receive a copy herewith, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Mitchell.

Evan Nepean, esq.

*Helder, August 28.*

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that I this morning took possession of

of the New Diep, with the ships and vessels undermentioned, and also of the naval arsenal, containing 95 pieces of ordnance. A copy of the naval stores I will transmit you as soon as it can be made out.

I have the honour, &c.

R. Winthrop.

Ships. *Urwachten*, 66 guns.—*Broederfchop*, 54.—*Hector*, 44.—*Diussac*, 44.—*Expedition*, 44.—*Constitutie*, 44.—*Bell Antionette*, 44.—*Unie*, 44.—*Helder*, 32.—*Follock*, 24.—*Minerva*, 24.—*Venus*, 24.—*Alarm*, 24.

*Dreighlerlahn*, *Howda*, *Vreedlust*, *Indiamen*; and a sheer hulk.

Andrew Mitchell, esq.

*London Gazette Extraordinary, Sept. 9.*  
*Doxaring-Street.*

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received from lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

*Head Quarters, Schager Brug,*  
*September 4.*

From the 27th of August to the 1st of September, the troops continued to occupy the Sand Hills on which they fought. On that day the army marched and took post with its right to Petten, on the German Ocean, and its left to the Oude Sluys, on the Zuyder Zee, with the canal of the Zuype in front.

A better country is now open to us. We have found some horses and waggons, and a plentiful supply of fresh provisions.

The troops continue healthy, and behave extremely well.

The 11th regiment of dragoons are arrived, and have begun to disembark. The transports have been ordered to return to the Downs.

I have the honour to enclose herewith a return of the artillery, ammunition, and engineers' stores, captured at the Helder.

To the right hon. Henry Dundas.

*Helder, August 31.*

*Return of Ordnance, Ammunition, and Stores, taken on the 28th inst. at the different Batteries and Magazines at and near this Place, viz.*

Brafs ordnance, mounted.—24 24-pounders, 5 9-pounders, 4 6-pounders, 1 3-pounder, 13 8-inch and 4 5 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch howitzers; 5 10-inch mortars.

Iron ordnance, mounted.—18 24-pounders.

Ditto, dismounted.—41 24-pounders, 56 9-pounders.

Round shot.—713 24-pounders, 2780 12-pounders, 164 9-pounders, 3492 6-pounders.

Cafe shot.—345 24-pounders, 64 9-pounders, 77 8-inch, and 61 5 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch howitzers.

Fixed shells.—148 10-inch, 224 8-inch, 394 5 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch.

Empty shells.—447 10-inch, 920 8-inch.

Round carcasses.—15 8-inch.

Cartridges (flannel filled with powder), 685 24-pounders, 37 9-pounders, 168 6-pounders; 530 5 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch howitzers—(paper filled with powder), 11 24-pounders, 620 9-pounders; (musket ball), 77,888; (fuzee ball), 1800—521 whole barrels of corned powder.

J. Whitworth, lieutenant-colonel, commanding royal artillery.  
General sir Ralph Abercrombie, &c.

*Helder.*

*Helder, August 31.  
Return of Engineers' Stores taken  
Possession of in the different Batte-  
ries in the Vicinity of the Helder.*

Wheelbarrows 20, handbarrows 6, baskets 22, spades 30, wooden mallets 10, palliades 2200, pieces of scantling 70, ditto timber 30, boards 84, bricks 3000, barrels of tar 7, a very large proportion of fascines, bundles of sticks, and pickets.

R. H. Bruyeres,  
Captain royal engineers,  
commanding.

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*London Gazette, Sept. 10, 1799.  
Admiralty-Office.*

A letter from captain sir Sidney Smith, of his majesty's ship Tigre, to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary to the admiralty, with its enclosures, of which the following are copies, were yesterday received at this office,

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Sir  
William Sidney Smith, to Evan  
Nepean, Esq.*

*On-board the Tigre, off Mount  
Lebanon, June 16.*

Sir Morton Eden has forwarded a duplicate of your letter of the 4th of May, informing me of the sailing of the French fleet from Brest. I take for granted this fleet is bound for these seas, to support Buona-parte's operations, not knowing that his expedition to Syria has completely failed, as the enclosed dispatches will inform their lordships.

*Tigre, Acre, May 9.*

My lord,  
I had the honour to inform your lordship, by my letter of the 2d inst.

that we were busily employed completing two ravelins for the reception of cannon to flank the enemy's nearest approaches, distant only ten yards from them. They were attacked that very night, and almost every night since, but the enemy have each time been repulsed with very considerable loss. The enemy continued to batter in breach with progressive success, and have nine several times attempted to storm, but have as often been beaten back with immense slaughter. Our best mode of defence has been frequent forties to keep them on the defensive, and impede the progress of their covering works. We have been in one continued battle ever since the beginning of the siege, interrupted only at short intervals by the excessive fatigue of every individual on both sides. We have been long anxiously looking for a reinforcement, without which we could not expect to be able to keep the place so long as we have. The delay in its arrival being occasioned by Hassan Bey's having originally had orders to join me in Egypt, I was obliged to be very peremptory in the repetition of my orders for him to join me here: it was not, however, till the evening of the day before yesterday, the fifty-first day of the siege, that his fleet of corvettes and transports made its appearance. The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Buona-parte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark.

The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased tenfold, our flanking fire from a float was, as usual, plied to the utmost, but with less

less effect than heretofore, as the enemy has thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect him from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were a French brass 18-pounder in the light-house castle, manned from the Theseus, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's mate, and the last mounted 24-pounder in the north ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman. These guns being within grape distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musketry, did great execution; and I take this opportunity of recommending these two petty officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merit my warmest praise. The Tigre's two 68-pound carronades, mounted in two germes, lying in the Mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of the Tigre, (one of the bravest and most intelligent men I ever served with), threw shells into the centre of this column with evident effect, and checked it considerably. Still, however, the enemy gained ground, and made a lodgement in the second story of the north-east tower; the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch, forming the ascent by which they mounted. Daylight shewed us the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened, in comparison to that of the besiegers, and our flanking fire was become of less effect, the enemy having covered themselves in this lodgement, and the approach to it by two traverses across the ditch, which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them during the

whole night, and which were now seen, composed of sand bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though as yet but half way on shore. This was a most critical point of the contest, and an effort was necessary to preserve the place for a short time till their arrival.

I accordingly landed the boats at the Mole, and took the crews up to the beach, armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at the sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, is not to be described.

Many fugitives returned with us to the breach, which we found defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones, which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as a breast-work for both, the muzzle of their muskets touching, the spear heads of the standards locked. Ghezzar Pacha hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket-cartridges with his own hands. The energetic old man coming behind us, pulled us down with violence, saying, if any harm happened to his English friends all was lost. This amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Eng-

fan Bey's troops. I had now to combat the Pacha's repugnance to admitting any troops but his Albanians into the garden of his seraglio, become a very important post, as occupying the *Terre-plein* of the rampart. There was not above 200 of the original 1000 Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate, and I over-ruled his objections by introducing the Chifflik regiment of 1000 men, armed with bayonets, disciplined after the European method, under sultan Selim's own eye, and placed by his Imperial majesty's express commands at my disposal. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being consequently enough to defend the breach, I proposed to the Pacha to get rid of the object of his jealousy, by opening his gates to let them make a sally and take the assailants in flank: he readily complied, and I gave directions to the colonel to get possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench, and there fortify himself by shifting the parapet outwards. This order being clearly understood, the gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out, but they were not equal to such a movement, and were driven back to the town with loss. Mr. Bray, however, as usual, protected the town-gate efficaciously, with grape from the 68-pounders. The sortie had this good effect, that it obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, so that our flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, so that the small number remaining on the lodgement were killed or dispersed, by our few remaining hand-grenades thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the

*Thefeus*. The enemy began a new breach, by an incessant fire directed to the southward of the lodgement, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition.

The group of generals and aids-du-camp, which the shells from the 68-pounders had frequently dispersed, were now re-assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Buonaparte was distinguished in the centre of the semicircle; his gesticulation indicated a renewal of attack, and his dispatching an aid-du-camp to the camp, shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. I gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their station in the shoal water to the southward, and made the *Tigre's* signal to weigh, and join the *Thefeus* to the northward. A little before sunset, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The Pacha's idea was not to defend the brink this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses, the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the rest retreated precipitately; and the commanding officer, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, and who, we have since learned, to be general Lafne, was carried off wounded, by a musket-shot. General Rom-  
baud

baud was killed. Much confusion arose in the town, from the actual entry of the enemy, it having been impossible, nay impolitic, to give previous information to every body, of the mode of defence adopted, lest the enemy should come to a knowledge of it by means of their numerous emissaries.

The English uniform, which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the old garrison wherever it appeared, was, now in the dusk, mistaken for French, the newly-arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd, and thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by our officers, among which colonel Douglas, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives. Calm was restored by the Pacha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotte, just arrived with Hassan Bey, and thus the contest of twenty-five hours ended, both parties being so fatigued as to be unable to move.

Buonaparte will, no doubt, renew the attack, the breach being, as above described, perfectly practicable for fifty men a-breast; indeed the town is not, nor ever has been, defensible, according to the rules of art, but according to every other rule, it must and shall be defended, not that it is, in itself, worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach Buonaparte means to march to farther conquests. It is on the issue of this conflict that depends the opinion of the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills, who wait only to see how it ends to join the victor, and with such a reinforcement for the execution of his known projects, Constantinople and even Vienna must feel the shock.

Be assured, my lord, the magnitude of our obligations does but increase the energy of our efforts in the attempt to discharge our duty; and though we may, and probably shall be overpowered, I can venture to say, that the French army will be so much farther weakened before it prevails, as to be little able to profit by its dear-bought victory.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Sidney Smith,  
Rear-admiral lord Nelson.

*Tigre, at Anchor off Jaffa,  
May 30.*

My lord,

The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifested in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army, the means we had of opposing its gigantic efforts against us being totally inadequate, of themselves, to the production of such a result. The measure of their iniquities seems to have been filled by the massacre of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cool blood, three days after their capture; and the plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Buonaparte's extraordinary career.

He raised the siege of Acre on the 20th May, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed. The circumstances which led to this event, subsequent to my last dispatch of the 9th instant, are as follow:

Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistible prowess of these invaders, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before

before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of mount Lebanon, and also sheiks of the Druses, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. I sent them at the same time a copy of Buonaparte's impious proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments, accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian knight and that of an unprincipled renegade. This letter had all the effect that I could desire. They immediately sent me two ambassadors, professing not only friendship but obedience; assuring me that in proof of the latter they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Buonaparte's career farther northward effectually stopped, by a warlike people inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's division had been sent eastward towards the fords of the Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as it had by its firmness, and the steady front it opposed in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of 10,000 men in check during a whole day in the plain between Nazareth and mount Tabor, till Buonaparte

came with his horse artillery and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry, by which they were completely surrounded.

The Turkish Chiffick regiment having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the garden, made a fresh sally the next night, Soliman Aga the lieutenant-colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given him to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel, and this he did most effectually; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to spend its time and its strength in recovering these works, in which it succeeded after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in *statu quo* except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After this failure the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in former attacks by Buonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle of action but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to attain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to every body else, that even if he succeeded to take the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a

short



short time; however, the knowledge of the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa, rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Two attempts to assassinate me in the town having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law of honour and of war. A flag of truce was sent into the town, by the hand of an Arab dervise, with a letter to the Pacha, proposing a cessation of arms for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us on both sides, many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection. It was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should consequently be off our guard during the conference. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of dead bodies in question, to the eternal disgrace of the general, who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from whence I sent him back to the general, with a message, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put into execution in the night between the 20th and 21st instant. I had above said, that the battering train of artillery (except the car-

riages, which were burnt) is now in our hands, amounting to 23 pieces. The howitzers and medium 12-pounders, originally conveyed by land with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise, together with the worst among the 2000 wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected. I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea, without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered straight to his majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity, in which they were not disappointed. I have sent them on to Damietta, where they will receive such farther aid as their situation requires, and which it was out of my power to give so many. Their expressions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the name of their general, who had, as they said, thus exposed them to peril rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that I had intentionally exposed the former prisoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army, be it said, this assertion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author. The intention of it was evidently to do away the effect which the proclamation of the Porte began to make on the soldiers, whose eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them when

thrown

thrown from the breach. He cannot plead misinformation as his excuse, his aid-du-camp, Mr. Lallemand having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre, when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home. It was evident to both sides, that when a general had recourse to such a shallow, and at the same time to such a mean artifice, as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army was consequently increased to the highest pitch. The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza is strewed with the dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the slightest wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gunboats annoyed the van column of the retreating army in its march along the beach, and the Arabs harassed its rear, when it turned inland, to avoid the fire. We observed the smoke of musketry behind the Sandhills from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pacha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Buonaparte's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on it by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Naplaussians. The English flag rehoisted on the consul's house (under which the Pacha met me,) serves

Vol. XLI.

as an asylum for all religions and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen lying on the bodies of those whom they massacred two months ago, afford another proof of divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pacha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are just dispatched to harass the French rear, and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on exertions, of which I am not absolute master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders, who, in the face of a most formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had not a single heavy gun mounted on the land side, and who have carried on all intercourse by boats, under a constant fire of musketry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your lordship by lieutenant Canes, first of the Tigre, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theseus, as captain, ever since the death of my much-lamented friend and coadjutor, captain Miller. I have

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taken lieutenant England, first of that ship, to my assistance in the Tigre, by whose exertions, and those of lieutenant Summers and Mr. Atkinson, together with the bravery of the rest of the officers and men, that ship was saved, though on fire in five places at once, from a deposit of French shells bursting on-board her.\*

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Right hon. lord Nelson, &c.

*A Return of killed, wounded, and drowned, belonging to his Majesty's Ships Tigre and Theseus, between the 9th and 20th May, employed in the Defence of Acre.*

Tigre—John Carter, seaman, killed; Thomas Smith, sergeant of

marines, Thomas Knight, Joseph Thompson, private marines, wounded.

Theseus—Ralph Willett Miller, captain, Thomas Seabourne, schoolmaster, James Morrison, Bigges Forbes, Charles James Webb, midshipmen, 21 seamen, 1 boy, 3 private marines, killed; lieutenant Summers, Thomas Atkinson, master, Robert Tarnish, surgeon, Frederick Morris, chaplain, lieutenant Beatty, Charles Dobson, midshipman, 30 seamen, 2 boys, 1 sergeant of marines, 5 private marines, wounded; 6 seamen, 3 private marines, drowned.

Total—1 captain, 1 schoolmaster, 3 midshipmen, 22 seamen, 1 boy, 3 private marines, killed; 2 lieutenants, 1 master, 1 surgeon, 1 chaplain, 1 midshipman, 30 seamen, 2 boys, 2 sergeants of marines, 7 pri-

\* The accounts of the explosion on-board this ship which have hitherto appeared, being extremely imperfect, a correspondent has favoured us with the following official particulars of that event. They are extracted from the letter of the commanding officer to sir Sidney Smith, dated in Syria-Bay, the 15th of May.

"It is with extreme concern I have to acquaint you, that yesterday morning, at half past nine o'clock, twenty 36-pound shells, and fifty 18-pound shells, had been got up and prepared ready for service by captain Miller's order, the ship then alone off Cesaria; when, in an instant, owing to an accident that we have not been able to discover, the whole was on fire, and a most dreadful explosion took place; the ship was immediately in flames in the main-rigging and mizen-top, in the cockpit, the tiers, several places about the main-deck, and various parts of the ship; the danger was very imminent, and required an uncommon exertion of every one to get under so collected a body of fire as made its appearance, and I have the happiness to add, that our exertions were crowned with success, the fire got under, and the ship most miraculously preserved; and I here feel myself called upon to declare how much obliged I am to all the officers and ship's company, but more particularly to lieutenant Summers, Mr. Atkinson, master, and the officers and men, whose assistance on this occasion was truly great, and enabled us to get the better of so great a calamity. Our loss, from the explosion, I lament to say, has been very great; and captain Miller, I am sorry to add, is of the number killed, which amounts to 26, 10 drowned, and 45 wounded. The whole of the poop and after-part of the quarter-deck is entirely blown to pieces, and all the beams destroyed; eight of the main-deck beams also broke, which fell down and jammed the tiller; all the wardrobe, bulk-heads, and windows, entirely blown to pieces, and the ship left a perfect wreck; in short, a greater scene of horror and devastation could not be produced; and we are all truly grateful to God Almighty for his most signal preservation in saving us from a danger so very great and alarming."

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## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 99

rate marines, wounded; 6 seamen,  
5 private marines, drowned.

His majesty's ship Tigre,  
30th May.

W. Sidney Smith.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,*  
*September 14, 1799.*

*Downing-street, September 13.*

*A Dispatch, of which the following is  
an Extract, was received this Morn-  
ing by the Ship Sarah Christiana.*

*Extract of a Letter from the Earl of  
Mornington, to the Right Hon.  
Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's  
principal Secretaries of State, dated  
Fort St. George, May 16.*

Yesterday I received the enclosed  
dispatch from lieutenant-general  
Harris, containing the details of the  
capture of Seringapatam: they re-  
quire no comment, and I am per-  
suaded that no solicitation is neces-  
sary to induce you to recommend  
this incomparable army, which has  
secured this glorious triumph, to the  
particular notice of his majesty, and  
to the applause and gratitude of their  
country. I also enclose a copy of  
the general orders that I issued on  
this glorious occasion.

*Seringapatam, May 7.*

My lord,

On the 4th instant, I had the hon-  
our to address to your lordship a  
very note, containing, in few  
words, the sum of our success,  
which I have now to report more  
in detail.

The fire of our batteries, which  
began to batter in breach on the  
1st of April, had, on the evening of

the 3d instant, so much destroyed  
the walls, against which it was di-  
rected, that the arrangement was  
then made for assaulting the place  
on the following day, when the  
breach was reported practicable.

The troops intended to be em-  
ployed were stationed in the trenches  
early in the morning of the 4th,  
that no extraordinary movement  
might lead the enemy to expect the  
assault, which I had determined to  
make in the heat of the day, as the  
time best calculated to ensure suc-  
cess, as the troops would then be  
least prepared to oppose us.

Ten flank companies of Europe-  
ans, taken from those regiments ne-  
cessarily left to guard our camps,  
and our outposts, followed by the  
12th, 33d, 73d, and 74th regiments,  
and three corps of grenadier sepoys,  
taken from the troops of the three  
presidencies, with 200 of his high-  
ness the Nizam's troops, formed  
the party for the assault, accom-  
panied by 100 of the artillery, and  
the corps of pioneers, and support-  
ed in the trenches by the battalion  
companies of the regiment De Meu-  
ron, and four battalions of Madras  
sepoys. Colonel Sherbrooke, and  
lieutenant-colonels Dunlop, Dal-  
rymple, Gardiner, and Mignan,  
commanded the several flank corps;  
and major-general Baird was en-  
trusted with the direction of this im-  
portant service.

At one o'clock, the troops moved  
from the trenches, crossed the rocky  
bed of the Cavety under an ex-  
tremely heavy fire, passed the glacis  
and ditch, and ascended the breaches  
in the *fausse braye* and rampart of the  
fort, surmounting, in the most gal-  
lant manner, every obstacle which  
the difficulty of the passage and the  
resistance of the enemy presented to

oppose their progress. Major-general Baird had divided his force for the purpose of clearing the ramparts to the right and left. One division was commanded by colonel Sherbrooke, the other by lieutenant-colonel Dunlop: the latter was disabled in the breach, but both corps, although strongly opposed, were completely successful. Resistance continued to be made from the palace of Tippoo, for some time after all firing had ceased from the works: two of his sons were there, who, on assurance of safety, surrendered to the troops surrounding them; and guards were placed for the protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace.

It was soon after reported, that Tippoo Sultaun had fallen.\* Syed Scheb, Meer Saduf, Syed Gofa, and many other of his chiefs, were also slain. Measures were immediately adopted, to stop the confusion at first unavoidable, in a city strongly garrisoned, crowded with inhabitants and their property, in ruins from the fire of a numerous artillery, and taken by assault. The princes were removed to camp. It appeared to major-general Baird so important to ascertain the fate of the Sultaun, that he caused immediate search to be made for his body, which, after much difficulty, was found, late in the evening, in one of the gates, under a heap of slain, and soon after placed in the palace. The corpse was the next day recognised by the family, and interred, with the honours due to his rank; in the mausoleum of his father.

The strength of the fort is such,

both from its natural position and the stupendous works by which it is surrounded, that all the exertions of the brave troops who attacked it, in whose praise it is impossible to say too much, were required to place it in our hands. Of the merits of the army I have expressed my opinion in orders, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose; and I trust your lordship will point out their services to the favourable notice of their king and country.

I am sorry to add, that on collecting the returns of our loss, it is found to have been much heavier than I at first imagined.

On the 5th instant, Ardul Khalic, the elder of the princes, formerly hostages with lord Cornwallis, surrendered himself at our outposts, demanding protection. Kermin Sahab, the brother of Tippoo, had before sought refuge with Meer Allum Behauder. A Cowl-Namah was yesterday dispatched to Futteh Hyder, the eldest son of Tippoo, inviting him to join his brothers. Purneah and Meer Kummer Odeen Khan have also been summoned to Seringapatam; no answers have yet been received, but I expect them shortly, as their families are in the fort.

This moment Ali Reza, formerly one of the vakeels from Tippoo Sultaun to lord Cornwallis, has arrived from Meer Kummer Odeen Khan, to ask my orders for 4000 horse, now under his command. Ali Reza was commissioned to declare, that Meer Kummer Odeen would make no conditions, but rely on the generosity of the English.

\* For an account of this sanguinary tyrant, see our head of Characters in this volume.

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## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 101

Monfieur Chapue, and moft of the French, are prifoners: they have commiffions from the French government.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) George Harris.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,*

*September 16, 1799.*

*Abstract of a Return of killed, wounded, and miffing, at the Affault of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May.*

Europeans killed—2 captains, 6 lieutenants, 3 fergeants, 1 drummer, and 58 rank and file.

Ditto wounded—1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants, 3 epfigns, 2 conductors, 12 fergeants, 5 drummers, and 228 rank and file.

Ditto miffing—1 fergeant, and 3 rank and file.

Natives killed—13 rank and file.

Ditto wounded—1 jemidar, 2 drummers, and 31 rank and file.

Ditto miffing—2 rank and file.

*Names of Officers killed and wounded on the Affault.*

Killed—Lieutenant Mather, of the 75th, captain Owen, of the 77th flank companies, lieutenant Lalor, of the 73d, lieutenants Farquhar, Prendergraft, Hill, and Shawe, of the 74th, captain Cormick, of the pioneers.

Wounded—Lieutenants Turner, Broughton, and Skelton, of the 75th; lieutenant-colonel Dunlop, and lieutenant Laurence, of the 77th; lieutenant Webb, of the Bombay regiment; captain Lardy, and lieutenant Matthey, of the Meuron regiment, flank companies; lieutenant Shawe, of the 76th, ferving with the 12th; captain Macleod, lieutenant Thomas, enfigns Antil and Guthrie, of the 73d;

captain Caldwell, of the engineers, and captain Prefcott, of the artillery.

*Downing-freet.*

*A Difpatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Morning received from Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. at the Office of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majefty's principal Secretaries of State.*

*Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, September 11.*

Sir,

Having fully confidered the pofition which the Britifh troops had occupied on the 1ft inftant, and having in view the certainty of fpeedy and powerful reinforcements, I determined to remain until then on the defensive.

From the information which we had received, we were apprized of the enemy's intention to attack us, and we were daily improving the advantages of our fituation.

Yesterday morning, at daybreak, the enemy commenced an attack on our centre and right, from St. Martin's to Petten, in three columns, and apparently with their whole force.

The column on the right, compofed of Dutch troops, under the command of general Daendels, directed its attack on the village of St. Martin's.

The centre column of the enemy, under the orders of general de Moncean, likewise compofed of Dutch troops, marched on to Crabbendam and Zuyper Sluys.

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The left column of the enemy, composed of French, directed itself on the position occupied by major-general Burrard, commanding the second brigade of guards.

The enemy advanced, particularly on their left and centre, with great intrepidity, and penetrated with the heads of their columns to within a hundred yards of the post occupied by the British troops. They were, however, every where repulsed, owing to the strength of our position, and the determined courage of the troops. About ten o'clock the enemy retired towards Alkmaar, leaving behind them many dead and some wounded men, with one piece of cannon, a number of waggons, pontoons, and portable bridges. Colonel M'Donald, with the reserve, pursued them for some time, and quickened their retreat.

It is impossible for me to do full justice to the good conduct of the troops.

Colonel Spencer, who commanded in the village of St. Martin's, defended his post with great spirit and judgement.

Major-general Moore, who commanded on his right, and who was wounded, though I am happy to say slightly, was no less judicious in the management of the troops under his command.

The two battalions of the 20th regiment posted opposite to Krabbendam and Zuyper Sluys, did credit to the high reputation which that regiment has always borne. Lieutenant-colonel Smyth, of that corps, who had the particular charge of that post, received a severe wound in his leg, which will deprive us for a time of his services.

The two brigades of guards repulsed, with great vigour, the co-

lumn of French which had advanced to attack them, and where the slaughter of the enemy was great.

I continue to receive every mark of zeal and intelligence from the officers composing the staff of this army.

It is difficult to state, with any precision, the loss of the enemy, but it cannot be computed at less than 800 or 1000 men; and on our side it does not exceed, in killed, wounded, and missing, 200 men. Exact returns shall be transmitted herewith.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. Abercrombie.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

*Head-quarters, Schagen Brug,  
September 11.*

*Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. in the Action of the Zyp, on the 10th September.*

Total—37 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 4 captains, 5 subalterns, 2 sergeants, 131 rank and file wounded; 1 sergeant, 18 rank and file missing.

*Return of Officers wounded.*

Major-general Moore; captain Halket, of the 76th regiment, aide-camp to the commander-in-chief; lieutenant Simpson, of the royal artillery; captain Nevill, of the grenadier battalion of guards; captain Nevill, of the 1st battalion of the 3d regiment of guards; lieutenant Gordon, of the 2d battalion of the royals; captain the honourable John Ramfay, of the 92d regiment of foot; lieutenant-

lieutenant-colonel George Smyth, major Robert Rofs, lieutenants John Colborne, Charles Devroeux, Christopher Hamilton, lieutenant and adjutant Samuel South, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot; captain-lieutenant L. Ferdinand Adams, of the 2d battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.

Alex. Hope,  
Assistant adjutant-general.

*London Gazette, Sept. 21, 1799.*

*Downing-street, Sept. 19.*

*A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Morning received from Field-Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, at the Office of the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.*

*The Helder, North Holland,  
September 14.*

Sir,

I have to acquaint you with my arrival at this place yesterday evening, having sailed from Deal, on board the Amethyst frigate, on Monday morning, the 9th instant.

Upon coming on-shore I had great satisfaction in witnessing the disembarkation of eight battalions of Russian auxiliary troops, consisting of 7000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general D'Hermann, which had arrived from Revel in the course of the preceding day and yesterday morning. I afterwards saw these troops upon their march towards the position occupied by the British near Schagen; and I have great pleasure in assuring you that, from their appearance in every respect, the most happy consequences may be expected from their co-operation with his majesty's arms in this

country: lieutenant-general D'Hermann seems to enter most heartily into our views, and I form very sanguine hopes of receiving essential assistance from his zeal and experience.

I understand that sir Ralph Abercrombie has made you acquainted with his having repulsed the enemy in an attack made upon him on Tuesday last. I proceed to join him at his quarters at Schagen immediately.

I have had the pleasure to meet the hereditary prince of Orange here. His serene highness is occupied in arranging into corps a large body of deserters from the Batavian army, and volunteers from the crews of the Dutch ships of war, which have proceeded to England. Every assistance shall be given to his serene highness to render these corps an efficient addition to our forces.

I am, sir, yours,

Frederick.

The right hon. Henry Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,  
September 24, 1799.*

*Downing-street.*

*A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been this Day received from Field-marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.*

*Head Quarters, Schagen Brug,  
September 20.*

Sir,

In my dispatch of the 16th instant, I acquainted you with my intention  
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of making an attack upon the whole of the enemy's position, the moment that the reinforcements joined.

Upon the 19th, every necessary arrangement being made, the army moved forward in four principal columns, in the following order:

The left column, under the command of lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, consisting of

Two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons,

Major-general the earl of Chatham's brigade,

Major-general Moore's brigade,

Major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade,

First battalion of British grenadiers of the line,

First battalion of light infantry of the line,

The 23d and 55th regiments, under colonel Macdonald, destined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder Zee, marched at six o'clock on the evening of the 18th.

The columns upon the right, the first commanded by lieutenant-general D'Hermann, consisting of

The 7th light dragoons,

Twelve battalions of Russians, and

Major-general Manners' brigade; the second, commanded by lieutenant-general Dundas, consisting of

Two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons,

Two brigades of foot guards, and

Major-general his highness prince William's brigade; the third column, commanded by lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, consisting of

Two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons,

Major-general Don's brigade,

Major-general Coote's brigade, marched from the positions they occupied at daybreak the morning of the 19th. The object of the first

column was to drive the enemy from the heights of Camber Duyn, the villages under these heights, and finally to take possession of Bergen: the second was to force the enemy's position at Walmenhuysen and Schoreldam, and to co-operate with the column under lieutenant-general D'Hermann; and the third, to take possession of Ouds Carpel at the head of the Lange Dyke, a great road leading to Alkmaar.

It is necessary to observe, that the country in which we had to act, presented in every direction the most formidable obstacles. The enemy upon their left occupied to great advantage the high sand-hills which extend from the sea in front of Petten to the town of Bergen, and were intrenched in three, intermediate villages. The country over which the columns, under lieutenant-generals Dundas and sir James Pulteney, had to move for the attack of the fortified posts of Walmenhuysen, Schoreldam, and the Lange Dyke, is a plain intersected every three or four hundred yards by broad deep wet ditches and canals. The bridges across the only two or three roads which led to these places were destroyed, and abatis were laid at different distances.

Lieutenant-general D'Hermann's column commenced its attack, which was conducted with the greatest spirit and gallantry, at half past three o'clock in the morning, and by eight had succeeded in so great a degree as to be in possession of Bergen. In the wooded country which surrounds this village the principal force of the enemy was placed; and the Russian troops, advancing with an intrepidity which overlooked the formidable resistance with which they were to meet, had not retained

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that order which was necessary to preserve the advantages they had gained; and they were, in consequence, after a most vigorous resistance, obliged to retire from Bergen (where, I am much concerned to state, lieutenant-generals D'Hermann and Tchertchekoff were made prisoners, the latter dangerously wounded), and fell back upon Schorel, which village they were also forced to abandon, but which was immediately retaken by major-general Manners's brigade, notwithstanding the very heavy fire of the enemy. Here this brigade was immediately reinforced by two battalions of Russians, which had co-operated with lieutenant-general Dundas in the attack of Walmenhuysen, by major-general D'Oyley's brigade of guards, and by the 35th regiment, under the command of his highness prince William. The action was renewed by these troops for a considerable time with success; but the entire want of ammunition on the part of the Russians, and the exhausted state of the whole corps engaged in that particular situation, obliged them to retire, which they did in good order, upon Petten and the Zuyper Sluys.

As soon as it was sufficiently light, the attack upon the village of Walmenhuysen, where the enemy was strongly posted with cannon, was made by lieutenant-general Dundas. Three battalions of Russians, who formed a separate corps, destined to co-operate from Krabbendam in this attack, commanded by major-general Sedmoratzky, very gallantly stormed the village on its left flank, while, at the same time, it was entered on the right by the 1st regiment of guards. The grenadier battalion of the guards had been pre-

viously detached to march upon Schoreldam, on the left of lieutenant-general D'Hermann's column, as was the 3d regiment of guards, and the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, to keep up the communication with that under lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney. The remainder of lieutenant-general Dundas's column, which, after taking possession of Walmenhuysen, had been joined by the 1st battalion of the 5th regiment, marched against Schoreldam, which place they maintained under a very heavy and galling fire, until the troops engaged on their right had retired at the conclusion of the action.

The column under lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney proceeded to its object of attack at the time appointed; and after overcoming the greatest difficulties and the most determined opposition, carried by storm the principal post of Ouds Carpel at the head of the Lange Dyke; upon which occasion the 40th regiment, under the command of colonel Spencer, embraced a favourable opportunity which presented itself of highly distinguishing themselves.

This point was defended by the chief force of the Batavian army, under the command of general Daendels. The circumstances, however, which occurred on the right rendered it impossible to profit by this brilliant exploit, which will ever reflect the highest credit on the general officers and troops engaged in it; and made it necessary to withdraw lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney's column from the position which he had taken within a short distance of Alkmaar. The same circumstances led to the necessity of recalling the corps under lieutenant-

nant-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had proceeded without interruption to Hoorne, of which city he had taken possession, together with its garrison.

The whole of the army has therefore re-occupied its former position.

The well-grounded hopes I had entertained of complete success in this operation, and which were fully justified by the result of the three, and by the first successes of the fourth attack upon the right, add to the great disappointment I must naturally feel on this occasion; but the circumstances which have occurred I should have considered of very little general importance, had I not to lament the loss of many brave officers and soldiers, both of his majesty's and the Russian troops, who have fallen.

The gallantry displayed by the troops engaged, the spirit with which they overcame every obstacle which nature and art opposed to them, and the cheerfulness with which they maintained the fatigues of an action which lasted, without intermission, from half past three o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, are beyond my powers to describe or to extol. Their exertions fully entitle them to the admiration and gratitude of their king and country.

Having thus faithfully detailed the events of this first attack; and paid the tribute of regret due to the distinguished merit of those who fell, I have much consolation in being enabled to state that the efforts which have been made, although not crowned with immediate success, so far from militating against the general object of the campaign, promise to be highly useful to our future operations. The capture of 60 offi-

cers and upwards of 3000 men, and the destruction of 16 pieces of cannon, with large supplies of ammunition, which the intersected nature of the country did not admit of being withdrawn, are convincing proofs that the loss of the enemy in the field has been far superior to our own; and in addition to this it is material to state, that nearly 15,000 of the allied troops had unavoidably no share in this action.

In viewing the several circumstances which occurred during this arduous day, I cannot avoid expressing the obligations I owe to lieutenant-generals Dundas and sir James Pulteney, for their able assistance; and also to mention my great satisfaction at the conduct of major-generals his highness prince William, D'Oyley, Manners, Burrard, and Don, to whose spirited exertions the credit gained by the brigades they commanded is greatly to be imputed.

Captain sir Home Popham and the several officers of my staff exerted themselves to the utmost, and rendered me most essential service. I feel also much indebted to the spirited conduct of a detachment of seamen, under the direction of sir Home Popham and captain Godfrey of the navy, in the conduct of three gun-boats, each carrying one 12-pound carronade, which acted with considerable effect on the Alkmaar canal; nor must I omit expressing my acknowledgments to the Russian major-generals Essen, Sedmoratzky, and Schutorff.

I transmit herewith returns of the killed, wounded, and missing.

I am, sir, yours,

Frederick.

P. S. Not having yet received returns of the loss sustained by the Russian

Russian troops, I can only observe, that I understand their loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounts to near 1500 men.

*Head Quarters, Schagen Brug,  
September 20.*

*Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Action of the 19th of September.*

Total.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 2 subalterns, 1 staff, 2 sergeants, 109 rank and file, killed; 7 lieutenant-colonels, 6 majors, 15 captains, 15 subalterns, 20 sergeants, 2 drummers, 345 rank and file, wounded; 22 sergeants, 5 drummers, 463 rank and file, missing.

*Return of Officers killed, wounded, missing, and taken Prisoners.*

Grenadier-battalion of guards.—Lieutenant-colonel Morris and captain Gunthorp, killed; colonel Wynyard and captain Neville, wounded.

3d battalion of the 1st guards.—Lieutenant-colonel Cook, wounded; lieutenant-colonel Dawkins and captain Forbes, wounded and taken prisoners; captain Henry Wheatley, wounded; ensign D'Oyley, wounded, and taken prisoner.

1st battalion of the Coldstream guards.—Lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, wounded.

1st battalion of the 17th foot.—Major Grey, major Cockburne, captains Grace and Knight, wounded; lieutenant Wickham, missing, supposed taken; lieutenant Willon and ensign Thomson, wounded.

2d battalion of the 17th foot.—Major Wood and lieutenant Saunders, wounded.

1st battalion of the 40th foot.—Ensign Elcomb, killed; major Wingfield, captains Dancer, Thompson, Gear, Myers, and lieutenant Williams, wounded; captain O'Donnell, missing.

2d battalion of the 40th foot.—Captain Trollope, wounded, since dead; captains Dancer and Thornton, and lieutenant Macpherson, wounded.

1st battalion of the 5th foot.—Lieutenant-col. Stephenson, wounded; lieutenant Harris, wounded, since dead.

1st battalion of the 35th foot.—Lieutenant-colonel Oswald and major Hay, wounded; major Petit, wounded, and taken prisoner; captain Manary, ensigns Wilkinson, Deane, and Jones, wounded.

1st battalion of the 9th foot.—Lieutenant Woodford and quartermaster Holles, killed; lieutenant Smith, wounded, and taken prisoner; lieutenants Grant and Rothwell, wounded.

2d battalion of the 9th foot.—Captain Balfour, killed; lieutenant-colonel Crew, wounded; ensign French, wounded, and taken prisoner; ensign Butter, missing.

56th regiment of foot.—Captains King and Gilman, and lieutenant Prater, wounded.

N. B. Lieutenant Rowad, of the royal navy, wounded; 4 seamen, killed; 7 seamen, wounded.

350 rank and file of the 1st battalion of the 35th regiment cannot exactly be accounted for, from the nature of the action, and from the regiment being sent immediately to the Helder in charge of prisoners; but it is much feared that nearly 100 are killed, and the remainder wounded and missing.

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*The Return of the Royal Artillery, received since the general Return was closed.*

Five gunners, 4 gunner-drivers, 3 additional gunners, killed.

First lieutenant Eligie, wounded, and taken prisoner.

Volunteer John Douglas, wounded.

Eight gunners, 6 gunner-drivers, 4 additional gunners, wounded.

Seven gunners, 9 gunner-drivers, missing.

(Signed) Alex. Hope,  
Assistant adjutant-general.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,  
October 8, 1799.*

*Downing-street, October 7.*

*A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was received late this Evening from Field-Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.*

*Head-quarters, Zuyper Stuys,  
October 4.*

Sir,

The inclemency of the weather which prevailed at the time of writing my last dispatch, and which, as I therein explained, alone prevented me from putting the army in motion, having, in some measure, subsided, and the necessary previous arrangements having been made, the attack was commenced on the whole of the enemy's line on the morning of the 2d; and I have now the happiness to inform you, that, after a severe and obstinate action, which lasted from six in the morning till the same hour at night,

the distinguished valour of his majesty's and the Russian troops prevailed throughout; and the enemy, being entirely defeated, retired in the night from the positions which he occupied on the Lange Dyke, the Koe Dyke at Bergen, and upon the extensive range of sand-hills between the latter place and Egmont-op-Zee. The points where this well-fought battle was principally contested, were from the sea-shore in front of Egmont, extending along the sandy desert or hills to the heights above Bergen, and it was sustained by the British columns, under the command of those highly-distinguished officers general sir Ralph Abercrombie and lieutenant-general Dundas, whose exertions, as well as the gallantry of the brave troops they led, cannot have been surpassed by any former instance of British valour.

On the night of this memorable day, the army lay upon their arms, and yesterday moved forward, and occupied the positions of the Lange Dyke, Alkmaar, Bergen, Egmont-op-Hoof, and Egmont-op-Zee.

The enemy's forces, according to the best information I have been able to obtain, consisted of between 25 and 30,000 men; of whom a very small proportion only were Dutch. General Daendels, who commanded the latter, is wounded. The French troops, who have been continually reinforcing themselves, and whose loss has been very great, were commanded by generals Brune, Vandamme, and Boute.

From the continuance of the action, and the obstinacy with which it was contested, the victory has not been gained without serious loss. At present I am not in possession of particular

particular returns; but I have the satisfaction to say, that no officer of rank has fallen. The British army has to regret major-general Moore's being wounded in two places, and the Russian army, major-general Emme's being also wounded; but I am happy to say, that their wounds are not of a nature to lead me to apprehend that I shall long be deprived of the assistance of their abilities and gallantry. It is impossible for me at this moment to do justice to the merits of the other generals and officers of the allied army who distinguished themselves, as I must defer until to-morrow paying my tribute of praise to them, and to the troops generally, as well as giving the details of the battle of the 2d instant. My attention is seriously engaged in making the arrangements which are necessary for occupying a forward position in front of Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee, to which line the enemy has retreated. I entertain no doubt that the extent of country which will now be under the protection of the allied army, and rescued from French tyranny, will afford an opportunity to its loyal inhabitants of declaring themselves. The town of Alkmaar, which is the seat of the states of North Holland, has opened its gates to our troops, and a considerable number of the Dutch troops have come over to the prince of Orange's standard.

In order that you may be in possession of such information, as want of time will not at present allow me to detail, I charge my aid-du-camp, captain Fitzgerald, with this dispatch. He is entirely in my confidence, and I request leave to recommend him to his majesty as an

officer of superior merit and intelligence.

I am, sir, yours,  
Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

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*London Gazette Extraordinary,  
October 24, 1799.*

*Downing-street.  
Dispatches, of which the following are Copies, were this Afternoon received from Field Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.*

*Head-quarters, Alkmaar, O&S. 6.  
Sir.*

I dispatched my aid-du-camp, captain Fitzgerald, on the 4th instant, with an account of the success obtained over the enemy on the 2d; and circumstances at that moment not enabling me to give the particulars of that day's action, I shall now enter into a detail of the occurrences which then took place. The disposition I have already transmitted to you of the intended attack, will show that it was determined that a vigorous effort should be made on the left of the enemy, where the French troops were posted and concentrated about Bergen, a large village surrounded by extensive woods, through which passes the great road leading to Haerlem, and between which and the sea lies an extensive region of high sand-hills, impassable for artillery or carriages, difficult and very embarrassing from their depth and broken surface for cavalry, and exceedingly forbidding, from

from all these and other circumstances, to any movements being attempted in them by a large body of infantry. Behind these sand-hills, and to the enemy's right, through the whole extent of North Holland, lies a wet and low country, every where intersected with dykes, canals, and ditches, which it rested with the enemy to occupy and strengthen in whatever manner and in whatever points he pleased, and thereby to prevent our making any successful attempts against his right. His centre was supported by the town of Alkmaar, and water communication gave him, in every direction, the advantage of drawing from and profiting by the resources of the country. The delays, which the unusual severity of the weather at this season, and the whole of our situation, rendered inevitable, enabled him to improve his position by new works, which bore a formidable appearance, and threatened much resistance. Under all circumstances, it was evident, that it was only by a great advantage gained on the enemy's left that we could drive him back, and force him to evacuate North Holland, thereby materially bettering our situation, by opening the sphere of our resources and future exertions. The combined attacks were therefore made in four principal columns: the first on the right, under general sir Ralph Abercrombie, consisting of major-general D'Oyley's brigade, major-general Moore's ditto, major-general earl of Cavan's ditto, colonel M'Donald's reserve, nine squadrons of light dragoons, commanded by colonel lord Paget, and one troop of horse artillery, marched by the sea-beach against Egmont-op-Zee,

with a view to turn the enemy's left flank. Of the second, consisting of Russian troops, commanded by major-general D'Essen, the greater proportion marched by the Slaper Dyke through the villages of Groete and Schorel upon Bergen, by the road which all the way skirts the foot of the sand-hills of Camperdown, about 300 feet high, presenting a steep face to the country, much wooded, but from their summit more gradually sloping towards the sea. Part of this column, under major-general Sedmoratzky, debouched from the Zuypersluis, and were destined to cover the left flank of the remainder of the Russian troops moving under the sand-hills, to co-operate with the brigade under major-general Burrard in the attack of Schoreldam, and to combine their attack upon Bergen with the troops upon their right. The third column, under the command of lieutenant-general Dundas, consisted of major-general earl Chatham's brigade, major-general Coote's ditto, major-general Burrard's ditto, and one squadron of the 11th light dragoons. Major-general Coote's brigade was ordered to follow the advanced guard of sir Ralph Abercrombie's column from Petten, to turn to the left at the village of Campe, and proceeding under the hills, to take the Slaper Dyke in reserve, and clear the road to Groete and the heights above it; for that part of the Russian column which marched by the Slaper Dyke, whose right major-general Coote was to cover, during its progress towards Bergen, by detaching the required number of troops into the sand-hills. Major-general lord Chatham's brigade was to follow that part of the Russian column

column which marched from the Zuyper Sluys, to turn to the right, and falling into the road in the rear of major-general D'Essen's corps, to join such part of major-general Coote's as moved along that road to proceed in support of the Russian column, covering its right upon the sand-hills, and from them ultimately to combine with that column in its attack upon Bergen; for which purpose these two brigades were to extend as much as possible to the right, and endeavour to connect themselves with the right column. Major-general Burrard's brigade was ordered to move from Tutenhoorn and Krabendam, upon the left of the Alkmaar canal, to combine, with the corps under major-general Sedmoratzky, its attack from Schoreldam, which was farther supported by seven gun-boats moving along the above canal. Major-general Burrard was to communicate upon his left with the fourth column under lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, consisting of major-general his highness prince William's brigade, major-general Manners's ditto, major-general Don's ditto, two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons, and two battalions of Russians. This column covered the whole of the left of our position to the Zuyder Zee, and was destined to threaten the enemy's right, and to take advantage of every favourable circumstance that should offer. Proportions of artillery of reserve were attached to each column, and to the Russian column about 200 Cossacs and hussars. The force of the enemy was computed at 25,000 men, much the greater proportion of which were French. The state of the tide determined the march of the right column, which proceeded

from Petten at half past six o'clock in the morning. Its advanced guard composed of the reserve under colonel M'Donald, viz. 1st battalion of grenadiers of the line, 1st battalion of light infantry ditto, 23d regiment of infantry, and 55th ditto, drove the enemy from Campe and from the sand-hills above that village, and continued its march upon the ridge of those hills, inclining a little to the left. Major-general Coote's brigade, which next followed, turned to its left at Campe, and advancing as far as the extremity of the Slaper Dyke and the village of Groete, cleared the road for the Russian column under major-general D'Essen. Part of this brigade, in connection with colonel M'Donald's corps, drove the enemy from the sand-hills to the right and front of the Russian column, and continued moving forward upon the sand-hills, a little in advance of the Russian troops. Major-general Sedmoratzky's corps had marched from the Zuyper Sluys as soon as the enemy had abandoned Groete, and advanced across the plain between the Alkmaar canal and the road by which major-general D'Essen moved, whose left he joined, whilst his own left was protected by the fire of the gun-boats and the advance of major-general Burrard's corps. The enemy, who had gradually retired from Schorel, were now formed in considerable force from Schorel to Schoreldam, and kept up a very warm fire from the cannon which they had posted at different points of their line. Major-general lord Chatham's brigade moved in the rear of major-general Sedmoratzky's corps, close behind which it was formed in the plain. The column under major-general D'Essen proceeded along the



the road upon Schorel, whilst major-general Coote's brigade was rapidly driving the enemy from the ridge of sand-hills above that village and to its right. Colonel McDonald's corps had moved considerably to the right, with a view to connect itself with the right column, and continued warmly engaged with the enemy, who were in very considerable force in the sand-hills.

After some delay the enemy were driven, about eleven o'clock, by the Russian troops, and by the gun-boats and major-general Burrard's brigade upon their left, from Schorel and Schoreldam, between which major-generals D'Essen's and Sedmoratzky's corps took post, and continued the remainder of the day engaged in a cannonade with the enemy, posted in the village of Bergen, and between it and the Koe Dyke. Schoreldam was occupied by major-general Burrard, whence he continued his attack (in conjunction with the gun-boats) upon the enemy, who was strongly posted on the Koe Dyke. In this situation it became necessary to make a great effort to clear the summit of the sand-hills of the enemy, who occupied them in great numbers, and for a great visible extent quite beyond Bergen. The left of major-general Coote's brigade was then above Schorel, and the regiments which composed it were separated by very considerable intervals, and extended a long way into the sand-hills. The 85th regiment being on the right, and considerably advanced, was warmly engaged with the enemy, who showed a disposition to come upon the right of the brigade. I therefore directed lieutenant-general Dundas to march major-general lord Chatham's brigade from the plain

into the sand-hills, to the right of major-general Coote's, leaving one battalion (the 31st,) to move close under the hills parallel with the left of major-general Coote's brigade. This movement was admirably executed; and major-general lord Chatham's brigade, having arrived at some distance behind the 85th regiment, and outflanking it by about two battalions, the line was formed, and the whole was ordered to advance at a brisk pace to gain the heights about three quarters of a mile distant across a shrubby wood, and then by a gradual ascent to the summit of the sand-hills. The 85th regiment at the same time charged and drove the enemy before them, who, being thus taken in flank and rear, retired precipitately towards his right, and took post on the summit of the heights which hang over Bergen, whilst the remainder of major-general Coote's brigade, having also moved forward, joined the left of major-general lord Chatham's.

The 85th regiment took post in a favourable situation below those heights, so as to block up and command the avenue and great road, which leads through Bergen. From the heights the enemy were seen in the village of Bergen, and the woods and plains about it, wavering, and apparently in great uncertainty; but lieutenant-general Dundas's corps not being able alone to undertake the attack of the village and woods, or to bring cannon into the sand-hills, the enemy re-occupied the village in force, and kept up a brisk fire of cannon and musketry on the heights occupied by the British, and by which the latter were sheltered. A considerable body of the enemy advanced along the avenue,

and made a spirited attack to regain the heights on the post of the 85th, but were driven back with loss, and that regiment gallantly maintained their situation during the rest of the day against other attempts of the enemy. A large body of the enemy having been seen moving to their left, three battalions of major-general Coote's brigade were marched beyond the right of lord Chatham's, to support him, and extend the line. The 27th regiment, posted at the termination of another avenue from Bergen, were attacked by a considerable body issuing from the woods; the regiment having, however, by a spirited charge, driven the enemy into the wood, no farther attempt was made by them from that time (about half past three P. M.) to dislodge lieutenant-general Dundas's corps.

The extension of his line had now brought its right very near to the reserve under colonel M'Donald, who had been advancing rapidly, notwithstanding the considerable resistance he had experienced, and was now warmly engaged with the body of the enemy, lining a sand-hill ridge, which crosses the downs in a perpendicular direction, and which body probably had moved from Bergen and Egmont-op-te-Hooft, with the view of turning lieutenant-general Dundas's right flank. Lieutenant-general Dundas therefore sent down the 29th regiment on the left of colonel M'Donald, close to the road leading from Bergen to Egmont; and although the enemy's position appeared steep and formidable, a general and rapid attack was made. The advance of the 59th regiment was the signal for the whole on the right of it to move forward briskly, which was done with

such spirit, that they were soon at the bottom of the enemy's position; and ascending the hill, without stopping, they pursued their advantage with such vigour as to drive the enemy totally from the sand-hills. This was the last event which took place on the side of Bergen; and, as the close of the day was fast approaching, colonel M'Donald, with two battalions, was sent to the support of general sir Ralph Abercrombie. The heights of the sand-hills, surrounding Bergen for about three miles, remained crowned and possessed by eleven British battalions.

General sir Ralph Abercrombie had marched, according to the disposition, along the beach, with major-general D'Oyley's, major-general Moore's, and major-general lord Cavan's brigades, the cavalry and horse-artillery (the reserve, under M'Donald, not having been able, owing to the great extent of the sand-hills, to rejoin him, after turning to the left at Campe). The main body of sir Ralph Abercrombie's column had proceeded without meeting with much resistance in the early part of the day, but was nevertheless much inconvenienced, and his troops harassed, by the necessity of detaching continually into the sand-hills to his left, to cover that flank against the troops whom the enemy had placed in the sand-hills. The admirable disposition, however, which he made of his troops, and their determined spirit and gallantry, enabled him to arrive within a mile of Egmont. Here he was seriously opposed by a very considerable corps of French infantry, which occupied Egmont-op-Zee and the high sand-hills in its front, and who had formed a very strong corps of cavalry and artillery to their



Of the loss sustained by the enemy, the reports are so various, that I cannot venture to say any thing decisive; but, from all circumstances, I have reason to think it must have exceeded 4000 men. Seven pieces of cannon, and a great proportion of gun-brills, were taken. The prisoners having been immediately sent to the Helder, I cannot at present give any statement of their number, but I do not believe it exceeds a few hundred men.

Under Divine Providence this signal victory, obtained over the enemy, is to be attributed to the animating and persevering exertions which have at all times been the characteristics of the British soldier, and which on no occasion were ever more eminently displayed; nor has it often fallen to the lot of any general to have such just cause of acknowledgement for the distinguished support he that day experienced from the officers under his command.

I cannot, in sufficient terms, express the obligations I owe to general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and lieutenant-general Dundas, for the able manner in which they conducted their respective columns, whose success is in no small degree to be attributed to their personal exertions and example. The former had two horses shot under him.

I must also state my warm acknowledgements to lieutenant-general Hulse, major-generals lord Chatham, Coote, D'Oyley, Burrard, and Moore, for their spirited efforts upon this occasion, and the abilities which they shewed in the conduct of their respective brigades. The latter, by his ability and personal exertion, very materially con-

tributed to the success of his column; and although severely wounded through the thigh, continued in action for nearly two hours, until a second wound in the face obliged him to quit the field. Much praise is due to major-general Hutchinson, for the manner in which he led the 5th, or lord Cavan's brigade; and I hope it will not be considered as an improper intrusion, if I take this occasion to express my sincere regret that an unfortunate blow from a horse, in going into action, by fracturing his leg, should have deprived me of his lordship's services. Colonel McDonald distinguished himself by his usual spirit and ability in the command of the reserve, as did lord Paget, who commanded the cavalry upon the beach, and whose exertions are deserving of every praise. Nor must I omit expressing my thanks to lieutenant-colonels Whitworth and Smyth; who commanded the artillery of reserve, and to major Judson, of the horse-artillery. The detachment of seamen, under the command of captains Goddard and Jurcoing, were, upon this, as upon a former occasion, of the most essential service, in the direction of the gun-boats. The conduct of major-general Knox, who was attached to the column of Russian troops, was such as to afford me the greatest satisfaction.

I enclose the returns of the loss of the British and Russian troops, and must repeat my sincere regret that the advantages we have obtained (however brilliant), have been so dearly bought. In closing this dispatch, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of expressing my approbation of the staff of my army, and

in particular of the exertions and abilities shewn by lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, deputy quarter-master-general.

I am, &c.

Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

*Head-quarters, Alkmaar,  
October 6.*

*Total Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Battle of Bergen, fought on the 2d of October.*

Total—1 major, 5 captains, 5 subalterns, 11 sergeants, 215 rank and file, 44 horses, killed; 2 colonels; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 22 captains, 39 subalterns, 1 staff, 46 sergeants, 7 drummers, 980 rank and file, 78 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 4 subalterns, 7 sergeants, 3 drummers, 178 rank and file, 3 horses, missing.

*Return of Officers killed, wounded, and missing.*

Staff—Major-general Moore, of the 4th brigade; lieutenant-colonel Sontag; major Calcraft, of the 25th light dragoons, aid-de-camp to colonel lord Paget; captain W. Gray, of the queen's regiment, brigade-major of the 3d brigade; lieutenant Charles Jackson, of the 40th regiment, acting on the staff with the Russian army, wounded.

15th light dragoons—Lieutenant-colonel Erskine, wounded.

Royal artillery—Captain Nichol, wounded, since dead.

Grenadier battalion of the line—Captain Leith, of the 31st regiment of foot; captain Pratt, of the 5th regiment; lieutenant Stafford, of the 31st regiment; lieutenant Philpot, of the 35th regiment; volunteer Barrington, wounded; captain O'Neil, wounded, and missing.

Light infantry battalion of the line—Captain Robertson, of the 35th regiment of foot; captain Hitchman, of the 3d battalion of the 4th foot, wounded.

27th foot—Captain Archibald M'Murdo, adjutant and lieutenant George Tuthill, quarter-master and ensign John Ryan, ensign W. F. Brazier, wounded.

29th ditto—Captain White, lieutenant Tandy, lieutenant Rowan, lieutenant Bamfield, wounded.

85th ditto—Lieutenant Nester, killed; lieutenant-colonel Ross, captain Bowen, captain M'Intosh, lieutenant Keilly, wounded.

2d battalion royals—Captain Barnes, captain Hunter, lieutenant Ainslie, lieutenant Frazer, lieutenant Edmonstown, lieutenant Patton, ensign Birmingham, wounded; lieutenant Hope, wounded and taken prisoner.

25th foot—Captain-lieutenant J. Weir Johnston, lieutenant Hugh M'Donald, killed; major S. V. Hinde, captain George Callander, captain F. P. Scott, captain F. C. Carew, lieutenant Alexander W. Light, lieutenant James Peat, lieutenant John A. Grant, lieutenant John Austin, wounded.

49th foot—Captain Archer, ensign Ginn, killed; major Hutchinson, captain Sharp, captain Robins, lieutenant Urquhart, ensign Hill, wounded; lieutenant Richard Johnston, missing.

79th ditto—Captain James Campbell, of the grenadiers, killed; colonel Allen Cameron, lieutenant M'Donald, lieutenant M'Neil, lieutenant Rose, wounded.

92d ditto—Captain Wm. McIntosh, lieutenant Alexander Frazer, lieutenant Gordon M'Hardy, killed; colonel marquis of Huntley, captain John Cameron, captain Alexander Gordon, captain Peter Grant, lieutenant G. Frazer, lieutenant Charles Chad, lieutenant Donald M'Donald, ensign Charles Cameron, ensign John Macpherfon, ensign James Bent, wounded; captain John M'Lean, wounded and taken prisoner.

2d battalion of 17th ditto—Lieutenant Wynne, lieutenant Morrison, wounded.

2d battalion of the 40th foot—Quarter-master Phillips, wounded.

1st battalion of the 20th foot—Captain Pawlett, wounded.

2d battalion of ditto—Ensign Mills, wounded.

63d foot—Captain M'Niver, lieutenant Lee Gittie, ensign Hall, wounded.

1st battalion of the 4th foot—Ensign T. B. Carruthers, wounded.

31st foot—Ensign P. King, wounded.

23d foot—Lieutenant A. M'Lean, lieutenant William Keith, wounded.

55th foot—Major William Lumfden, killed; lieutenant W. H. Dixon, wounded.

Royal navy—Lieutenant Rowad, and 3 seamen, wounded.

Alex. Hope,

Assistant adjutant-general.

*Head-quarters, Egmont-op-Hooft,  
October 5.*

*Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Russian Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Battle of Bergen, on the 2d of October.*

Total—170 killed or taken prisoners, and 423 wounded.—50 horses killed.

*Head-quarters, Alkmaar,  
October 7.*

Sir,

The enemy, after the action of the 2d, having taken up the position between Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee, I determined to endeavour to force him thence before he had an opportunity of strengthening, by works, the short and very defensible line which he occupied; and to oblige him still farther to retire, before he could be joined by the reinforcements, which I had information were upon their march.

Preparatory, therefore, to a general forward movement, I ordered the advanced posts, which the army took up on the 3d instant, in front of this place, of Egmont-op-te-Hooft and Egmont-op-Zee, to be pushed forward, which operation took place yesterday morning. At first little opposition was shewn, and we succeeded in taking possession of the villages of Schermerhoorn, Acher Sloot, Limmen, Baccum, and of a position on the sand-hills near Wyck-op-Zee; the column of Russian troops, under the command of major-general D'Essen, in endeavouring to gain a height in front of their intended advanced post at Baccum,

I 3

(which

On the 1st was marched to the enemy's camp, and was engaged in a bloody battle, in which the British general lost a considerable number of men, and the remainder of the corps. The enemy, on their part, did not lose more than a few hundred men, and a general along the whole line, from left to right, when the enemy retired, leaving us masters of the field of battle. The result, however has, I am convinced to have, been as before, and has been attended with as little a loss in proportion to the number engaged, as any of those which have been fought by the brave troops composing this army since their arrival in Holland. The gallantry they displayed, and the perseverance with which they supported the fatigues of this day, rival their former exertions. The corps engaged were,

Major-general D'Oyley's brigade of guards.

Major-general Barrard's ditto.

Major-general earl of Chatham's brigade.

Major-general Coote's ditto.

Major-general the earl of Cavendish's brigade, commanded by major-general Hutchinson.

The reserve, under the command of colonel McDonald.

Part of the 7th and 11th light dragoons.

And seven battalions of Russians.

To general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the other general officers in command of the brigades before mentioned, as also to colonel M'Do-

nald, my warmest acknowledgments be due, for their spirited and successful exertions during this action. I do not omit the praise due to the brave Captain, commanding a flank company of the 5th, and one of the best troops regiments of guards, who, by a gallant charge, drove two battalions of the enemy from the side of Amer Stort, and gained prisoners. I have sincerely to regret, that in the course of the action major-general Hutchinson received a mortal wound in the thigh, which, however, is not fatal. I have not yet received any reports of the killed and wounded, but I am assured, and that the number of British is not less than 500, and that the loss of the Russian troops, as far as I can understand, amounts to 1200 men. I shall, as early as circumstances possibly admit, transmit particular returns.

The loss of the enemy, upon this occasion, has been very great; and, in addition to their killed and wounded, 500 prisoners fell into our hands.

I am, &c.

Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,

&c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug,  
October 9.

Sir,

I have already acquainted you with the result of the action of the 6th instant, which terminated successfully to the allied arms, and at the same time pointed out the necessity of the movement which produced this affair. From the prisoners taken, upon the 6th instant, I learnt the certainty of the enemy having been reinforced since the action

action of the 2d, by two demi-brigades, amounting to about 6000 infantry, and of their having strengthened the position of Beverwyck, and fortified strongly in the rear of it, points which it would still be necessary to carry, before Haerlem could be attacked. It ought also to be stated, that the enemy had retired a large force upon Purmerind, in an almost inaccessible position, covered by an inundated country, and the *debouchés* from which were strongly fortified, and in the hands of the enemy; and farther, that as our army advanced, this corps was placed in our rear. But such obstacles would have been overcome, had not the state of the weather, the ruined condition of the roads, and total want of the necessary supplies, arising from the above causes, presented difficulties which required the most serious consideration. Having maturely weighed the circumstances in which the army was thus placed, and having felt it my duty on a point of so much importance, to consult with general sir Ralph Abercrombie and the lieutenant-generals of this army, I could not but consider, and their opinion was unanimous on the subject, that it would be for the benefit of the general cause to withdraw the troops from their advanced position, in order to wait his majesty's farther instructions. I must request you will again represent to his majesty the distinguished conduct of his army; which, whilst acting under the pressure of uncommon difficulties, never for a moment ceased to be actuated by the noblest feelings for the success of the public cause, and the honour of the British arms. As there are many points, resulting from our pre-

sent situation, upon which you may require particular information, and such details as cannot be brought within a letter, I have thought it necessary to charge my secretary, colonel Brownrigg, with this dispatch, who will be able to explain fully all matters relating to this army. I transmit a return of killed, wounded, and missing, of his majesty's and the Russian troops, in the action of the 6th instant. I most heartily lament that it has again been so serious, and that so many brave and valuable men have fallen.

I am yours,  
Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

*Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Action of the 6th of October.*

Total—2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 subalterns, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, 83 rank and file, 7 horses, killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 7 captains, 23 subalterns, 1 staff, 23 sergeants, 666 rank and file, 13 horses, wounded; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 5 captains, 11 subalterns, 13 sergeants, 2 drummers, 569 rank and file, missing.

*Names of Officers killed.*

Lieutenant-colonel Philip Bainbridge and ensign McCurtis, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.

Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, of the 2d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Lieutenant Forster, of the 3d battalion of the 4th ditto.



# 120 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

## *Names of Officers wounded.*

Grenadier battalion of line.—Lieutenant Dunn, of the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment of foot; lieutenant Hamilton, of the 1st battalion of the 5th ditto.

Light infantry battalion.—Lieutenant Alexander, of the 3d battalion of the 4th foot; lieutenant Nicholson, of the 2d battalion of the 35th ditto; ensign Parsons, and volunteer J. M'Innis, of the 1st battalion of the 9th ditto.

Colonel Maitland and ensign Burke, of the 3d battalion of the 1st guards.

Surgeon Babington, of the 1st battalion of the 3d ditto.

Major Campbell, captain Newman, lieutenant Stevens, and ensigns Fevel and Humphries, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.

Captains Masters, Wallace, and Torrence; and ensign Drurie, of the 2d battalion of the 20th ditto.

Captain-lieutenant John Wardlow; lieutenants Bennet, Puscall, Sankey, and M'Intosh, of the 63d regiment of foot.

Lieutenant-colonel Hodgson; ensigns Johnston, Carruther, and John Nicholls, of the 1st battalion of the 4th ditto.

Captains Gilman and Palman; lieutenants Deare and Wilson; ensigns Highmore and Archibald, of the 2d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Majors Wynch and Horndon, of the 3d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Ensigns Williams, Johnston, and King, of the 31st regiment of foot.

## *Names of Officers missing.*

Lieutenant-colonel Lake, of the 3d battalion of the 1st guards.

Lieutenant-colonel Cholmondeley; major Pringle; captains Archdail, Brodie, Gillmore, Chapin; lieutenants Gasley, Wilson, Deare, Wilbraham; ensigns Brown, Ellis, Hill, Anderson, M'Pherson, Tryor, of the 2d battalion of the 4th foot.

Captain Williamson; ensign Algeo, of the 3d battalion of ditto.

Alex. Hope,

Assistant adjutant-general.

N. B. 7th light dragoons—2 rank and file, 2 horses, killed; 7 rank and file, 6 horses, wounded; 2 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

15th ditto—2 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded.

The returns did not come in till the 10th.

11th light dragoons—7 men and 7 horses prisoners of war, not in the above return.

*Head-quarters, Zuyper Sluis, October 13.*

*List of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Russian Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Action of the 6th October.*

Total—382 killed, or taken prisoners, and 735 wounded.

(Signed) D'Essen, major-general.

*London Gazette, October 15, 1799.*

*Downing-Street.*

*Dispatches, of which the following are Copies, have been received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-general Triggs and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, Commanders-in-chief of his*

*His Majesty's Land and Sea Forces  
in the Leeward and Windward Cham-  
berlain Islands.*

*Head-quarters, Paramaribo,  
August 23.*

Sir,

It affords me very particular satisfaction to have the honour of acquainting you, that the colony of Surinam surrendered to his majesty the 20th instant; and that the British troops took possession of Fort New Amsterdam, the principal fortress, on the following day.

On receiving your instructions of the 14th of June by Lord Hugh Seymour, I lost no time in making such arrangements as were necessary for collecting troops from Grenada and St. Lucia, which, with those I proposed taking from Martinique, would complete the number directed to be employed in the reduction of this settlement.

The admiral conceiving it advisable to dispatch captain Ekins in the Amphitrite to examine this coast, and prevent any vessels getting in with intelligence, it afforded me an opportunity of sending lieutenant-colonel Shipley, commanding engineer, to make such observations as might be useful on the occasion.

The troops being assembled at Fort Royal, embarked the 30th of last month on-board the different ships appointed to receive them; and the squadron, consisting of two line-of-battle ships and five frigates, with some small craft carrying stores and provisions, put to sea on the 31st ult.

On the 11th of this month, we made the coast to windward of the river Surinam, and fell in with the Amphitrite frigate, which had been sent forward from Martinique for

the purposes I have already mentioned. She was afterwards, on the 12th, and again on the 14th, ordered to reconnoitre the coast, and ascertain with precision the strength of the post at Bram's Point, which defends the entrance of the river. This service was executed by lieutenant-colonel Shipley with great zeal and judgement; and, had it been necessary to effect a landing, his observations would have proved of the most essential service.

Captain Ekins, of the Amphitrite, and lieutenant Senhouse, commanding the Requin, were generally employed as parties of observation, and have great merit for the zeal and activity which they evinced in the execution of the fatiguing and arduous duty entrusted to them.

The squadron stood in towards Surinam on the 16th inst. and came to anchor off the mouth of the river that afternoon, when it was agreed between lord Hugh Seymour and myself to summon the colony to surrender, which was accordingly done in the evening. But, as the governor requested forty-eight hours to consider the proposals, his answer was not received till the 18th, which was delivered by a deputation from the colony, composed of some military officers and gentlemen, inhabitants of the settlement, who were empowered to treat with us generally on the terms proposed, but not authorized to conclude the capitulation finally, the ratification of the several articles being reserved for the governor.

It being impossible, from the shallowness of the water, to proceed up the river with the line-of-battle ships, a disposition was made on the morning of the 19th to remove the troops from the Prince of Wales and Invincible

vincible to the small craft, which was immediately effected; when they, with four frigates, (the admiral and myself being in one of them) got under way, and in the afternoon anchored two miles above the entrance of the river. A detachment of the 60th regiment was then landed, and took possession of the redoubts and battery at Bram's Point, called Petit Keyn, which had been previously abandoned.

In the situation now described, the squadron continued till the night of the 20th instant, when the capitulation was returned finally ratified and confirmed by the governor, which enabled us to proceed on the following day with the ships and small craft lying within the river, to Fort New Amsterdam, which was then taken possession of by 400 men of the 5th battalion of the 60th, under the command of major Dorker, the acting adjutant-general, major Thomas having also landed with this detachment.

The garrison of Fort New Amsterdam consisted of about 750 men, 600 of whom were the Walloon guards, and 250 Dutch troops, who were allowed to march out with the honours of war.

On the 22d inst. the redoubt Leyden, and battery Frederici, the redoubt and battery Purmerent, fort Zeelandia, and the town of Paramaribo, the capital of this settlement, were taken possession of by the British troops in his majesty's name.

It became impossible, from the distance of the river Marawina and Suramina, to take immediate possession of the several posts there situated; but the troops who formerly occupied them having since entered into his majesty's service,

now hold them for the British government.

I am very happy to be enabled to add, that the troops found in this colony, as well as the inhabitants, evince the utmost satisfaction, and appear perfectly contented and happy in the change that has taken place.

I have also great pleasure in acquainting you that our troops landed in perfect health, which is in a great measure to be attributed to the attention they received from the navy whilst on-board ship.

My knowledge of the officers and men employed on this expedition warrants me in saying, that, had there been occasion for greater exertions than were found necessary, his majesty would have had every reason to be satisfied with their services; as it is, many must be content to have their merits unknown till some more trying occasion shall present itself; for this we must acknowledge, that the acquisition of this valuable colony is to be attributed to the sense entertained by the people of the advantage of having the exercise of their religion, the execution of their laws, and the enjoyment of their property secured by the British government, added to the abhorrence in which they have long held French principles and French oppression, rather than to the effect of our exertions or the dread of our force. From these causes, I am persuaded his majesty will find the inhabitants' loyal subjects, and the military who enter into his service faithful servants.

I am particularly indebted to vice-admiral lord Hugh Seymour for his cordial co-operation during the whole of this undertaking; and have great pleasure in acknowledging

ing my obligations to the navy in general.

In the various arrangements since my arrival in the West Indies, on this and every other occasion, I have derived very essential assistance from the knowledge and experience of major Thomas, the acting adjutant-general, acquired by his having served the greater part of the last and present wars in this country.

Enclosed I have the honour to transmit to you a return of the ordnance found in the several forts and batteries.

I have charged my aid-de-camp, captain Browne, with this dispatch, who will have the honour of giving you such farther information as may be required relative to the surrender of this colony.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

The right hon. Henry Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

[Here follows a return of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, in the different forts and batteries in the colony of Surinam, to a considerable amount.]

*Head-quarters, Paramaribo,  
August 23.*

Sir,

Enclosed we have the honour to transmit to you a copy of the articles of capitulation on which this colony surrendered to his majesty, together with the papers relating to the particulars thereof.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

Hugh Seymour, vice-admiral.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c.

*By Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, Commanders-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's Land and Sea Forces employed at the Windward and Leeward Islands.*

A squadron of his Britannic majesty's ships being arrived upon the coast of Surinam with a very considerable military force, we seize the first moment to offer terms so evidently for the advantage of the colony placed under your command, that we trust they will immediately be subscribed to; and particularly as the similar mark of our sovereign's gracious disposition has been productive of every possible happiness and advantage to your late sister colony of Demerara.

We have sent captain William Cayley, senior captain of the squadron, and lieutenant-colonel the baron de Rottenberg, commanding a battalion on this expedition, with these terms for your consideration, and shall wait twenty-four hours for your decision on this subject. Should the offer made on our part in the name of his Britannic majesty not be accepted, you must yourself be answerable for the effusion of blood and the loss of property which may be the consequence of terms not being attended to in time, which are formed for the general welfare of the colony over which you are placed, as well as the comfort and happiness of its individuals.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

H. Seymour, vice-admiral.

Dated on-board his majesty's ship Prince of Wales, off Bram's Point, August 16.

*Articles*

*Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge, and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, Commanders-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's Land and Sea Forces employed at the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Islands, and Jurian François Friderici, Governor-general of the Colony of Surinam and its Dependencies, Major-general of Infantry, and Commander-in-chief by Sea and Land in the said Colony.*

According to which the said colony and its dependencies shall be put under the immediate protection of his Britannic majesty, in conformity to the summons which has been sent by the said commanders-in-chief, dated on-board his majesty's ship the Prince of Wales, off Bram's Point, the 16th August, 1799; and the additional articles proposed by the said governor-general, and agreed to by the said commanders-in-chief the 19th August, 1799.

Art. I. The colony of Surinam, with its dependencies, shall immediately be placed under the protection of his Britannic majesty, and shall quietly and peaceably submit to his government.

II. The inhabitants of the colony shall enjoy full security to their persons, and the free exercise of their religion, with the immediate and entire possession of their private property, whether on-shore or afloat; such only being excepted as may appear to belong to the subjects of the king of Spain or to those of the French republic; the ancient laws and usages which have hitherto been observed in the colony respecting property continuing in force.

III. All ships of war, artillery, provisions, and stores, in the public

magazines and warehouses, as well as the effects of every description belonging to the public, shall be given up to his Britannic majesty in the state they now are, regular lists being immediately taken by officers appointed for this purpose by each of the contracting parties.

IV. All the debts of the colony which may exist at the moment of these terms being acceded to, shall be cleared by the produce of the taxes and imposts of the said colony, or by its revenues.

V. No change whatsoever shall take place in the laws of the colony, without it shall hereafter appear for the mutual advantage, and meet with the concurrence of the parties interested on that subject.

VI. In case the colony of Surinam remains in the possession of his Britannic majesty at the conclusion of a general peace, it shall enjoy every right and every commercial privilege enjoyed by the British colonies in the West Indies.

VII. The troops now in the colony of Surinam, as well as the officers belonging to the different corps serving under its present government, may, if they wish it, enter into his Britannic majesty's service, on the same footing with respect to appointments and pay as the rest of his army, provided they take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty, and engage to serve him where their services may be required. Seamen will likewise be admitted into his Britannic majesty's service, and will be sure to receive every possible encouragement.

VIII. The persons employed in the civil administration of the colony, who shall be recommended for their good conduct, may, on requesting it, continue in their present

sent offices while their behaviour is proper, and that it accords with the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his Britannic majesty, which they will be required to take; but the command of the troops must be placed in the hands of the British officer who shall be named by his majesty, or by the commander-in-chief of his troops employed in the West Indies.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

H. Seymour, vice-admiral.

Friderici.

Dated on-board his majesty's ship Amphitrite, in the river Surinam, the 20th of August, 1799.

*Additions and Explanations proposed by his Excellency the Governor-general of the Colony of Surinam, J. F. Friderici; respecting the Articles of Capitulation proposed by their Excellencies Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, &c. &c. &c.*

Art. I. That the offer made respecting the secure enjoyment of private property shall be confirmed, with no other exceptions than those contained in the summons.

Ans. Already agreed to.

II. That the trade of neutral powers shall be continued on the same footing on which it now is, especially with respect to the Americans, to whom the inhabitants of the colony have great obligations.

Ans. Already agreed to, as far as is necessary to place the colony of Surinam on the same footing as that of Demarara. The proposal made in favour of the Americans

cannot be acceded to, but shall be transmitted to the British government, whose favourable disposition towards America cannot be doubted.

III. That the officers and soldiers who are desirous of entering into the service of his Britannic majesty shall be employed during the present war in the defence of this colony, and that those who do not choose to enter into his majesty's service shall be allowed to remain in the colony as private persons, or go to any other place.

Ans. This request cannot be granted consonantly with our instructions; but it is so reasonable, and is at the same time so much what the commander-in-chief wishes, that there can be little doubt but the object of the troops on this point will be accomplished. The troops which have been raised and continued at Demarara is a proof of this. The latter part of this article, respecting the soldiers who do not wish to enter into his Britannic majesty's service, is granted.

IV. That vessels and every thing necessary shall be provided to transport the Walloon guards now in the service of this colony to one of the ports of Spain in Europe; and that in other respects they shall be treated according to the stipulations entered into with them.

Ans. Being uncertain of the number to which the Walloon guards amount, and ignorant of the means of transporting them from the colony, it is impossible to fix upon any precise conveyance for them; but the spirit of the request will be conformed to, and 150 or 200 of them shall immediately be removed either to Spain, or to one of its colonies; it being

being understood that both officers and men are to be considered prisoners of war, and that they are not to serve against Great Britain until regularly exchanged.

V. That the troops at present under the orders of the governor-general of the colony, shall, on giving up the forts in which they are, march out with the honours of war, and ground their arms on the glacis of the forts, by command from their own officers; and that they shall in other respects be treated with the attention they have deserved by their good conduct and attention to the colony.

Ans. Granted.

VI. The usual honours of war, of firing their guns before they strike their colours, shall be allowed to the men of war in the colony.

Ans. Granted.

VII. In what time is the article relative to private property to be understood?

Ans. On the subject of property it will be right to observe, that the habitations as well as property of individuals will be equally respected, whether they are present in the colony or not; such only being excepted from our protection as are now serving against Great Britain. Property of that description will be put in sequestration, until instructions are received from the British government on that subject. The same rule will be observed towards French proprietors who may be resident in France or any of its dependencies.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.  
H. Seymour, vice-admiral.  
Frederici.

*London Gazette, October 26.*

*Downing-street.*

Lieutenant-colonel Clinton, aide-de-camp to his royal highness the duke of York, arrived this morning at the office of the right honourable Henry Dundas, with dispatches, of which the following are copies:

*Head-quarters, Schagen Brug,  
October 20.*

Sir,

In my late communications I have represented to you the circumstances under which I found it expedient to withdraw the army from its forward position in front of Alkmaar, within that which it at present occupies, and which I trust will have appeared to his majesty sufficient to warrant the measure.

The season of the year, which has already assumed here the aspect of winter, gave me, from day to day, additional reason to apprehend that any attempt towards a prosecution of the campaign in this country could not be attended with decisive advantages, whilst the impossibility of covering the troops in the narrow district of the country in our possession during the winter, and the precarious state of supplies to be expected in that season, added to the conviction I felt that the most advisable measure to be pursued, was to remove with the army to England; an operation which, although it might have exposed the army to some loss in its execution, I judged in my mind preferable to any other which could be adopted.

Under this impression, and considering that serious loss might ensue from delay, I have been induced to conclude an armistice, in conjunction

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 127

tion with vice-admiral Mitchell; and general Brune, commanding the French and Batavian armies, of which the conditions are enclosed, and which, although they provide for delivering up a large number of numbers of war, now in our hands, yet I trust will not be thought by his majesty an inadequate compensation for many valuable lives which have been lost, after the object

which has hitherto directed them, no longer promised success; and when the only means which prevented themselves of ensuring a safe retreat, were those of resorting to the destructive measure of evacuation from the sea, which, as it would have involved the inhabitants of the northern part of this province in ruin for a series of years, must have been highly repugnant to the feelings, as well as contrary to the character and practice of the British nation.

I rest confident that the motives which I have here detailed will explain to his majesty for having acted without waiting for previous instructions from home, and that I may have the satisfaction of knowing that my conduct in this respect has met with his majesty's gracious approbation.

I am, &c.

Frederick.

The right hon. Henry Dundas,  
&c. &c. &c.

### TRANSLATION.

As agreed upon between Major-General Knox, duly authorized by the Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian Army, and Citizen Rojstollan, General of Brigade and Adjutant-general, duly authorized by Citizen

*Brune, General and Commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian Army.*

Art. I. From the date of this convention all hostilities shall cease between the two armies.

II. The line of demarcation between the said armies shall be the line of their respective out-posts, as they now exist.

III. The continuation of all works, offensive and defensive, shall be suspended on both sides, and no new ones shall be undertaken.

IV. The mounted batteries taken possession of at the Helder, or at other positions within the line now occupied by the combined English and Russian army, shall be restored in the state in which they were taken, or (in case of improvement) in their present state, and all the Dutch artillery taken therein shall be preserved.

V. The combined English and Russian army shall embark as soon as possible, and shall evacuate the territory, coasts, islands, and internal navigation of the Dutch republic, by the 30th of November, 1799, without committing any devastations, by inundations, cutting the dykes, or otherways injuring the sources of navigation.

VI. Any ships of war or other vessels which may arrive with reinforcements for the combined British and Russian army, shall not land the same, and shall be sent away as soon as possible.

VII. General Brune shall be at liberty to send an officer within the lines of the Zuypp and to the Helder, to report to him the state of the batteries and the progress of the embarkation. His royal highness the duke of York shall be equally at liberty



liberty to send an officer within the French and Batavian lines, to satisfy himself that no new works are carried on on their side. An officer of rank and distinction shall be sent from each army respectively, to guarantee the execution of this convention.

VIII. Eight thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, shall be restored without conditions, to their respective countries. The proportion and the choice of such prisoners for each, to be determined between the two republics. Major-general Knox shall remain with the French army to guarantee the execution of this article.

IX. The cartel agreed upon between the two armies for the exchange of the prisoners, taken during the present campaign, shall continue in full force till it shall be carried into complete execution; and it is farther agreed, that the Dutch admiral de Winter shall be considered as exchanged.

Concluded at Alkmaar, the 18th of October, 1799, by the under-signed general officers, furnished with full powers to this effect.

(Signed) J. Knox, major-general.  
Rostollan.

*London Gazette, Nov. 16, 1799.*

*Admiralty-Office.*

*A Letter from the Right hon. Lord Nelson, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Palermo, 1st October, introduces the following.*

*Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5.*

Sir,

I am to request you will inform

their lordships, that I took possession of Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and Tolfa, on the 29th and 30th ultimo, with 200 marines and seamen of the Culloden and Minotaur, and have already embarked and sent off near 3000 of the enemy; I now wait for transports to get off the remainder, which I suppose about 2000 more.

General Bouchard takes possession of Rome at the same time by the same treaty; all public property to be restored: their lordships may rely on every exertion on my part to put the capitulation in full force and trust I shall succeed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Trowbridge.

Evan Nepean, esq.

*Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5.*

Sir,

In obedience to orders from lord Nelson, I have the honour to send you, for their lordship's information, a copy of the articles of capitulation I have made with the French general Garnier, to clear the Roman state. As I knew the French had all the valuables of the Roman state packed up ready for embarking, and the coast at Civita Vecchia forming a deep bay, with hard W. S. W. gales and heavy sea, which prevented the blockade from being so close as was necessary to prevent the enemy from carrying off those truly valuable articles, I therefore thought it best to grant the liberal terms I have, to get them out of this country, where they have committed every excess possible.

I trust what I have done may meet their lordship's approbation.

I beg you to represent to their lordships, that I received every assistance from captain Louis, who

was

went to Rome and arranged the evacuation, and taking possession of that place, with general Bouchard, with great ability and exertion, and much to my satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Trowbridge.

Evan Nepean, esq.

*Articles proposed for the Convention between the General of Division Garnier, Commander-in-Chief of the French Troops, and those of Italy and other Allies now in the Roman Republic in a State of Siege, and Commodore Trowbridge, commanding his Britannic Majesty's Squadron, lying off Civita Vecchia, on the Part of Great Britain and her Allies.*

Art. I. Considering that neither the French troops, nor the troops of their allies at Rome, Civita Vecchia, and posts within the jurisdiction of those places, have been regularly besieged by the troops of his Sicilian majesty or those of his allies, his said majesty consents that the troops of France and the Italian or Portuguese troops serving with them, as also all persons attached or belonging to those forces, together with their wives and children, shall quit the Roman territory, in order to be sent to France and to the ports of Villa Franca, or Antibes, on board vessels to be provided for that purpose by the commanding officer of the British forces; it is, however, to be understood, that the officers, troops, and other persons, to be so embarked, shall be properly victualled by the English government, during the whole of their voyage, and that the expence attending such victualling shall here-

after be accounted for by the French republic.

Answer. Considering that Civita Vecchia, Corneto, Tolfa, and all the Roman state, under the command of general Garnier, has not been regularly besieged, but blockaded, I will grant to the troops of the respective garrisons to march out of these places with all the honours of war, to have their muskets, swords, and bayonets, and not to be considered as prisoners of war, on their being sent to France or Corsica, as may be most convenient. The French general shall be allowed to take from the public stores at Rome provision for the march to Civita Vecchia.

Proper provisions shall be put on board for the voyage, to be paid for by the government of France hereafter.

II. The troops above-mentioned shall assemble at Civita Vecchia within eight days after the acceptance of the present convention, and remain there under their own guard, with the honours of war, until the arrival or junction of the transports in which they are to be embarked; and when the number of vessels necessary for that purpose shall be assembled, the said troops shall file off and embark accordingly, with drums beating, colours flying, a lighted match, and two field-pieces, or howitzers, with their appurtenances; and be also allowed to carry away their firelocks, bayonets, side-arms, and cartouch-boxes, together with all the effects belonging to each individual of the said troops, who shall, moreover, not be considered as prisoners of war.

Answer. The transports are ready. St. Angelo and its dependencies under general Garnier's orders on

the other side of Tiber, to be sufficient to support the troops which march to Rome.

The French general, on his march out of the city, on the 10th, did not leave any considerable garrison, except a detachment of the elite of the army, to guard the city, and to take care of the hospitals, arsenals, magazines, and other stores, and not to be considered as prisoners of war.

III. Two to three hours after the receipt of the above articles, two companies of grenadiers, a detachment of 500 men of the line, from the British and Dutch troops, 100 of whom to be stationed at Civita Vecchia, and the others to occupy the horn-work of the Roman gate, conjointly with a detachment of French troops; the remaining 500 to march to Rome, accompanied by a French detachment; and, on their arrival at that city, to be put in possession of the gate of Cavallegiere, and the hospitals; at which two places an equal number of French troops shall also be stationed, until the complete evacuation of Rome.

Answer. Civita Vecchia and Corneto to be put in possession of the British troops as soon as possible after the signing these articles as a courier can come from Rome; and the garrison to be embarked and sent to France.

General Bonaparte will have directions to give a sufficient guard of regular troops to escort the garrisons of Rome and its dependencies.

IV. The sick, belonging to the French and their allies, not in a condition to be removed, shall be allowed to remain at Rome and Civita Vecchia, and be considered as under the immediate protection of his Britannic majesty and his allies, sub-

ject, however, to the sanction of the government of a French general. Between the British and French camps of ascertained hospitals, shall be sent a sufficient number of them to the hospitals at Civita Vecchia.

With a view to the evacuation of the sick, the French shall be permitted to the proper sections by the French republicans, and on the removal of the sick, they shall be conveyed by sea to the nearest port of France, together with the medical and other persons who may have attended them in the hospitals, and whose residence at Rome or Civita Vecchia may no longer be necessary, after the whole of the sick shall be recovered.

Answer. The sick belonging to the French garrisons shall be assisted by their own surgeons, at the expense of the French republic, and shall be sent to France when they are well.

V. With a view to the due execution of the preceding article, an assistant shall be appointed to the commissary of war, at Rome, for the purpose of enforcing the French regulations in the different hospitals, and seeing that the sick are treated according thereto; and he shall correspond, as far as relates to these particulars, with the commanding officer of the English troops, and their allies, who may happen to be at Rome or Civita Vecchia. The French general shall nominate an officer to take charge of the depot which may be formed at Civita Vecchia for the convalescents, according as they shall be discharged from the hospitals.

Answer. The general may leave such assistants to the sick as he may think necessary.

VI. The

VI. The French troops and their allies, leaving Rome for Civita Vecchia, shall be provided with the necessary conveyances for their baggage, as also with a sufficient number of boats for the removal of the sick, who may be judged by the medical people to be in a condition to be sent to the last-mentioned place. The like means of conveyance for the several public accompanants, whether of the troops or civil administrations, such as civil commission, national treasury, civil and military appointments, &c. shall be also provided by the officer commanding the English troops, and their allies, who shall have entered the city of Rome in conformity to the third article of their convention; and he, the said commanding officer, will have regard to the requisitions which shall be made to him by the commissary of war entrusted with the chief management of this service relating to the division of the French army.

Answer. General Bourcatd will furnish carts, boats, &c. for the accommodation of the French garrison of St. Angelo and its dependencies, and the baggage that may belong to it. Especial care shall be taken to convey such sick and wounded soldiers as may be in a state to be removed; to Civita Vecchia. In case waggons, &c. cannot be procured immediately, they shall be sent by the first opportunity to France.

VII. The French troops and their allies shall proceed to Civita Vecchia in the course of two days, according to stated marches: they shall set out on the first day for Monteroni, and on the second proceed to their destination; they shall be supplied, from the storehouses at

Rome, with the supplies necessary for their subsistence during their march: and the officer commanding the English troops, and their allies, shall provide the means of conveying those supplies.

Answer. Answered before.

VIII. All private property, whether moveable or otherwise, belonging to the French or their allies in the Roman territory, shall be respected, and remain at the disposal of themselves or their agents.

Answer. Private property never molested.

IX. All description of property as well as objects of art, belonging to the French republic, throughout the whole extent of the Roman republic, shall be also respected; and the French nation have liberty to leave one or more persons at Rome; for the purpose of arranging and preserving the several articles, until the French government shall take such measures relative to this matter as may appear most consistent with the national interests.

Answer. Public property was never before demanded in the long course of service I have seen, of course, wholly inadmissible.—Public property must be given up.

X. The cavalry corps belonging to the French and their allies shall be allowed to return to France by land, taking their horses with them, as also their arms and baggage: they shall be escorted by a detachment of 50 mounted Austrian troops, or their allies, as far as the advanced posts of the nearest French army. All French officers, or the officers of the allies of France, who shall be desirous of following the above-mentioned cavalry corps, with their horses, servants, carriages, and baggage, shall be at liberty to do so,

and the necessary lodgings, provisions, and forage for this little column, during its journey, be provided by means of the interposition and good offices of commodore Trowbridge, with the persons in authority belonging to those governments through whose territories the troops may pass.

Answer. Cavalry-horses, being public property, must be delivered up. The remainder of the article inadmissible.

XI. An officer of artillery shall be appointed by each party to draw up a report of the ordnance and other military stores and ammunition remaining in the garrisons of the castle of St. Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and the surrounding towers; and an officer of experience shall also be appointed on each side to make a report as to the actual state of the above fortresses, with a view to their surrender, and likewise that of the plans and charts in their dependency.

Answer. Agreed.

XII. Such citizens of Rome and other persons as shall now form, or may have heretofore formed a part of the constituted authorities of the Roman republic; and those also who shall have served the republican cause, by their patriotic works, or taken up arms for that purpose, shall be at liberty to depart with the French troops and on the same terms as they do, or remain in the Roman territory, free from all kind of molestation, on account of their political opinions or avocations, during the time they shall have exercised either their civil or military functions.

Answer. As long as the Romans conduct themselves with propriety, and are obedient to the laws, they

will not be molested. Such Romans as choose to embark with the garrisons, have my full leave, taking with them their private property.

XIII. Commodore Trowbridge, on the part of his Britannic majesty and his allies, engages, on the good faith of the English, that no individuals within the Roman territory shall be incommoded or persecuted on account of their opinions; that their persons and property shall be alike respected; and that they shall moreover be at all times allowed the necessary passports to enable them to leave the Roman territory, with entire liberty to make such transfer or disposition of their property as they may think fit.

Answer. Answered before.

XIV. Any neutral vessels which may be in the port of Civita Vecchia, shall be allowed to be employed as transports for the conveyance of the troops, and be afterwards permitted to return to their former employments; and vessels belonging to the republics of France and Rome which may also be at the port above mentioned, shall be employed in a like manner, and not held subject to confiscation as prizes.

Answer. Proper transports to be provided.

XV. Two covered vessels (that is, vessels not subject to examination) shall be allowed, and chosen from amongst those above mentioned, belonging to the French and Roman republics.

Answer. Inadmissible.

XVI. The storehouses of Civita Vecchia shall remain in the possession of the French, until the time shall be on the point of embarkation, and the French general allow to take therefrom the supplies necessary for the division, passing

word that he will not suffer any waste, nor permit more to be taken away than the army may require.

Answer. As long as the garrison remains, the storehouses may be kept, but no more of any species of provisions to be issued than the usual allowance.

XVII. The French ambassador to the Roman republic shall enjoy, in the most ample manner, the privileges attaching to his character, according to the rights of nations, and be at liberty to leave Rome, and return to France either by land or water, taking with him whatever number of carriages he may judge necessary for his own personal accommodation, and the convenience of the persons attached to the embassy, as well as for the conveyance of their effects and the diplomatic papers. Should the ambassador prefer a conveyance by sea, he shall, together with his effects and those of the persons in his suite, and the archives of the embassy, be conveyed on board an English ship to some of the ports of Villa Franca, Antibes, or Toulon.

In this article are understood to be comprehended the secretary of embassy, the secretaries and other persons attached to the embassy, and people composing the suite of the ambassador. The members of the civil commission from the French republic, residing at Rome: their agents, and persons attached to such commission, shall also be understood as coming within the description of persons comprehended in this article; and they (the said members) shall be at liberty to take away with them the papers appertaining to their commission, together with their own personal effects, and those of

the other persons belonging to the said commission.

Answer. A proper English vessel is ready for the reception of the ambassador and his suite, to carry him to France, with the baggage.

Public papers, belonging to the Roman state, to be delivered to general Bourcard.

No public papers to be taken away which in any shape are belonging to the Roman state.

The agents to be sent to France, by sea.

XVIII. The town of Ancona, being under a separate command, shall not be understood as comprehended in the present convention.

Answer. The places to be given up are understood to be those under the command of general Garnier; Ancona is excepted.

XIX. The articles of the present convention shall not be construed as affecting or tending in any respect to prejudice the sovereign rights or independence of the Roman republic.

Answer. Not understood.

XX. In case of any difficulty arising, with respect to the interpretation of the articles of this convention, such articles shall be explained in favour of the French and their allies.

Answer. Agreed.

Done and concluded at a council of war the 10th Vendemaire, eighth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) T. Trowbridge.  
P. Garnier.

The foregoing treaty was made, concluded, and agreed upon, between us, the above-signed, in order to its having full and entire effect, according to the answers of comodore Trowbridge, placed under the

respective articles proposed by general Garnier.

On board the Culloden, the 5th Vendemaire, eighth year of the republic, 20th September, 1799.

(Signed) P. Garnier.  
T. Trowbridge.

*Additional Articles to the Convention made between General of Division Garnier, Commander in the Roman Republic in a State of Siege, and Commodore Trowbridge, Commander of his Britannic Majesty's Forces before Civita Vecchia.*

Art. I. His Britannic majesty's troops shall take possession of the fort and town of Civita Vecchia, the 7th Vendemaire (29th September,) in the afternoon. The French troops of the garrison will remain in the barracks, as it will be mentioned hereafter; they will be allowed at the gate of the barracks a guard of honour of their own nation.

The British troops shall take possession of Corneto the 8th Vendemaire (30th September) in the morning; the French troops at Corneto will be at Civita Vecchia the same day, to be placed in the barracks as above. His Sicilian majesty's troops shall take possession of Rome and of fort St. Angelo the 8th Vendemaire (30th September,) two hours after midnight, in a sufficient number, and shall be placed according to the dispositions that may be proposed by general Garnier to general Bourcard, to as to assure the tranquillity of the town, and protect the evacuation of the French. The French shall begin to evacuate Rome the 8th Vendemaire (30th September;) a second column shall march

out the next day, and the third, which will be the last, shall set out the day after.

They shall also repair to Monteroni the day after their departure, and the day succeeding they will arrive at Civita Vecchia.

They will take with them in the route 2 field-pieces and 1 howitzer, which they will deliver to the British commodore as soon as they arrive at Civita Vecchia.

Agreed.

II. General Garnier, or for him the French commandant of the city of Rome, agreeably with general Bourcard, shall continue to give the French and the Romans, in the suite of the army, public orders to regulate their evacuation, until the departure of the last French column.

Agreed.

III. The 9th Vendemaire (or the 1st of October,) the French troops in the barracks of Civita Vecchia shall be so embarked, that their barracks may be occupied by the first column coming from Rome, arriving the same evening at Civita Vecchia. This column shall be embarked the next day, to give room in the evening to the second column. This shall embark the 11th Vendemaire (4th October,) to make way to the third column, which shall embark the day after their arrival.

The sick shall be embarked the last, and the most commodious vessels shall be kept for them.

Agreed.

On board the Culloden, the 5th Vendemaire, (or 27th September, 1799.)

(Signed) T. Trowbridge,

London

*London Gazette, November 23, 1799.*

*Downing-street.*

*A Letter, of which the following is a Copy, has been received by Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Alexander Hope, Deputy Adjutant-General from Sir James Pulteney, Bart. by Order of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, transmitted by him to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.*

*Swan Cutter, at Sea,  
November 20.*

Sir,

I have from time to time reported to you, for the information of his royal highness, the commander-in-chief, the progress which had been made in the embarkation and departure of the British and Russian troops, which were left under my command, in the province of North Holland; and I am now happy to acquaint you, that the last of them embarked yesterday morning, when, the wind being fair, the whole of the ships of war and transports remaining in the Texel left that port. Every thing belonging to the army was brought off, excepting a small proportion of damaged provisions, a few waggons, and about 300 draught horses of little value, for which there was no tonnage; of these, the latter alone were saleable, but they bore so small a price, that I thought it better to distribute the whole to the magistrates of the different villages in and near which the army had been cantoned, to be delivered to any of the inhabitants who might have suffered from the inevitable consequences of war. Several large Dutch Indiamen and other ships, which it was impossible

for us to remove in their present state, but which might have been fitted out as ships of war by the enemy, were completely disabled and rendered useless for any farther purpose, through the exertions of a detachment of seamen, under the direction of captain Bovar. The desire of complying most strictly with the articles of the agreement entered into between his royal highness and general Brune, prevented their being blown up, which could not have been done without endangering the navigation of the Nieuve Diep. Vice-admiral Dickson, as well as myself, made it our study to comply in this, as in every other instance, with the articles of agreement, and must do the French general the justice to say, that he seemed actuated by the same spirit. Previous to quitting the Helder, I had, in obedience to his royal highness's instructions, discharged every just demand of the inhabitants of the country which had been occupied by the army; and I was happy to find that very few claims were brought forward beyond those which it was in my power to satisfy. The embarkation of the troops, difficult from the multiplicity of the arrangements required, and sometimes arduous from the state of the weather, was carried on with the utmost zeal and activity by vice-admiral Dickson, and the officers and seamen under his command. I feel particularly indebted to captain Lawford, of his majesty's ship Romney, who was left on shore, and had the immediate direction of the embarkation, for his exertions, and his attention to every branch of his majesty's service, and to captain Woodriffe, principal agent of the transport-service, for his great zeal



in the execution of the duties of that situation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

James Pulteney.

The hon. col. Hope, adjutant-general, &c.

P. S. Three armed vessels have been left to cruise off the Texel, to give warning to any British ships of our having evacuated the port. It was agreed by the French general, that if any should arrive previous to the expiration of the month, they should as a matter of course, be allowed to depart.

*Supplement to the Account of the Armistice concluded between his Royal Highness the Duke of York and General Brune, published in the Gazette of the 20th ultimo.*

*Head-quarters, Schagen Brug,  
October 15.*

General,

The late hour at which your letter reached me last night, prevented my sending sooner to Alkmaar major-general Knox, the officer alluded to in my letter of yesterday's date. He is entirely in my confidence, and is fully authorized to treat and conclude with you on the subject respecting which he has received my instructions.

(Signed) Frederick, duke of York, Commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army,

To general Brune, commander-in-chief, &c.

*Head-quarters, Schagen Brug,  
October 15.*

By virtue of the authority, and in obedience to the order of his

royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army, major-general Knox will have the honour of communicating with general Brune, commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian army, and of stating to him, that in consequence of the difficulties arising from the very unfavourable and unusual state of the weather at this season, we have judged it expedient to re-occupy the position of Zuyd: that in this situation, with cantonments amply adequate to the amount of our forces, having an uninterrupted and certain means of keeping up our communication with England, and masters as we are of the Helder, the Texel, the Zuyder Zee, and the ocean, it depends upon us either to await the period when a favourable change of weather and of circumstances may enable us to renew offensive operations, or to withdraw our army by degrees, and without risk, from this country, retaining possession of such detached points as might be judged most favourable for annoying the enemy, or for securing real advantages to ourselves. In the event of our recurring to this last-mentioned measure, it will become our duty to neglect no means which can contribute to the preservation of the brave troops intrusted to our care; and for this purpose (however distressing, however ruinous to the inhabitants and to the country the alternative may be) we shall be compelled to avail ourselves of those dreadful expedients which it is in our power to adopt. Having perfectly at our disposal the sea-dykes, both towards the ocean and the Zuyder Zee, as well as the interior dykes,

dykes, we should in that case be reduced to the terrible necessity of inundating the whole country of North Holland, and of adding to this calamity every destructive evil which must necessarily result from an attempt to force or interrupt our retreat.

We should, under such circumstances, also be constrained to make use of the ample means we possess of rendering the navigation of the Zuyder Zee henceforth impracticable, by obstructing the Mars Diep, and destroying the Nieuwe Diep; works upon which so many years labour, and such immense sums, have been expended. Our system of carrying on war having on all occasions been governed by the most liberal principles, necessity and the strongest sense of duty could alone induce us to adopt a system repugnant to the sentiments which have ever directed the conduct of the English nation. From these considerations, and from our persuasion that general Brune and the Dutch people must be actuated by similar motives, and equally desirous to prevent an useless effusion of blood, by the amicable arrangement of a point which is, perhaps, the object of both parties, and from our anxiety, in case of a different result, to stand justified to the whole universe, from whatever destruction may in consequence devolve upon this country; we propose and offer to general Brune, and to the Batavian republic, that the English and Russian troops shall evacuate, before the end of November next, all the coasts, the islands, and the interior navigation of Holland, without committing any act detrimental to the great sources of its navigation,

or laying the country under any inundations.

For this purpose, we propose that a suspension of hostilities shall take place until the period above specified: That during this interval we shall remain in full possession of all the points, and of the whole extent of country we occupy at this moment, and that the line of the respective advanced posts shall also be that of separation between the two armies; and that this line shall not, under any pretence, be passed by the troops of either, even in the event of our choosing to retire from any part of our present position, or of our quitting it altogether: That during the above-mentioned interval no interference shall be allowed, nor any objections be started, with respect to the conduct of either of the parties within the limits of their respective possessions; and that all the rights of war (every act of hostility excepted) shall continue mutually in force: That we will grant to the persons and property of the inhabitants of the country occupied by us every protection consistent with discipline, in the circumstances under which we are placed, and all the advantages which the conduct generally observed by British troops entitles them to expect on such an occasion. If these proposals accord with the wishes, and are conformable to the intentions of general Brune, there can be no difficulty whatever in carrying them into execution in three days from the date hereof.

By order of his royal highness the commander-in-chief.

(Signed) H. Taylor, Sec.

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and crews. In case the duke of York shall not be vested with sufficient powers to comply with this article, his royal highness shall engage to obtain from his court an equivalent compensation.

II. Fifteen thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, detained in England, shall be unconditionally released and sent home. The mode of selection, and the proportion for each country, to be settled between the governments of the two republics. The Batavian admiral de Winter shall be considered as exchanged. This article shall in no degree prejudice or interfere with the cartel of exchange at present established.

III. The batteries and fort of the Helder shall be restored in the condition in which they were found at the period of the invasion of the English and Russian army. An officer of artillery shall be sent to the Helder by general Brune to see that this article is complied with.

IV. The army under the command of the duke of York shall, within forty-eight hours, evacuate the position of the Zuyp; its advanced posts shall be withdrawn to the height of Callants-Oog. The French and Batavian army shall preserve the positions it occupies at present, taking up, however, its advanced posts at Petten, Krabendam, Schagen Brug, and Colhorr. It shall have merely a vidette at the height of Callants-Oog.

V. The troops composing the English and Russian army shall be embarked successively, and as speedily as possible. All the British shipping shall quit the Texel, and all the English and Russian troops be withdrawn from the seas, coasts, and islands of the Batavian republic, before the 20th of November next,

and shall not damage the great sources of navigation, or occasion any inundation of the country.

VI. All ships of war or other vessels, having on board reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, shall put to sea as soon as possible, without landing the same.

VII. To guarantee the execution of these articles, hostages shall be given by the duke of York, to be selected amongst the officers of rank in his army.

By order of general Brune, commander-in-chief of the combined French and Batavian army.

(Signed) Vevry, Secretary.

*Head-quarters, Schagen Brug,  
October 17.*

General,

I send back major-general Knox with my answers to the explanatory note which he has delivered to me in your name. He is fully authorized to conclude on my part upon every point which relates to the subject of his mission.

(Signed) Frederick, duke of York,  
Commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army,  
To gen. Brune, commander-in-chief, &c.

*Head-quarters, Schagen Brug,  
October 17.*

His royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army, proposed to general Brune, commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian army, an arrangement equally to the advantage of both parties, originating in his desire to prevent the farther effusion of blood, and to preserve his country from the terrible effects of an inundation, as also from the destruction of the best of its ports, involving the total ruin

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of the principal channels of its interior navigation and commerce. In answer to which, general Brune observes, that he cannot imagine his royal highness will recur to measures so little revolting to humanity, than recede from the character of the Batavian nation, and to the general feeling of all Europe. Demolition or destruction is certainly incompatible with the character and with the uniform conduct of the English nation; and as little does either accord with the disposition of his royal highness the commander-in-chief; but there are duties pre-emptorily prescribed by the nature of particular situations, the observance of which must fall, not on those who execute, but on such as render the measure necessary, by rejecting the conditions of a just and honourable agreement. Deeply impressed with what is due to his country on the one hand, and to the claims of humanity on the other; persuaded, likewise, that general Brune is equally guided by these sentiments, his royal highness has taken his proposals into consideration, and consents to abide by the agreement as it stands in the answers annexed to the different articles.

Major-general Knox, who is charged therewith, is authorized to sign and conclude this agreement, as well as to arrange any points of detail which may arise out of it. It being the duty of every officer commanding his Britannic majesty's troops to make an exact report of whatever relates to his command, his royal highness the duke of York will of course lay before the British government every communication which has taken place between his royal highness and general Brune.

*Articles proposed in the explanatory Note of General Brune.*

Ans. to Art. I. His royal highness will on no account treat upon this article, the execution of which, it must be evident to both parties, is impossible.

Ans. to Art. II. This demand appears to rest upon a supposed loss the combined army must sustain, should its embarkation be delayed upon. It is by no means admitted that such would be the result; but as, in the event of the army's carrying on the campaign during the winter, the loss of a certain number of men must naturally be expected; his royal highness, influenced by this consideration, agrees to promise, in the name of the British government, that 5000 French and Batavian prisoners, the proportion of each to be regulated according to the terms of the article, shall be unconditionally released and sent home. Nothing farther in this article can be agreed to.

Ans. to Art. III. The fort and batteries of the Helder will be left, generally considered, in an improved state. None of the Dutch artillery shall be carried away.

Ans. to Art. IV. On no account will it be consented that the army shall be withdrawn from the position of the Zuyp, until every preparation requisite to render its embarkation easy and complete can be arranged at the Helder. It must be evident, that it cannot be desired that any delay should take place in this respect. No addition shall be made to the works at the Zuyp, and persons properly authorized shall be admitted from time to time to ascertain and report upon this point, for  
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the satisfaction of general Brune; but no armed detachment will be permitted to approach, or to take post, nearer than they already are to our position. It must be farther understood, that, on his part, general Brune will not allow any approaches or offensive preparations to be carried on, and that the French and Batavian army shall remain in the line of advanced posts which it occupies at present, which shall also be the line of separation between the two armies respectively.

Answ. to Art. V. The embarkation of the English and Russian troops will take place with all possible expedition; and at this season of the year any unnecessary delay will naturally be avoided as much as possible; but to prevent any difficult or future discussion upon this point, it is proposed, that the suspension of hostilities shall be limited to the end of the month of November next, in order to secure sufficient time for the complete evacuation of the country, which, however, shall be effected sooner, if practicable.

Answ. to Art. VI. The ships of war, or other vessels immediately expected with reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, or which may hereafter be sent, shall not land their troops, but shall put to sea again as soon as possible.

Answ. to Art. VII. Hostages shall be reciprocally given, to be selected among the officers of rank of the two armies, to guarantee the execution of this agreement.

By order of his royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army.

(Signed) H. Taylor, sec.

*Alkmaar, October 17.*

Sir,

I have seen general Brune, and have talked over with him fully all the articles on which I have received his royal highness's instructions. I have found the greatest disposition on the part of general Brune to enter fairly into the subject. In respect to the essential article of the fleet, general Brune has already received a letter from the Dutch directory, to make the delivery of it a *fine quanon*; and I much doubt whether there is any chance of his being brought to give way on this point, at least without some assurance that his royal highness would forward the demand to his court. In respect to the other very essential article of the prisoners, after much conversation, I brought the general to lower his demands to 8000 men, beyond which he cannot recede. Every other point can be amicably settled. I beg his royal highness's orders on these points; and I hope to receive them by noon to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Knox.

To the hon. colonel Hope,  
adjutant-general, &c.

*Head-quarters, Schagen Brug.  
October 18.*

Sir,

His royal highness the commander-in-chief, in his instructions to you of yesterday's date, having declared that every paper or proposal from general Brune, and consequently that relative to the whole Dutch fleet, will of course be regularly transmitted to England, can give no other answer than what you are already empowered to make, viz. "His royal highness will, on no account, treat upon this article; the execution

execution of which, it must be evident to both parties, is impossible." If general Brune expects any thing farther to pass on that subject, the sooner the negotiation is put an end to the better. In regard to the number of prisoners, if every other point is clearly and immediately decided upon, his royal highness may be induced to relax; if not, it is unnecessary to enter farther into the subject; and he directs you to finish the negotiation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Alex. Hope,

Deputy adjutant-general.

To the hon. major-gen. Knox, &c.

*Alkmaar, October 18,  
Three P. M.*

Sir,

I have received your letter, and have the pleasure to inform you that every thing is settled to his royal highness's satisfaction; in consequence of which general Brune has given immediate orders to all his posts that all hostilities shall cease, and that no farther work of any kind shall be carried on; he requests his royal highness will be pleased to give similar orders without loss of time, as a report has just been made that some houses have been set on fire on the road leading to Herenhuyzen.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Knox.

To the hon. colonel Hope,  
adjutant-general, &c.

P. S. General Brune has sent off to Amsterdam, to direct that nothing hostile shall be attempted on the part of the flotilla there fitted out; and he begs that similar notice may be sent to admiral Mitchell.

*New Constitution of the French Republic.*

TITLE I.

Article 1. The French republic is one and indivisible.

Its European territory is distributed into departmental and communal districts (*arrondissemens*).

2. Every man of the age of twenty-one years complete, born and resident in France, who has caused his name to be inscribed upon the civic list of his communal district, and who has dwelt from that period for a year within the territory of the republic, is a French citizen.

3. A foreigner becomes a French citizen when, after having attained the age of twenty-one years complete, and after having declared his intention of settling in France, has resided in it ten years without interruption.

4. The character of French citizen may be lost—

By naturalization in a foreign country;

By the acceptance of functions, or of pensions offered by a foreign government;

By affiliation with any foreign corporation, which would infer distinction of birth; by condemnation to corporal or ignominious punishments.

5. The exercise of the rights of French citizen is suspended by a man's being an insolvent debtor, or a direct heir keeping up, with an onerous title, the succession of a bankrupt, in whole or in part;

By a man's acting as a hired domestic, attached either to the person or the business of an individual;

By a man's being in a state of judicial interdiction, accusation, or contumacy.

6. In order to exercise the rights of citizenship in a communal district, a person must have fixed in it his domicile or place of abode by a year's residence, and at the same time he must not have lost it by a year's absence.

7. The citizens of every communal district are to point out, by their votes, those they conceive most proper to manage the public affairs. The number so pointed out forms a list of men worthy of confidence, amounting to a tenth of the number of citizens having a right to vote. Out of this list are to be chosen the public functionaries of the district.

8. The citizens, comprehended in the communal lists of a department, shall likewise point out a tenth part of their own number. Hence is formed a second list, called departmental, from which are to be chosen the public functionaries of the department.

9. The citizens whose names stand on the departmental list, shall likewise name a tenth of their own number. Thus there is a third list formed, which comprehends the citizens of the department eligible to public national functions.

10. The citizens having a right to assist in the formation of any of the lists mentioned in the three preceding articles, are to be called upon every three years to supply the place of those upon the lists who may have died, or who are absent for any other cause than that of exercising a public employment.

11. They at the same time may erase from the list those whom they think unfit to appear any longer upon it, and appoint as their successors other citizens in whom they have greater confidence.

12. No person can be erased from any of the lists, but by the votes of an absolute majority of the citizens having a right to vote on its formation.

13. A person is not to be erased from one list of eligible persons, solely because he is, at a given period, member of another list, inferior or superior.

14. Inscription on a list of persons eligible, is not necessary but for those public offices, for which this condition is expressly required by the constitution of the law. All the lists of eligible persons shall be formed in the course of the year 9.

## TITLE II.

### *Of the Conservative Senate.*

15. The conservative senate is composed of eighty members, irremovable, and for life, who shall be forty years of age at least.

For the formation of the senate, there shall at first be named sixty members. This number shall be increased to sixty-two in the course of the year 8; to sixty-four in the course of the year 9; and thus be gradually increased to eighty, by the addition of two members during each of the ten first years.

16. The appointment of the situation of senator is made by the senate itself, which chooses one out of three candidates presented; the first by the legislative body, the second by the tribunate, and the third by the chief consul.

The senate may choose one of two candidates, in the case that one of them is proposed by two of the presenting bodies. The senate must admit a person who is proposed; on the same occasion, by all the three authorities.



17. The chief consul quitting his station, either on the expiration of his functions, or in consequence of resignation, becomes a senator by immediate right, and of necessity.

The two other consuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take a place in the senate, and are not obliged to avail themselves of this right.

They do not possess this right at all when they quit their consular functions by resignation.

18. A senator is for ever ineligible to any other public function.

19. All the lists made up in the departments in virtue of the 9th article, are to be addressed to the senate. They compose the national list.

20. Out of this list the senate chooses the legislators, tribunes, consuls, judges of cassation, and commissioners of accounts.

21. It is to maintain or to annul all the resolutions referred to it as unconstitutional by the tribunate or the government. The lists of eligible persons are comprehended among such resolutions.

22. The revenues of certain national domains to be fixed upon, are to be liable to the payment of the expenses of the senate. The annual salary of each member is to be taken out of these revenues. It is to be equal to the 20th of that of the chief consul.

23. The sittings of the senate are not to be public.

24. The citizens Sieyès and Roger Ducos, the consuls quitting their functions, are appointed members of the conservative senate. They shall assemble along with the second and third consuls nominated by the present constitution. These four

citizens shall appoint the majority of the senate, which shall then complete itself, and proceed to the elections intrusted to it.

### TITLE III.

#### *Of the Legislative Power.*

25. No new laws shall be promulgated, but when the project shall have been proposed by the government, communicated to the tribunate, and decreed by the legislative body.

26. The projects which the government proposes shall be drawn up in articles. In every stage of the discussion of these projects the government may withdraw them. It may produce them anew in a modified state.

27. The tribunate is to be composed of one hundred members, at least twenty-five years of age. They are to be renewed by a fifth part every year, and are indefinitely re-eligible as long as they continue on the national list.

28. The tribunate discusses the project of a law; and votes for its adoption or rejection.

It is to send three speakers, chosen out of its own number, who are to explain and defend its views and motives in either case before the legislative body.

It may refer to the senate, and that solely, on the ground of unconstitutionality, the lists of persons eligible, the proceedings of the legislative body; and those of the government.

29. It may express an opinion respecting laws made, or to be made, respecting abuses that require correction, respecting improvements to be attempted in all the parts of the public administration; but never

ver respecting matters criminal or civil submitted to the courts.

The opinions which it shall express in virtue of the present article have no necessary consequence, and do not bind any constituted authority to act.

30. When the tribunate adjourns itself, it may appoint a committee of from ten to fifteen members, authorized to assemble it, if thought advisable.

31. The legislative body is composed of three hundred members, thirty years of age at least. They are renewed by a fifth every year. It must always contain at least one citizen from each department of the republic.

32. A member quitting the legislative body cannot be re-elected to it till the lapse of a year; but he may immediately be elected to any other public function, including that of tribune, if in other respects he is eligible.

33. The sitting of the legislative body shall commence every year on the 1st Frimaire (22d November), and shall continue only four months. It may be extraordinarily convoked during the eight remaining months by the government.

34. The legislative body enacts laws by a private ballot, and without any discussion on the part of its members respecting the projects of laws debated in its presence by the speakers of the tribunate and of the government.

35. The sittings of the tribunate and those of the legislative body are to be public. The number of strangers in both shall not exceed two hundred in each.

36. The salary of a tribune is to be 15,000 francs (625*l.*); that of a legislator 10,000 francs (416*l.*)

VOL. XI.I.

36. Every decree of the legislative body, upon the tenth day after its passing, shall be promulgated by the chief consul, unless during that interval he has appealed to the senate on the ground of unconstitutionality. This recourse shall not exist against laws promulgated.

38. The first renewal of the legislative body shall take place only in the course of the year 10.

#### TITLE IV.

##### *Of the Government.*

39. The government is confided to three consuls, chosen for ten years, and re-eligible indefinitely.

Each of these is elected individually in the capacity of first, second, or third consul. In the first instance the third consul shall be appointed only for five years.

For this time the following are appointed: general Buonaparte, chief consul; citizen Cambacères, now minister of justice; and citizen Lebrun, member of the committee of elders, third consul.

40. The chief consul has functions and prerogatives peculiar to himself, in which his place may be temporarily supplied, when the case occurs, by one of his colleagues.

41. The chief consul promulgates laws. He makes and revokes at pleasure appointments of members of the council of state; ministers, ambassadors, and other external superior agents; the officers of the army by sea and land; members of local administrations, and commissioners of the government to the different courts. He appoints all the civil and criminal judges, except the justices of peace, and judges of cassation, without the power of revocation.

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42. In

42. In the other acts of the government, the second and third consuls have deliberate voices. They sign the proceedings, to shew that they were present; and, if they please, they may insert their own opinions, after which, the decision of the chief consul is sufficient.

43. The salary of the chief consul shall be 500,000 francs for the year 8 (about 20,833*l*.) The salary of each of the other two consuls shall be equal to three-tenths of that of the chief consul.

44. The government proposes laws, and makes regulations necessary to carry them into execution.

45. The government directs the receipts and expenses of the state agreeable to the annual law, which shall determine the amount of each. He is to superintend the coining of money, of which the law alone shall regulate the issue, fix the title, the fashion, and weight.

46. If the government is informed that any conspiracies are devising against the state, it may decree summonses of appearance and warrants of arrests, against those who are presumed to be the authors or accomplices. But if after the lapse of ten days after their arrest, they are not liberated, or put in a state for trial, in the regular form, the minister who signs the warrant shall be guilty of arbitrary imprisonment.

47. The government shall take measures for the internal security and external defense of the state. He stations the forces, military and naval, and regulates the manner of their being employed.

48. The national guard in activity is subject to the direction of the public administration. The sedentary national guard is subject only to the dispositions of the law.

49. The government is to maintain political relations abroad, to manage negotiations, make preliminary stipulations, cause, sign, and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions.

50. Declarations of war and treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, are proposed, discussed, decreed, and promulgated like laws.

Only discussions upon these objects, both in the tribunate and legislative body, are to take place in a secret committee, when the government desires it.

51. The secret articles of a treaty cannot destroy the public articles.

52. Under the direction of the consuls, the council of state is authorized to draw up projects of laws and regulations of public administration, and to remove the obstacles which may arise in matters of administration.

53. It must be out of the council of state that the speakers nominated by the government to state points before the legislative body must be taken.

These speakers are never to be sent to the number of more than three, to support the same project of a law.

54. The ministers procure the execution of laws and regulations of public administration.

55. No act of government can have effect if it is not signed by a minister.

56. One of the ministers is specially intrusted with the administration of the public treasure. He is to secure the receipts; to order the transfer of sums, and the payments authorized by law; he can make, or cause to be made, no payment, except in virtue, 1<sup>st</sup>, of a law, and

till the concurrence of funds which have been fixed for a distinct species of expense; 2d, of an *arrêté* of the government; 3d, of a warrant signed by a minister.

57. Detailed accounts of the expense of each minister, signed and certified by him, shall be made public.

58. The government can elect or constitute, as counsellors of state or ministers, none but citizens whose names are inscribed on the national list.

59. The local administrations, established either for each commercial district, or for more extensive portions of territory, shall be subordinate to the ministers. No person can be made or continue a member of these administrations unless he stand and be retained upon one of the lists mentioned in the 7th and 8th articles.

#### TITLE V.

60. Each commercial district is to have one or more judges of the peace, to be elected immediately by the citizens for the period of three years.

Their chief function is, to reconcile parties whom they call before them in cases of adverseness to reconciliation, to submit themselves to decisions by arbitration.

61. In civil matters, there are to be tribunals in the first resort, and the tribunals of appeal. The law is to determine the organization both of the one and the other; their competency, and the extent of territory that is to circumscribe their sphere of action.

62. In matters of misdemeanour (*délits*), where corporal or ignominious punishment is inflicted, there is to be a first jury to admit, or to reject the accusation; if admitted,

a second jury is to declare the fact to be proved: the judges then form a criminal tribunal, and adjudge the punishment. Against their decision there is no appeal.

63. The place of public accuser before a criminal tribunal is to be filled by the government commissary.

64. Offences, (*délits*) which do not incur corporal or ignominious punishment, are to be judged by tribunals of correctional police, with power of appeal to the criminal tribunals.

65. There will be established, for the whole of the republic, a tribunal of cassation, that is to pronounce upon motions for cassation against judgements in dernier resort, pronounced by the tribunals on motions of appeal from one tribunal to another, grounded upon legitimate suspicion, or upon reasons that regard the public safety, where the plea of one party is set up against a whole tribunal.

66. The tribunal of cassation does not take cognizance of the grounds of a cause; but it annuls the judgements passed in consequence of proceedings in which either the due forms have been violated, or which contain any express infraction of the law, and it refers the grounds of the cause to the proper tribunal that is to take cognizance of them.

67. The judges who preside in the tribunals of first resort, and the government commissaries that are to act in these courts, are to be taken from the communal, or from the departmental list.

The judges who preside in the tribunals of appeal, and the commissaries who act in these courts, are to be taken from the departmental list.

The judges who compose the tribunal of cassation, and the commissaries

aries acting in these courts, are to be taken from the national list.

68. All judges, except the justices of the peace, are to retain their functions for life, unless they be pronounced to have forfeited them, or unless they be already on the list of those who are deemed ineligible to hold such functions.

#### TITLE VI.

##### *Responsibility of the public Functionaries.*

69. The functions of the members, whether of the senate, the legislative body, the tribunate, or those of the consuls and counsellors of state, leave no room for responsibility.

70. Personal offences incurring corporal or ignominious punishment, committed by a member, whether of the senate, the tribunate, the legislative body, or the council of state, are to be prosecuted before the ordinary tribunal, after a deliberation of the body to which such a defendant may belong, shall have authorized such a proceeding.

71. Ministers who may be accused of private offences, incurring corporal or ignominious punishment, are to be considered as members of the council of state.

72. Ministers are responsible, 1st, for every act of government which they sign, that is declared unconstitutional by the senate; 2d, for the inexecution of the laws and the regulations of the public administration; 3d, for the particular orders they may issue, should these orders be contrary to the constitution, to the laws or regulations.

73. Where such cases occur as are stated in the foregoing article, the tribunate is to impeach the mi-

nister in virtue of an act upon which the legislative body is to deliberate in the usual forms, after having heard or summoned before them the person impeached. The minister who is brought to trial, by a decree of the legislative body, is to be tried, by a high court, with power of appeal or recurrence to an act of cassation.

The high court is to consist of judges and of juries: the judges to be chosen by, and from among the tribunal of cassation; the juries to be taken from the national list. The whole agreeably to the forms prescribed by the law.

74. The civil and criminal judges, in case of offences derogatory to their functions, are to be prosecuted before the tribunals to which they may be referred by the tribunal of cassation after having annulled their decrees.

75. The other agents of government, besides the ministers, cannot be prosecuted for acts connected with their functions, but in virtue of a decision of the council of state: in such cases the prosecution is to be carried on before the ordinary tribunals.

#### TITLE VII.

##### *General Dispositions.*

76. The house of every person inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable asylum.

During the night no one has a right to enter such house but in case of fire, or inundation, or of a request made for such purpose from the inhabitants of the house.

During the day it may be entered for some special object pointed out by a law, or by an order issued by a public authority.

77. In

77. In order to give effect to the act which authorizes the arresting of a person, it is necessary, 1st, that they do formally express the motives of the arrest, and the law by virtue of which it has been ordered; 2d, that it should be issued by a functionary formally invested with this power by the law; 3d, that it must be notified to the person arrested, and that a copy of it be also left with him.

78. A keeper or jailor cannot receive or detain any person till after he has transcribed into his register the act that orders the arrest. This act must be an order issued agreeably to the forms prescribed by the preceding article, or by a warrant for apprehending the person, or a decree of accusation, or a sentence pronounced.

79. The keeper or jailor is bound (nor can any order free him from the obligation) to bring forward the person so detained before the civil officer, who inspects the police of such prison, as often as the same may be required by such magistrate.

80. Access to the person imprisoned cannot be refused to his relations and friends, furnished with an order to that effect by the civil officer, who shall be always bound to grant such order, unless the keeper or jailor can shew an instruction from the judge to keep the person in secret confinement.

81. All those who, not being authorized by the law to arrest a person, shall issue, sign, or execute, an order for such arrest; all those who, even in the case of an arrest authorized by the law, shall receive or detain the person arrested in any place of confinement not publicly and legally pointed out as such;

and all the keepers and jailors who shall act contrary to the sense of the three preceding articles, shall be held guilty of the charge of arbitrary imprisonment.

82. All measures of rigour employed in arrestations, imprisonments, or executions, except such as are ordained by the laws, are to be held as crimes.

83. Every person has the right of addressing private petitions to every constituted authority, and more especially to the tribunal.

84. It is of the essence of the public force, to obey; no armed body can deliberate.

85. Military offences are to be submitted to special tribunals, and to particular forms of trial.

86. The French nation declares, that pensions shall be granted to all military persons wounded in the defence of the country, as also to the widows and children of military men who may be killed in the field of battle, or who may die in consequence of their wounds.

87. National rewards shall be decreed to such warriors as shall render distinguished services to the republic in fighting for its defence.

88. A constituted body cannot open a deliberation but in a sitting, of which at least two-thirds of its members shall be present.

89. A national institute is appointed to collect discoveries, and to advance the perfection of the sciences and arts.

90. A commission of national accounts shall regulate and verify the entry of the receipts and expenditure of the republic. This commission is to consist of seven members chosen by the senate from the national list.

91. The administration of the French colonies is to be determined by special laws.

92. In cases of revolt in the armed force, or of disturbances that threaten the safety of the state, the law may suspend, in such places and for such time as it may determine, the powers of the constitution.

The suspension may be provisionally declared in similar emergencies by an arrêté of government during an adjournment of the legislative body, provided that this body be summoned to meet at the shortest period, by an article of the said arrêté.

93. The French nation declareth, that it will in no case whatever permit the return of the Frenchmen who have deserted their country since the 14th of July, 1789, and are not comprehended in the exceptions that have been made to the laws enacted against the emigrants: it also forbids any new exception upon this point.

The property of the emigrants is irrevocably confiscated to the profit of the republic.

94. The French nation declareth, that after a legal sale hath been made of the national domains, from whatever source they may come, the legal purchaser cannot be dispossessed of them, except where a third party (if such case should occur) puts in a claim of indemnity from the public treasury.

95. The present constitution shall immediately be presented for the acceptance of the French people.

Done at Paris, the 22d Frimaire (December 13,) 8th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

[Here follow the signatures of

the members of the legislative commissions, and of the consuls.]

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*Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the British House of Commons, printed the 15th of March 1799.*

The committee of secrecy, to whom the several papers which were presented (sealed up) to the house by Mr. secretary Dundas, upon the 23d day of January, 1799, by his majesty's command, were referred, and who were directed to examine the matters thereof, and report the same, as they shall appear to them, to the house, have proceeded, in obedience to the orders of the house, to the consideration of the matters referred to them. They have been prevented from sooner laying before the house the result of their examination, not only from the extent of the matter, which came before them, but because some of the recent circumstances which they have to state, could not, with propriety, have been disclosed at an earlier period.

In the whole course of their inquiry, your committee have found the clearest proofs of a systematic design, long since adopted and acted upon by France, in conjunction with domestic traitors, and pursued up to the present moment with unabated perseverance, to overturn the laws, constitution, and government, and every existing establishment, civil or ecclesiastical, both in Great Britain and Ireland; as well as to dissolve the connection between the two kingdoms, so necessary to the security and prosperity of both.

The chief hope of accomplishing this design has rested on the propagation of those destructive prin-

ples which originally produced the French revolution, with all the miseries and calamities since experienced in France, and now extended over a large part of Europe.

The most effectual engine, employed for this purpose, has been the institution of political societies, of a nature and description before unknown in any country, and inconsistent with public tranquillity, and with the existence of regular government. The effects of this fatal cause, operating in its fullest extent, have been unhappily felt and exemplified in the distractions and calamities of Ireland. The same cause is known to have prepared the way for all the different revolutions by which France has succeeded in subverting so many of the governments of Europe, and reducing so many independent states to vassalage and subjection. In this country similar measures have been attempted; and although they have been hitherto defeated, by the precautions of the legislature, by the vigilance of his majesty's government, and still more by the general good sense and loyalty of the nation, the object is not abandoned. The utmost diligence is still employed in endeavouring, not only to sustain and revive those societies, whose seditious and treasonable purposes long since attracted the notice of parliament, but to extend their correspondence to every part of this kingdom, to Ireland, to France, and to those places on the continent where French emissaries are established; and to institute new societies, formed precisely on the same plan, and directed by the same object, as those whose influence in Ireland has produced such pernicious and formidable effects; and of

which, the consequences might have proved fatal to that kingdom, if they had not been averted, in a season of the greatest difficulty, by the wisdom, firmness, and exertion of his majesty's government, and the parliament of Ireland. The extent and uniformity of this systematic conspiracy are equally striking. The formation and structure of all these societies, in this country, in Ireland, and on the continent, are similar; their views and principles are the same, as well as the means which they employ to extend their influence. A continued intercourse and concert has been maintained from their first origin to the present moment; sometimes between the societies themselves, sometimes between their leading members; and a frequent communication has been kept up with the government of France; to which they appear to look as their protector and ally, and which has repeatedly furnished an asylum to those, who, on account of their principal share in these criminal transactions, have become fugitives or outlaws from the British dominions.

In stating the grounds of this opinion, although your committee will have much and important new matter to lay before the house; yet they will also be obliged to recell to the recollection of the house, many particulars which have already been brought under the consideration of parliament, but on which new lights have been thrown by the events which have since occurred, and by the subsequent intelligence which has been received. The information which has been produced to your committee, on the whole of this subject, has been most ample and extensive. The indis-



penfable neceffity of fecrecy, with refpect to the fources of many parts of that intelligence, muft be felt by the houfe, as refulting from confiderations of good faith as well as public fafety. They are convinced, that the early and uniform defeat of all attempts to difturb the public tranquillity of this kingdom, is, in a very great degree, to be afcribed to the meritorious and laudable diligence of the perfons filling thofe departments of his majefty's government to which this duty has peculiarly belonged. They appear, during a long period of time, to have obtained early and accurate information of the chief defigns and meafures of the confpirators; and the ftriking manner in which the moft important particulars of the fecret intelligence thus procured, have, in a great variety of inftances, been completely confirmed, by events now notorious to the world, and by the confeffion of parties concerned, entitles, in the opinion of your committee; the whole of the information derived from the fame fources, to the fulleft credit.

§ 1. *View of the Nature and System of the Society of United Irishmen, as fully eftablifhed in Ireland.*

Your committee are induced, in the firft inftance, to ftate the nature, extent, and influence, of the fociety of United Irishmen; becaufe this fociety has proved the moft powerful engine, in the hands of the confpirators, againft the government of their country, which has ever yet been devised; and becaufe its proceedings place in the cleareft view, the real object of all focieties of this defcription, either in Ireland or Great Britain; the peculiar means

by which they aft; and the extreme danger which fuch focieties muft produce, whenever they are fully eftablifhed. It is this which has given exertion, confiftency, folidity, and force to the Irish rebellion; which has enabled the confpirators to form themfelves, under the eye and in defiance of government, into one body, compacted by one bond of union, under an oath of fidelity and fecrecy; engaging themfelves, in the firft inftance, to mifprifion of treason, and, fucceffively, to the perpetration of the moft atrocious crimes. This fociety, thus united and combined, extended itfelf, by its fubdivifions, through every part of the kingdom; and was enabled to involve in one general confederacy, a very numerous defcription of individuals of almoft every clafs, connected with each other by a pledge of fecrecy, by confcioufnefs of guilt, and by the fenfe of perfonal danger, either from the violated laws of their country, or from the refentment and power of their afociates. Thefe bonds of union were ftrengthened by the ufe of fecret figns, frequently changed and applied to different ranks in the confpiracy, for the purpofe of preventing difcovery.

The fystem thus eftablifhed, gradually acquired the means of difturbg the tranquillity of the country in all its parts; of impeding the execution of juftice, by forcible refiftance to the authority of the laws; by the protection of accufed perfons; by the refcue of prifoners, the feizure of arms, and, at length, by the affaffination of informers; of witneffes, of magiftrates, and of jurymen; till, by the general terror which was diffufed, the loyal inhabitants in different counties were fucceffively

successively driven into the towns, or compelled wholly to quit the kingdom. At the head of this extensive conspiracy was placed a committee, terming itself "An Executive Directory," extending its influence and power over the disaffected through every part of the kingdom by "Provincial and Baronial Committees;" through whom, and by the mission of itinerant delegates over the country, an universal correspondence was established between this executive directory and all the subordinate powers and members of this system. An intercourse was maintained, in the name of the whole, with individuals and societies in this country, as well as with the governments of his majesty's enemies; and the conspirators were thus enabled to conceal or display their numbers at will, and consequently to magnify their power, or to hide their weakness; to circulate, with rapidity and effect, the most atrocious calumnies against his majesty's person and government, and against all descriptions and bodies of men whom they thought it their interest to vilify; to raise contributions, extorted frequently from those who had not become members of their union; to procure, disperse, and conceal arms, ammunition, and artillery; to collect military information: and, finally, to raise an army formed of all those among them capable of bearing arms, and placed under the command of officers, in military divisions, corresponding with those established for the general purposes of the conspiracy.

It is material to state,\* in detail, the formation of the different

branches of this system, in order to compare it with the institutions of a similar nature, which have been since formed in Great Britain, and which will be hereafter mentioned. Each of the inferior societies consisted, according to their original institution, of thirty-six members; which number was afterwards reduced to twelve. These twelve chose a secretary and treasurer; and the secretaries of five of these societies formed what was called a "Lower Baronial Committee;" which had the immediate direction and superintendence of those five societies. From each lower baronial committee, thus constituted, one member was delegated to an "Upper Baronial Committee;" which, in like manner, assumed and exercised the superintendence and direction of the lower baronial committees in the respective counties. The next superior committees were, in populous towns, distinguished by the name of "District Committees;" and in counties, by the name of "County Committees;" and were composed of members delegated by the upper baronial committees, each upper baronial committee delegating one of its members to the district or county committee; and the district or county committees had the superintendence and direction of the upper baronial committees. Having thus "organized" (as it is termed) the several counties and populous towns, a committee, called a "Subordinate Directory," was erected in each of the four provinces of Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, composed of two members or three, according to the extent and population of the districts

\* Report of secret committee of house of lords of Ireland, August 17, 1798; an abstract whereof we have given in our Register for 1798.

which

which they represented; who were delegated to a provincial committee, which held the immediate direction and superintendence of the several county and district committees in each of the four provinces; and a "General Executive Directory," composed of five persons, was elected by the provincial directories; but the election of this directory was so managed, that none but the secretaries of the provincial directories knew on whom the election fell. It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors; the appointment was notified only to those on whom the election devolved; and the executive directory, thus composed, assumed and exercised the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body of the union, which, by these secret modes of election, was kept utterly ignorant who were the persons to whom this implicit obedience was paid,

§ 2. *Institution of United Irishmen in 1791; and Rise of different Societies in Great Britain.*

For the purpose of obtaining a comprehensive view of the attempts which have been repeatedly made, in the course of the last eight years, for establishing a similar system in this country, and of the means by which they have been hitherto defeated, as well as in order to enable the house to judge fully of the perseverance with which the system is pursued, and of the nature and tendency of the measures which are carrying on at the present moment, your committee deem it necessary, before they advert to more recent transactions, to go back to that period, when societies of this tendency first appeared in both kingdoms,

and to trace, as shortly as they can, their progress and intercourse to the present time.

The society of United Irishmen was established in the year 1791; and other societies in Great Britain, particularly the constitutional society (which had long existed, but about this time assumed a new character,) the corresponding society (which was instituted in the spring of 1792,) and the societies of persons in Scotland terming themselves "The Friends of the People" (which originated at nearly the same period,) appear to have adopted, in their fullest extent, all the extravagant and violent principles of the French revolution. The events which followed, in the course of that year and the year 1792, encouraged among the leading members of these societies, and other persons of similar principles, a sanguine hope of introducing into both countries, under pretence of the reform of abuses, what they termed a *new order of things*, founded on the principles of that revolution. The degree of bigotry and enthusiasm with which they attached themselves to these principles, was manifested, as well by the speeches and writings of the members of the societies, as by the zeal with which they laboured to propagate among the lower classes of the community, a spirit of hatred and contempt for the existing laws and government of the country.

It can hardly be necessary to recall to the recollection of the house, the industry with which they endeavoured to disseminate these sentiments, by the circulation of their own proceedings and resolutions; uniformly directed to vilify the forms and principles of the British constitution;

constitution; to represent the people of this country as groaning under intolerable oppression; to eradicate all religious principle; and to recommend a recurrence to experiments of desperate innovation, similar to those which were at that time adopted in France. For the same purpose, the works of Paine, and other seditious and impious publications, were distributed, throughout almost every part of the kingdom, with an activity and profusion beyond all former example.

So confident were the societies of the efficacy of these measures, that they appear almost universally to have looked forward from the beginning, to the entire overthrow of every existing establishment in these kingdoms, and to the creation of some democratical form of government; either by uniting the whole of the British empire into one republic, or by dividing it into two or more republics. The conspirators in Ireland, unquestionably, always meditated the complete separation of that country from Great Britain: all, however, considered themselves as engaged in one common cause, as far as related to the destruction of the existing constitution; all looked to the success of the disaffected in each country as forwarding their common views; and

each was ready to support the other in any resistance to the lawful government: a frequent intercourse among them was therefore considered as important to their ends; and they all invited, or expected, the countenance and aid of France.

The attempts made in the beginning of this conspiracy to disguise the real objects, under false pretences, which ought at no time to have imposed even on superficial observers, have long since been abandoned. Subsequent transactions have not merely shown the extremes to which the nature and principles of these societies naturally led, but have completely unveiled the original and settled designs of the persons chiefly concerned in them. Your committee beg leave, in this place, to refer the house to his majesty's proclamation\* of the year 1792, and the several addresses of both houses of parliament thereupon; to the reports of the committees of parliament in this kingdom and in Ireland; and to the different trials for treason and sedition in both kingdoms: and they are confident, that an attentive examination of those documents can leave no doubt in the opinion of the house (even on the circumstances known at that early period) respecting the real nature and extent of the original conspiracy.

* Proclamation and Addresses . . . . .	1792.
Lords Report . . . . .	1794.
Commons Report . . . . .	May 1794.
Do. do. . . . .	June 1794.
Irish Lords Reports . . . . .	1798.
Commons do. . . . .	1798.
Trial of Muir, Skirving, Margarot, Gerald, Palmer, and others, for sedition in Scotland, in . . . . .	1793 and 1794.
— of Watt and Downie, for treason in Scotland, in . . . . .	1794.
— of Hardy and others, for treason, in . . . . .	1794.
— of Redhead, alias Yorke, for sedition, in . . . . .	1795.
— of Stone, for treason, in . . . . .	1796.

§ 3. *First open Attempt in Scotland.*

The groundwork having been thus laid in each kingdom, the first public attempt which was openly directed to the object of overthrowing the government, and effecting a revolution, was made in Scotland, under circumstances which even then evidently marked the connection between the disaffected throughout his majesty's dominions. An assembly, styling itself "A General Convention of Delegates from the Societies of the Friends of the People throughout Scotland," met at Edinburgh, on the 11th of December, 1792. Thomas Muir, a leading member of this assembly, endeavoured to prevail upon its members, at one of their meetings, to receive and answer a paper, intitled, "An Address from the Society of United Irishmen, in Dublin, to the delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland," dated the 23d of November, 1792, and set forth in the Appendix (No. 1.); in which the United Irish address the Scotch delegates in what they term "the spirit of civic union in the fellowship of a just and common cause;" and rejoiced, "that the Scotch did not consider themselves as merged and melted down into another country;" but that in the great national question to which the address alluded, "they were still Scotland." They added, "that the cause of the United Irish was also the cause of the Scotch delegates;" that "Universal Emancipation, with *Representative Legislature*, was the polar principle which guided the Society of United Irishmen;" that their end was "a national legislature, their means, an

union of the whole people." And they recommended assembling the people in each county in (what they term) "peaceable and constitutional convention;" the object of which they attempted to disguise by the pretence of reform and petition to parliament. Several members of the Scotch convention appear to have been alarmed at the language of this address, and, notwithstanding the efforts of Muir, no answer was sent; and the meeting adjourned to April, 1793. The conduct of Muir in this assembly formed part of the charge of sedition upon which he was afterwards tried and found guilty. His zeal, however, recommended him to the conspirators in Ireland; and on the 11th of January, 1793, he became a member of the society of the United Irishmen, of Dublin.

He was absent in France at the time of the second meeting of the Scotch convention, which assembled in April, 1793, and again adjourned itself to the 29th October following, when it met a third time at Edinburgh, after the trial of Muir, who was convicted and sentenced to transportation in August, 1793. It is well known that he afterwards escaped from the place of his transportation, and has recently resided in France, pursuing a conduct marked by the most inveterate hostility to his country.

This meeting \* of the Scotch convention in October, 1793, appears to have been held in concert with several societies in England, and particularly the Constitutional Society and the London Corresponding Society, already mentioned. These societies afterwards sent dele-

\* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons, June, 1794.

gates to the Scotch convention; the terms of whose instructions demonstrate the dangerous views of those who sent them.

Hamilton Rowan, a member of the society of United Irishmen of Dublin (now a fugitive from Ireland, and attainted of high treason), and the honourable Simon Butler likewise a member of the society of United Irishmen), attended this meeting; and Hamilton Rowan had previously been solicited, by letter from Scotland, on the subject of sending delegates from Ireland to the convention. It does not appear, however, that these persons bore the distinct character of delegates, but they were received with marked attention; and the convention resolved, on the 5th November, 1793, "that any of the members of the society of United Irishmen of Dublin should be admitted to speak and vote in the convention." On the 22d of November, 1793, the convention had changed its title to that of "The British Convention of Delegates of the People, associated to obtain universal suffrage and annual Parliaments." They assumed, in almost every particular, the style and mode of proceeding adopted by the national convention of France: they divided themselves into "sections, committees of organization, instruction, finance, and secrecy;" granted honours of sitting; made honourable mention in their minutes of patriotic donations; entered their minutes "in the first year of the British convention;" instituted "primary societies, provisional assemblies and departments;" received from their sections a variety of motions and reports, some of which, in their studied affectation of French phrases, had the words, "*Vive la convention*,"

prefixed to them, and ended with "*Ca Ira*;" and some were dated "first year of the British convention, one and indivisible."

The views of this dangerous assembly appear from the minutes of their proceedings, and from the correspondence of Skirving, their secretary, Margarot and Gerald, the delegates of the London Corresponding Society, and Hardy, the secretary of that society; which are stated in the report of the committee of this house in 1794, and in the Appendix to that report, and were given in evidence on the trials above referred to.

It is observable upon the face of these minutes, that the funds of this convention were extremely low; so low, that perhaps at first sight the assembly itself may appear to have been rather an object of contempt, from the apparent inadequacy of its pecuniary means, than an object of alarm from the dangerous extravagance of its revolutionary designs. It is happy for the peace of this country that the means of these societies, in their different shapes and stages, have not been more equal to such designs. But the recent proceedings in Ireland too plainly show, that though the want of money may retard the progress, and cripple the exertions of such conspiracies, yet numbers thus leagued together for the total subversion of the government and constitution of a country possess means which (if not seasonably counteracted) may introduce scenes of the most horrid confusion, rebellion, and blood.

This convention continued to hold its meetings in the city of Edinburgh until the 4th of December, 1793; when its objects evidently tending towards open rebellion, some

some of the leading members were arrested, together with Skirving, their secretary; and Skirving, Margaret, and Gerald, were afterwards tried in Scotland for sedition, and sentenced to transportation. The members of this convention, notwithstanding the arrest of some of their body, assembled again on the 5th of December, and refused to disperse till compelled by the magistrates; but they continued for some time to meet privately, in different societies, and to carry on a secret correspondence with various parts of England and Scotland.

The society of United Irishmen of Dublin, who had already shown the interest they took in the meeting of this convention, appear (as was to be expected) to have considered its dispersion as hostile to their views, and declared their sentiments, by a resolution of the 20th December, 1793; in which, after noticing what they called "the oppressive attempt in Edinburgh to stifle the voice of the people through the British convention, and the truly patriotic resistance to that attempt," they resolved, "That all or any of the members of the British convention, and the patriotic societies which delegated members to that convention, should be received as brothers and members of their society."

§ 4. *Attempts to assemble a Convention of the People in England.*

The leading English societies, which have been already stated to have sent delegates to the Scotch convention, had, during its sittings, and for a considerable time previous thereto, been actively employed in measures directed to similar objects. For the purpose of promoting their

sedition projects, they had carried on a constant correspondence with all the numerous country societies, which had been formed in many populous towns in different parts of the kingdom. They had, as early as in May, 1792, presented an address, sufficiently expressive of their principles, to those whom they styled "the friends of the constitution at Paris, known by the name of Jacobins." In the end of the same year, after receiving a letter of approbation from persons calling themselves "Friends of Liberty and Equality in France," they instituted a regular committee of foreign correspondence; and they had even proceeded to present addresses to the national convention in France, which had then assumed the whole legislative and executive power, and was assembled for the purpose of framing a new constitution, and proceeding to the trial of the king. In one of these addresses (particularly noticed in the report of 1794, but which your committee think it material again to advert to) they styled the convention "servants of a sovereign people, and benefactors of mankind." They rejoice that the revolution had arrived at that point of perfection which enabled them to address them by such a title. They extol the proceedings of the 10th of August as a glorious victory, and add, "*The benefits will in part be ours, but the glory will be all your own; and it is the reward of your perseverance, the prize of virtue.*" In January following, at the eve of the murder of the French king, and of the commencement of hostilities against this country, Barrere, Roland, and St. André, active members of the French convention, had been elected honorary members of the

the constitutional society: and two speeches, made by Barrere and St. André, delivered for the express purpose of accelerating the condemnation and execution of the king, asserting the doctrines of the sovereignty of the people, and deducing, as its consequence, the unlimited rights of a national convention, and the personal responsibility of the monarch, were entered on the books of the constitutional society; and the resolution for this purpose was published in the newspapers. Actuated by these principles, the English societies persevered in their design; and notwithstanding the dispersion of the meeting at Edinburgh, which had assumed the appellation of "the British Convention," proceeded on a plan which they had long had in contemplation, for assembling in England a similar but more extensive meeting, under the appellation of "a convention of the people."

At a general meeting of the corresponding society, held at the Globe Tavern, on the 20th January, 1794, a resolution and address to the people of England were agreed to, and ordered to be published, expressly directed to the object of assembling a general convention of the people.

At another general meeting of the same society, held at Chalk Farm, on the 14th of April, 1794, among a variety of inflammatory resolutions, they declared, that the whole proceedings of the late British convention, at Edinburgh, claimed their approbation and applause. They, at the same time, returned thanks to Archibald Hamilton Rowan, prisoner in Newgate, in the city of Dublin (who had, in March, 1794, been chosen an honorary member of the constitutional society), as well as to

the society of United Irishmen in Dublin, whom they exhorted to persevere in their exertions to obtain justice for the people of Ireland. The language held on different occasions evidently showed their intention of endeavouring to establish, by force, the authority of such a convention. They exhorted each other "to prepare courageously for the struggle which they meditated;" and openly avowed that they meant to obtain the redress, which they professed to seek, "not from parliament, nor from the executive government, but from themselves, and from their own strength and valour; from their own laws, and not from the laws of those whom they termed 'plunderers, enemies, and oppressors.'" For the purpose of assembling such a convention, and of preparing the people at large to look to its proceedings with respect, and to adopt and countenance the doctrine and practices which it might recommend, itinerant members of the societies above mentioned dispersed themselves throughout different parts of the country, proceeding from town to town, and from village to village, endeavouring to inculcate into the minds of those with whom they conversed, the necessity of such a measure as that which they had in contemplation, for the reform of the abuses of the government, and the redress of the grievances of the people; and describing, in language varied according to the passions or prejudices of different classes whom they addressed, the nature and extent of the different political purposes which might be effected by a convention once assembled.—The dispersion of Paine's works, and other works of a similar tendency, was at the same time con-



tinued with increased industry; and the societies flattered themselves that they had, by these means, really made a progress towards preparing a large portion of the nation to favour their project.

The zeal, indeed, of many of the country societies appears to have outrun the instructions of the agents, and to have carried them into discussions beyond those limits which the persons who planned and instigated the measure thought it prudent, in the first instance to prescribe. The agents were instructed to confine the views of the several societies to whom they were deputed, and to point the wishes of individuals purely to the attainment of universal suffrage, from which, once established, it was represented that all the reforms which could be desired would naturally flow; and it appeared to have been the design of those who directed the business to prevent the premature discussion of any of those points, which they represented as subordinate, until after the convention should have been assembled, and this primary object of universal suffrage obtained. No caution or prohibition, however, could prevent many of the country societies from showing how confidently they anticipated, as the result to which the deliberations of that convention must necessarily lead, the abolition of monarchy, of aristocracy, and of other establishments, which they deemed equally oppressive; and the substitution of a representative government, founded on the new doctrine of the rights of man; and uniting, in one body, all the legislative and executive powers of the state.

This intended convention was prevented from assembling by the

arrest of the secretaries, and of several members of the two societies, called "the London corresponding Society," and "the Constitutional Society." The secretaries and leading members of the societies at Sheffield and Norwich (which, together with several other subordinate societies in different parts of the kingdom, were in constant correspondence with them) were also taken into custody. The attention of parliament was at this period directed to these proceedings; and in consequence of the evidence then laid before a secret committee of this house, the power of detaining suspected persons was intrusted to his majesty.

The subsequent proceedings are sufficiently known. Some of the persons so arrested were prosecuted for high treason. A grand jury for the county of Middlesex found a bill against Thomas Hardy, the secretary of the London corresponding society, and eleven others. Three of the persons so indicted, viz. Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, and John Thelwall, were tried, and on their trials were acquitted of the charge in the indictment. But the evidence given on those trials established, in the clearest manner, the grounds on which the committees of the two houses of parliament had formed their reports in 1794, and shewed, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the views of these persons and their confederates were, in their nature, completely hostile to the existing government and constitution of this kingdom, and went directly to the subversion of every established and legitimate authority.

After these acquittals, Henry Redhead, *alias* Yorke, who had been committed, at the same time,

on a charge of high treason, was brought to trial, at York, in July, 1795, upon an indictment for a seditious conspiracy; in which Joseph Gale, the printer of a newspaper, at Sheffield, and Richard Davison, of Sheffield, both of whom had fled from justice, were included. Upon the trial of Yorke, on this indictment, he was found guilty, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

§ 5. *Farther Proceedings subsequent to the Arrests in 1794.*

The disclosures made upon these trials, the detentions already mentioned, and the powers vested in government, by the "act to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government," which received the royal assent on the 23d of May, 1794; broke for a time all the measures which had been concerted by the disaffected, and obliged them to proceed with more caution and reserve. But they never appear for a moment to have relinquished their original design; and the nature and constitution of the corresponding society (which still subsisted) peculiarly qualified it secretly to continue its machinations, and to extend and diffuse its pernicious principles among the lower orders of the people. The plan of this constitution, as originally proposed, not having been stated in the reports before referred to, is inserted in the Appendix. It is evident, that the overthrow of every part of the government and constitution of this kingdom was in the immediate contemplation of those by whom this plan was formed; and that it was contrived with the view of being appli-

ed to the most extensive purposes, if they had succeeded in that object, and of enabling the conspirators, after the overthrow of the existing government, to usurp and exercise an uncontrolled authority over the whole kingdom. It does not appear, that this plan was ever formally adopted; but so much of it as led to the establishment of a secret system of direction, resembling that of the United Irishmen, was agreed to, and reduced to practice.

Not contented with employing these means gradually to extend their influence through different parts of the kingdom, the leading members of these societies, shortly before the opening of the session of parliament, in October, 1795, called together an unlawful meeting, in a field near the metropolis, evidently with a view of trying the temper of the populace. Under the pretence of "debates," language of the most seditious and inflammatory nature was held to a large multitude, whom curiosity, or other motives, had assembled there, and the most daring libels were uttered against every part of the constitution of these realms.

The public tranquillity appears to your committee to have been greatly endangered by this step; so exactly resembling that which fifteen years before had nearly led to the destruction of the metropolis; and your committee are decidedly of opinion, that the shameful and highly criminal outrages which soon after took place, on the first day of the session, are, in a great degree, to be ascribed to the influence of these inflammatory proceedings, and of this public and open violation of the laws. It is not without regret that your committee feel themselves obliged to recall to the recollection

of the house, the horrid and sacrilegious attempt against his majesty's person, with which those outrages were accompanied.

This alarming proof of the dreadful and desperate consequences, which meetings and proceedings of such a description naturally tend to produce, made a deep impression on the mind of the public, and necessarily engaged the attention of parliament. On a full consideration of all the circumstances, the legislature, by salutary laws, strengthened the authority of the magistrate, for the repression of sedition and tumult; provided fresh checks against meetings of a dangerous tendency, and of a description unknown in the history and constitution of this country, increased the penalties of obstinate and repeated guilt, and added a fresh safeguard to the sacred person of his majesty.

One of the immediate effects of these measures was to put a stop to a practice which had too long been suffered in the metropolis, to the disgrace of all order and government—the open and regular delivery of public lectures, inculcating the doctrines of sedition and treason; inciting the hearers to follow the example of France, and animating them to the commission of the most atrocious crimes. This practice has not since been revived in the same shape; but many of the debating societies which subsist at the present time appear to your committee to be, in a great measure, directed to the same pernicious objects, and to require farther animadversion and correction. Some check was also given to the licentiousness of the press, which had, till then, been in a great measure unrestrained. That licentiousness has furnished, in every

part of Europe, one of the most dangerous instruments in the hands of conspirators. The industry with which every species of inflammatory and seditious libels had been disseminated, applying to the various passions and prejudices of every class of society, but particularly of that which is the least informed, and therefore the most open to seduction, is an unanswerable proof both of the extent and of the zeal of the conspiracy in this country.

After the passing of these bills, the London corresponding societies sent their delegates into the country, to point out the method of evading them, and for the purpose of feeling the disposition of the people. Two persons, in this character, John Binns and John Gale Jones, were sent, by the London Corresponding Society, to Birmingham, where they were arrested. They were found addressing a meeting of persons in that town. Upon the person of Jones were found two papers; one a letter of credence from the society, signed by John Astley, their secretary, introducing Binns and Jones as their accredited delegates; and the other, the instruction of the society for the conduct of these delegates; both which papers your committee have inserted in the Appendix (Nos. 3 and 4); they wish particularly to notice, that after directions given to the delegates, to persuade the people whom they were to address, that the sole object of the society was parliamentary reform, and that the bills last referred to need not prevent their continuing to meet, the 7th article of the instructions is in these words: "The design of the above article is to remove misapprehensions relative to the safety of our association under  
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the new laws. This part of your mission being effected, you are to strain every power of your mind to awaken the sleeping spirit of liberty; you are to call upon our fellow-citizens to be ready with us, to pursue our common object, if it must be, to the scaffold, or rather, (if our enemies are desperate enough to bar up every avenue to inquiry and discussion) to the field, at the hazard of extermination; convinced that no temper less decided than this will suffice to regain liberty from a bold usurping faction. But, to the end that we may succeed, by the irresistible voice of the people, you are to excite in every society the ardour which animates our bosoms, to embrace the nation as brethren, and the resolution to bear every reproach from passion and prejudice which fails to deprive us of the bare grounds of argument." And in the 13th article are the following expressions:

"In a word, you are always to recollect, that you are wrestling with the enemies of the human race, not yourselves merely, for you may see the full day of liberty, but the child hanging at the breast; and that the question, whether the next generation shall be free or not, may greatly depend on the wisdom and integrity of your conduct in the numerous missions which you and your fellow-deputies now take upon yourselves."

Notwithstanding this disposition to resist and evade the effect of these laws, yet the seasonable and effectual check thus, for a second time, put to the progress of sedition and treason, averted immediate danger; and if it did not extinguish the hopes of the conspirators, at least deterred them from the public avowal and

pursuit of their projects. But the attempt to poison the minds of the lower orders of the people, and to prepare the means, which might be resorted to on any favourable occasion, was pursued with unabated perseverance.

During the remainder of the year 1796, the system continued to operate silently and secretly; but, in the beginning of the following year, its contagious influence was found to have extended to a quarter where it was the least to be suspected, and produced effects which suddenly threatened the dearest interests and immediate safety of the country with the most imminent danger.

The mutiny, which took place in the fleet, if considered in all its circumstances, will be traced to an intimate connection with the principles and practices described by your committee, and furnishes the most alarming proof of the efficacy of those plans of secrecy and concert, so often referred to, and of the facility with which they are applied for inflaming and heightening discontent (from whatever cause it proceeds), and for converting what might otherwise produce only a hasty and inconsiderate breach of subordination and discipline, into the most settled and systematic treason and rebellion. These principles and this concert could alone have produced the wide extent of the mutiny, and the uniformity of its operation in so many and such distant quarters. The persons principally engaged in it, even in its early stages, were many of them United Irishmen. The mutineers were bound by secret oaths to the perpetration of the greatest crimes. An attempt was made to give to

the ships in mutiny the name of "The Floating Republic," and this attempt was countenanced both by papers published in France, and by a paper here, called "The Courier," which has, on many occasions, appeared almost equally devoted to the French cause. In some instances, a disposition was manifested to direct the efforts of the mutineers to the object of compelling the government of this country to conclude a peace with the foreign enemy; and they at length even meditated betraying the ships of his majesty into the hands of that enemy. All these circumstances combine to impress your committee with a firm persuasion that whatever were the pretences and misrepresentations employed to seduce from their duty a brave and loyal body of men; yet a spirit, in itself so repugnant to the habits and dispositions of British sailors, must have had its origin in those principles of foreign growth which the societies of the conspirators have industriously introduced into this country, and which they have incessantly laboured to disseminate among all descriptions of men; but especially among those whose fidelity and steadiness is most important to the public safety. A striking instance of the desperate extent to which these principles were carried appears in the proceedings of a court martial, held in the month of June, 1797, an abstract of which your committee have thought it right to insert in the Appendix, (No. 17). The opinion stated by your committee will be still more confirmed by the repeated and atrocious attempts (bearing still more evidently the character of

those principles in which they originated), which have been made in a great number of instances since the general mutiny was suppressed; and of which it will be necessary for your committee hereafter to take notice. At the period now referred to, these systematic attempts, made to seduce both the sailors and soldiers from their duty and allegiance, to incite them to mutiny, and to engage them in plans for the subversion of government, had become so apparent and frequent as to attract the immediate notice of the legislature. Among these attempts, that one, made by a person of the name of Fellows, convicted at Maidstone, in July, 1797, deserves particular attention. The seditious hand-bill, which he was proved to have distributed among the soldiers, is inserted in the Appendix (No. 5); and it appears from a letter (also there inserted), No. 6, written by him to Evans and Bone, two of the most active members of the London Corresponding Society, and who have successively filled the office of secretary to that society, shortly before his arrest, that he had gone to Maidstone, for the purpose of circulating seditious papers, as well as of making reports of the society at Maidstone.

In consequence of the prevalence of these dangerous practices, two acts of parliament were passed in the year 1797;\* one inflicting severe penalties on any person guilty of inciting any of his majesty's forces by sea or land to mutiny; the other for more effectually preventing the administering or taking of unlawful oaths. The propriety and necessity of both these acts was farther evin-

\* 37 Geo. III. c. 70. 37 Geo. III. c. 123.

ced shortly after. A person of the name of Fuller, (who was detected, two days after the passing the first act, in attempting to seduce a soldier belonging to the Coldstream regiment of guards, was found guilty, at the following sessions of the Old Bailey, and sentenced to death; and one Charles Radcliffe, prosecuted under the second act, at the last court of session, held for the county palatine of Chester, was found guilty of administering the oath or test of the society of United Irishmen. The paper found upon Fuller, and which formed the chief ground of his conviction, is inserted in the Appendix, (No. 7), and deserves particular attention.

Your committee have thus traced the chief transactions which took place in this country connected with the general design of the conspiracy, nearly to the period when its effects were manifested in their most dreadful and formidable shape in Ireland, by the atrocious and unexampled rebellion, which broke out in the beginning of the last summer. About this time, either with a view to that very rebellion, or in consequence of it, the societies in this country entered into still closer connection with the society of United Irishmen, and assumed a shape, more similar than before, to that extraordinary combination, the nature and effects of which have been already fully described. It will therefore be necessary for your committee, in this place, shortly to review the progress of this society, and of the steps by which it gradually prepared the way for all the recent miseries and calamities which have been experienced in Ireland,

§ 6. *Progress of the Society of United Irishmen, in Ireland, till the Period of the Rebellion; its Intercourse with France, and with the leading Members of Societies in this Country.*

The transactions of the conspirators in that country are so fully detailed, in the different reports of the two houses of the Irish parliament, that your committee do not think it necessary to state them at length; and will only call the attention of the house to such parts of them as prove, from the subsequent conduct of the conspirators, the falshood of the early pretences, by which they attempted to disguise their real views, as well as the intercourse kept up by them with the French directory, chiefly through England, and the communication between leading members of the society of United Irishmen, and those of similar societies in Great Britain.

As early as in the year 1793, hopes and expectations were held out of French assistance; prayers were publicly offered up at Belfast, from the pulpit, for the success of the French arms; military associations were entered into without any legal authority; and repeated attempts were made to seduce the soldiery from their duty.

In February, 1794, Jackson, an Irish clergyman, passed from France through England, into Ireland, for the purpose of carrying on a treasonable correspondence, with a view to an invasion of both kingdoms. He was particularly recommended to some of the leading members of the English societies; and he transmitted to the French government,

## 146 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1796.

both from London and from Dublin, papers on the subject of an insurrection, which had been previously communicated to other persons in each kingdom.\*

In April, 1796, he had many confidential correspondents, at Dublin, on this subject, who had the names of Henry and John Sheares, a member of the United Irishmen, before-mentioned, who was then in prison, and since his escape has been convicted for high treason; with Wolfe Tone, also a leading member of the same society, who was lately taken on board the French ship, the *Hoché*, in the actual attempt to invade Ireland; and with Lewins, now the resident envoy from the United Irish at Paris.

Although the trials of Jackson and Stone, and the arrest and flight of Hamilton Rowan and Tone, checked these projects for a time, the society of United Irishmen pursued their measures with unabating activity. The government of Ireland acquired information respecting the conduct of particular persons, whom they had even at that time sufficient ground to consider as chiefly engaged in this treasonable conspiracy; particularly Lewins, above referred to; Henry and John Sheares, since convicted of high treason, and executed; Oliver Bond, and Wolfe Tone, convicted of the same crime, and both since dead, the latter by his own hands, to escape the punishment due to his crimes; lord Edward Fitzgerald, who died in prison in consequence of the wounds he received in resisting the officers of justice, and has been since attainted of high treason;

and Arthur O'Connor, M'Neven, and Emmet, whose individual guilt, as well as that of the whole conspiracy, is sufficiently proved by their own confessions.

It is stated, in the confessions of the three persons last named, that the first communication, which came to their knowledge, between the Irish and the French directory, was an offer made by the latter, in the year 1795, to lend a French army to Ireland, to the assistance of the republicans. But the committee of the senate of lords, in Ireland, have stated it as their opinion, that Lewins had been dispatched to France, in the summer of 1795, to request this assistance; and your committee are convinced, from secret intelligence which has been laid before them, that this opinion was well founded.

The invasion of Ireland, which was attempted in December, 1796, was arranged at an interview, which took place on the frontier of France, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and general Hoche, in the summer of that year. After the failure of this attempt, the solicitations of the Irish directory were renewed; a proposal, which arrived from France early in 1797, was accepted, and an answer transmitted, through England, by the means of Arthur O'Connor; Lewins was dispatched to Paris, in April, and M'Neven in June. Both were employed in urging the invasion of Ireland, and in counteracting the negotiation for peace with the French republic, which his majesty's minister was then carrying on at Lisle. A conference was held

\* Vide Jackson and Stone's Trial, and Report of Commons in Ireland.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 167

in the same summer, in London, between lord Edward Fitzgerald and a French agent, who came from Hamburg, in which farther arrangements were made for the intended invasion.

The arrest of several persons in Ireland, and the flight of others; and the memorable defeat, by lord Duncan, of the fleet intended to protect the expedition fitted out from Holland, again disconcerted the projects of the conspirators. After this event the French government appears to have repeatedly urged the leaders of the Irish Union to immediate insurrection; but the more cautious among them were unwilling to act, until the French could actually have landed; and their opinion for a time prevailed.

The correspondence was in the mean time continued: the projects of rebellion and invasion were ripening; and at this period the press of the Irish conspirators derived fresh encouragement from reports of the progress of new societies in Great Britain, formed on the same plan with themselves. A regular communication was kept up between the Irish and English committees, through Arthur O'Connor, who had come from Ireland to England, early in January, 1798; and the reports transmitted by the English societies to Ireland, the name of the United Englishmen (a society which had been recently formed on the model of the United Irish, and of which a more particular account will be given hereafter) is represented to be considerable, though your committee have reason to believe that there was much exaggeration in these reports. Ar-

thur O'Connor,\* in a letter to his brother, dated London, 13th February, 1798, and seized in lord Edward Fitzgerald's apartments, at Leinster-house, states, "That Scotland is Irish all over—that the people here give no opinion, though it is easy to learn they look for a change."

At a provincial meeting in Ireland, held on the 1st of February, 1798, it was stated to the meeting, by a person just arrived from Dublin, that "the French were going on with the expedition, and that it was in a greater state of forwardness than was expected; but what was more flattering, three delegates had been sent from the United Britons to the Irish national committee, and from that moment the Irish were to consider England, Scotland, and Ireland, all as one people, acting for one common cause." An address was at the same time produced, which it was stated the delegates of Britain had brought with them to the Irish national committee. It was also stated, that the priest, O'Coigly, was one of the delegates mentioned to have been then lately returned from France; and it was added, that he, and another priest, who had fled from Ireland, were the principal persons who had opened the communications with the United Britons.

At another provincial meeting, held on the 27th of February, 1798, it appears to have been stated, "that a delegate had arrived from France; that the French were using every endeavour to have the expedition for Ireland completed; and that the Irish delegate came home to cause the United Irish to put themselves into a state of organiza-

\* Vide Trial of O'Connor.



tion to join them, as the directory positively assured the Irish delegates, that the expedition would set out for Ireland the end of April, or the beginning of May." It was also stated, that there had been a meeting of all the delegates in England and Scotland held in London; but that their resolutions could not be obtained till the next provincial meeting to be held on the 25th of March.

The address which the delegates of United Britons were so stated, at the provincial meeting of the 1st of February, 1798, to have brought with them to the Irish national committee, your committee have inserted, in the Appendix, (No. 8). About the same time a most seditious paper, sent from the London Corresponding Society, to the society of United Irishmen, signed J. T. Crossfield, president; Thomas Evans, secretary; dated 30th of January, 1798, (also inserted in the Appendix, No. 9), was published, in Ireland, in a paper, called "The Press," and the original seized, in March, 1798, in consequence of the apprehension of Arthur O'Connor, in England.

The priest, O'Coigly, referred to in these transactions, and who has since been convicted and executed at Maidstone, was a native of Ireland, and went from that country to Cuxhaven, in 1797, with another Irishman, who was obliged to fly from Ireland, and passed into Holland, at the time when the Dutch fleet, under admiral de Winter, was about to sail, with a large body of troops, on an expedition destined against Ireland. When that fleet had sailed without the troops, O'Coigly, and his compa-

nion, went to Paris, where, finding themselves thwarted by the jealousy of the resident envoy from the Irish Union, O'Coigly returned to England about the middle of December, 1797, and went to Ireland in January, 1798.

Whilst in Ireland, he appears to have had interviews and correspondence with lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others of the Irish conspirators; and he returned to England about the middle of February, 1798.

Intelligence was conveyed to government of this man's designs, and particularly of his intention to pass into France, for the purposes which afterwards appeared to be the object of his mission; he was therefore narrowly watched; and on the 28th of February, 1798, he was, together with Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, Allen, and Leary, taken into custody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a passage to France. The particular circumstances attending these attempts are detailed in the evidence on his trial.\* One of the papers seized by the officers, who apprehended him, was an address from "the secret committee of England, to the executive directory of France," set forth in the Appendix, (No. 10); clearly demonstrating the traitorous views of those who formed the address, and were instrumental in the attempt to transmit it to France.

It appears also to your committee, both from previous and subsequent information, that Arthur O'Connor, who had been, to the moment of leaving Ireland, one of the members of the Irish Directory, was not only going to France in the confi-

\* For an account of his detention, trial, and execution, see our last year's Chronicle.  
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dence that, when there, he should be considered and received as an accredited agent, but was confidentially employed by the remaining members of that directory, who were at that time dissatisfied with the conduct of Lewins.

§ 7. *Farther Intercourse between the United Irishmen, the French Government, and the British Societies: Formation of new Societies, and their Proceedings.*

At the meetings of the London Corresponding Society, for above two years before this time, it had been avowed, that the object of the society was to form a republic, by the assistance of France. Reform in parliament, or even annual elections, or universal suffrage, were therefore no longer mentioned. Your committee have abundant reason to believe, from the information laid before them, that a person of the name of Atley, (one of the persons arrested in 1791), and who had, for a long time, been secretary to this society, was now acting as their agent at Paris, and had recently given them hopes of the succour of a French army. Meetings were held, to contrive the means of procuring arms, to enable them to co-operate with a French force, in case of an invasion. The leading members of the disaffected societies were also in the habit of frequenting an occasional meeting, which was held at a cellar in Furnival's Inn, and was first formed for the purpose of reading the libellous and treasonable publication, called "The Press." This place gradually became the resort of all those who were engaged the most deeply in the conspiracy. It was particu-

larly attended by Arthur O'Connor and O'Coigly, previous to their attempt to go over to France; and by the persons chiefly instrumental in carrying on correspondence with the Irish conspirators; and secret consultations were repeatedly held there, with a view to projects, which were thought too dangerous and desperate to be brought forward in any of the larger societies. Among these plans, was that of effecting a general insurrection, at the same moment, in the metropolis, and throughout the country, and of directing it to the object of seizing or assassinating the king, the royal family, and many of the members of both houses of parliament. An officer, of some experience in his majesty's service, was selected as their military leader; and sanguine hopes were entertained, that they could command a sufficient force to effect their desperate purpose, in the first instance, by surprise. But, although the apprehension, that they could not as yet collect sufficient numbers to maintain and secure their advantage, appears, for the time, to have deterred them from the attempt; yet the general language, held among these persons, at this period, proved, that they had brought themselves to the opinion that matters were nearly ripe for measures of open violence.

Attempts were, at the same time, made to form, in London, upon the plan of the United Irishmen, the Society of United Englishmen, or United Britons, before referred to; and O'Coigly and John Binns appear to have been leading persons in that design. It was proposed to divide this society into four districts, including a large part of the coast

of this kingdom the most exposed to invasion : and it was also in contemplation to combine the operations of this society with those of the society of United Irishmen ; of which your committee will find it necessary separately to take notice.

Most of the societies through England, which had used to correspond with the London Corresponding Society, had also about this time adopted the same plan of forming societies of United Englishmen ; and finding their communications by writing to be hazardous, they avoided, as far as possible, the keeping any papers ; used ciphers or mysterious words, in the few writings that passed between them, and principally carried on their intercourse by agents, who went from place to place, and were recognized by signs, which were frequently changed. Many ignorant or inconsiderate persons, throughout the country, were gradually involved in these criminal transactions ; and the influence of the destructive principles from which they proceeded, was still farther extended by the establishment of clubs, among the lowest classes of the community, which were open to all persons paying one penny, and in which songs were sung, toasts given, and language held, of the most seditious nature.

Information having been received of a meeting of United Englishmen, to be held at a house in Clerkenwell, warrants of arrest were issued, and persons were apprehended on the 18th of April, 1798. There was found upon the secretary of the London Corresponding Society (who appears to have officiated as president at that meeting) the oath proposed for the United Englishmen, set forth in the Appendix (No. 11) ; another

oath, of the same nature, was found under the table ; and also a printed constitution of the society of United Englishmen, set forth in the Appendix (Nos. 12, and 13).

Information having also been received of an extraordinary meeting of the delegates and secretary of the London Corresponding Society, intended to be assembled at a large room in Wych-street, on the 19th of April, 1798, the persons there assembled were likewise arrested ; and from the discoveries made in consequence of these arrests, the connection between the London Corresponding Society and the London Society of United Englishmen was clearly established.

It appeared, that about forty divisions of United Englishmen had been formed in London ; about twenty of which had their regular places and days of meeting ; and that many similar societies were forming in different parts of the country. With respect to these latter, it was intended that the different counties in Great Britain should respectively be divided into districts ; in each of which a central society was to be established in the principal town, and was to carry on a constant correspondence, both with the smaller societies in that district, and with the general society in London. And this system was so constructed, as to admit of still farther subdivision, if the increase of numbers had been such as the leaders hoped.

It appears to your committee, that the chief progress made in the formation of societies of United Englishmen, was in London and the parts adjacent ; and in Lancashire, and some parts of the west of England and of Wales, more immediately communicating with Ireland, and

in which there were many United Irishmen, either as residents or as fugitives from their country.

At Manchester, and in the adjacent country in particular, the plan of these conspiracies was extending itself in the most alarming manner; and they were much promoted by the activity of the United Irishmen, of whom there are very large numbers resident in that neighbourhood. Great numbers of printed copies of the "Constitution of United Englishmen" have been discovered in Manchester and the neighbourhood; and it is evident that the society was making great progress, when it was checked by the arrest of several of its leaders in 1798.

A society of United Englishmen had been established in and about Manchester before the year 1797. In the beginning of that year it consisted of about fifty divisions, and in the year 1798 had extended to about eighty. Each of these divisions consisted of not less than fifteen members, and was again subdivided when the number of its members exceeded thirty-six. This society has been particularly active in the most wicked attempts to seduce the soldiers in different regiments; for which purpose they adopted a system of more particular secrecy, and it has therefore been difficult to discover the extent of these crimes; but the general good conduct of his majesty's forces, of every description in this kingdom, affords the most satisfactory proof that these diabolical practices have not been successful in any considerable degree. The test used for the soldiers is set forth in the Appendix (No. 14). In other respects the society has followed the United Irish and the United English formed in London, in their constitu-

tion, their test, and their signs of secrecy; and its operations have been conducted with the same mystery, and under the same direction; the whole being governed by the persons who form the committee of United Englishmen, styled "The National Committee of England," who are, apparently, unknown to the rest of the members of the society, though their dictates are implicitly obeyed. They were the more induced to acquiesce in this system, and to obey implicitly the directions of their leaders, from the persuasion with which they appear to have been universally impressed, that persons of higher situations in life afforded them countenance and pecuniary aid; though, from circumstances of caution, those persons had not become actually members of the society; or, if they were members, concealed the fact with considerable care, and did not attend the meetings. In some degree this persuasion may have been well founded; but your committee are induced to think, that some art was used to strengthen this impression, for the purpose of giving greater encouragement to the members in their hopes of final success.

The societies in the country connected with Manchester have been formed into twelve districts, each of which sent a delegate to the committee, called the Country Committee; which appears to have corresponded, not only with the National Committee of England, but also with the National Committee of Ireland.

The intercourse between the United Englishmen in these parts and the United Irish, appears indeed to have been continual; many of the United Irish frequently passing and repassing

repassing between Cheshire or Lancashire, and Ireland, and frequently visiting the English societies. Among the persons who have been thus travelling from one country to the other, your committee have remarked O'Coigly, who repeatedly visited Manchester, Stockport, and other places in the neighbourhood; and particularly in the year 1797, when he was received with marked attention. He came there again in 1798, on his return from Ireland after his journey into France before mentioned. He then wore a military dress, and passed by the name of captain Jones, the same appellation by which he was introduced, by Arthur O'Connor, to Mr. H. Bell, of Charterhouse-square, from whose house O'Connor took his departure, previous to his arrest at Deal. The accounts which have been obtained of his conversation and conduct at Manchester, leave no room to doubt the objects of his different journeys between Great Britain, Ireland, and France, and particularly of his intended journey to France, which was prevented by his arrest; and there appears also little reason to doubt, that many, both of the United Englishmen and United Irish, at Manchester and in its neighbourhood, were aware of the general purport, at least, of his mission, and anxiously expected that assistance from France, of which they received, from him, very strong assurances.

The society at Manchester seems to have been the central society of an extensive district; and to have been managed by a very zealous and active committee. It frequently sent delegates to places in the neighbourhood, and to various parts of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottingham-

shire, and Cheshire. Their correspondence appears to have extended to the most distant parts of England, as well as to Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Liverpool also became the seat of another central society, presiding over a surrounding district, and corresponding with other parts of England, and with Scotland and Ireland; and different emissaries, some of whom were foreigners, about this time were sent through various parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining the numbers and dispositions of the societies of United English and United Irish.

Whilst the societies in England were thus endeavouring to form a society of United Englishmen, or of United Britons, on the model of the Irish Society, attempts were made in Scotland to form a distinct society of "United Scotsmen" on the same plan. And your committee cannot forbear to remark the industry with which it has been attempted in this instance, as well as in others, to separate Scotland as well as Ireland from England, and to found, on the ruins of the established government, three distinct republics of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The attempts to form a society of United Scotsmen had made little progress till the spring of 1797; but from the month of April, 1797, until November following (when a discovery was made in the county of Fife, on which George Mealmaker was brought to trial, and convicted of sedition) these attempts appear to have been attended with more success, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and in the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanerk, Dumbarton, Fife, and Perth. Glasgow,

gow, and the county of Ayr, were the places in which this spirit first manifested itself, and from which emissaries were sent into different parts of the country, for the purpose of increasing the numbers of the society, and disseminating what they termed "political knowledge."

The societies thus formed, in Scotland, appear to have been reduced to a system almost as regular and complete as that which was established in Ireland; the outlines of the plan were the same, and the studied secrecy of the proceedings, and the gradations of the internal arrangement, formed its great characteristic. By a general rule of their association, no society was to consist of more than sixteen members, and when any society had obtained a number of members exceeding sixteen, it was to divide itself into two societies. In some small towns there were three or more such societies, all of which were sometimes assembled, by their individual members, or by a committee from each society: and such assemblies were termed "Parochial Meetings." Each of these Parochial Meetings had a secretary, who was also treasurer; and one or two delegates were chosen to represent the parochial at the county meeting, which was composed of delegates from all the Parochial Meetings, within the county or district, and was held every six weeks. The delegates were elected by ballot; but the ballot was so conducted that no person knew on whom the choice fell, except the secretary and the person chosen. This election was sometimes made, by each member whispering in the ear of the secretary the name of the person for whom he gave his vote; and as there could be no material check on the decla-

ration of the secretary, it is evident that the election of delegates might be managed in any manner most agreeable to the leaders of the society. The meetings called "County Meetings" were not restricted to the known divisions of the counties, but were composed of delegates from Parochial Meetings, within either larger or smaller districts, according to the number of United Scotsmen in each neighbourhood. At the County Meeting, delegates were elected, to represent the societies at a "National Meeting," in the same secret manner as was used for the election of the delegates to the County Meetings; and the place of that meeting was not generally disclosed. The secretary of the County Meeting gave the delegate, when chosen, a small slip of paper, containing the name of a person to whom he was to apply, and who was to take him to the place of the National Meeting. This person was called "The Intermediate." The counties were also distinguished by numbers, and not by their names; and the delegate received, on another slip of paper, the number of the county, and the time appointed for the National Meeting.

The meeting assuming this name was a committee formed of delegates from the county meetings, and assembled every seven weeks; and there the most important business of the society was transacted. This meeting received reports from a secret committee and nominally directed its conduct, but the secret committee really had the chief management. This committee was elected, from amongst the delegates at the national meeting, in the same secret manner as those delegates had been chosen at the county meeting, the

the persons elected being only known to the secretary; and the committee, thus secretly formed, did not disclose itself in the transaction of business; all of which was conducted through the intervention of a person (already noticed) called "The Intermediate;" who delivered their orders, and who was the same person to whom the delegates had been directed to apply for information, respecting the place of assembly of the national meeting. Except therefore to the intermediate, to the secretary, and to each other, the persons composing the secret committee remained wholly unknown.

Every proceeding was involved in the same mysterious secrecy; and though this system of blind obedience had the effect of disgusting and alarming some of the delegates, who perceived themselves to be instruments in the hands of an unknown authority, for purposes, of which the extent was never fully disclosed to them; yet the committee, thus formed, continued to preserve its general influence; disbursing at its pleasure the money collected; giving all orders for the places of the national meetings; sending missionaries, disseminating papers, receiving information, and conducting every part of the business without control.

The national meeting was generally, if not always, held in or near Glasgow; and from reports of what passed at those meetings, it appears that they corresponded with the Society of United Britons, and sent delegates to England, and received delegates from thence. When the meeting broke up, each delegate received a note of the time appointed for the next meeting; which he was to deliver to the secretary of his

own county meeting, when the new delegate was elected.

Their communications with different parts, and particularly with England, were seldom carried on in writing: some papers, however, have been discovered, which clearly show that the society had the most dangerous objects in view; and that some of its members were sanguine enough to profess an opinion, "that if the flattering accounts which they received from London were real, the emancipation of the country was at no great distance, when they should rally round the standard of liberty."

This system of union as well as that of the United Englishmen, was evidently borrowed from Ireland; and there is reason to believe that it was introduced by delegates from that country. Signs were adopted for the purpose of distinguishing the members, as was practised in Ireland; but the knowledge of the signs seems to have been only imperfectly diffused; they never have been generally understood; or having been altered at different times in different places, without concert, were never uniform in all parts of the country.

In their sanguine expectation of success, these conspirators formed wild and extravagant plans of seizing, in the same night, all the leading people over the whole island. If these persons should resist, they were to be put to death; if they submitted quietly, their lives and property were to be spared, but they were to be kept in custody till a new constitution should be formed, which was clearly meant to be conformable to French principles.

An oath or test was formally administered, and printed papers were circulated

circulated under the title of "Resolutions and Constitution of the Society of United Scotsmen," a copy of which is set forth in the Appendix (No. 15).

The measures of this conspiracy were disconcerted by the arrest of Mealmaker, of Dyer, and of Archibald Gray, the latter of whom, after his indictment, escaped to the continent, and has become a member of a society at Hamburgh, which will hereafter be noticed, by the name of "The Philanthropic Society."

In addition to this view of the proceedings of the societies both in England and Scotland, at this period, it is material to remark, that whilst the rebellion was at its height in Ireland, there were found individuals in this country who so strongly manifested their desire to support the cause of the rebels, that they became the objects of criminal prosecution. Among these a man of the name of Martin Dunnovan was indicted, for distributing at Gosport the address stated in the Appendix (No. 16,) intitled, "An Irishman's Address to his Countrymen in England;" the contents of which perhaps might have warranted a prosecution for a higher crime, and are so striking a specimen of the intentions of the disaffected, that although the particular instance relates only to the conduct of one individual, your committee have thought it highly deserving of notice. This man was convicted at the last summer assizes at Winchester, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

In pursuance of the same plan, the United Irishmen in this country have been incessantly labouring to disseminate their principles, both by

means of secret combinations among such of them as have found their way into the naval service, and by extending their societies both in the metropolis and in different parts of the kingdom. The extent to which these practices have prevailed, and (notwithstanding repeated instances of detection and punishment) are still carried on in the fleet, has been fully demonstrated by the evidence which has appeared in a variety of courts martial, the proceedings of which have been laid before your committee, and which contain matter so serious and important, that your committee have thought it right to insert an abstract of them in the Appendix (Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22). It appears that oaths have been tendered by the mutineers to the crew, "to be United Irishmen, equal to their brethren in Ireland, and to have nothing to do with the king or his government:" that they have acted in the professed expectation of assistance from France, with the express view of co-operating, for the expulsion of the protestants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Catholic government; and it has been part of their plan to murder their officers, to seize on the ship, and carry her to France or Ireland.

On another occasion, the oath has been as follows: "I swear to be true to the Free and United Irish, who are now fighting our cause against tyrants and oppressors, and to defend their rights to the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret: and I do agree to carry the ship into Brest the next time the ship looks out ahead at sea, and to kill every officer and man that shall hinder us, except the master: and to hoist a green



green ensign with a harp in it, and afterwards to kill and destroy the Protestants."

The mutineers on board one of his majesty's ships appear to have been engaged in the plan of carrying the ship to France, in expectation that they would there be promoted in proportion to their crimes; that one of their ringleaders was to be appointed captain, and that they were then to proceed with the French against Ireland; and this deep laid villany was disguised and aggravated by a degree of hypocrisy and imposture scarcely to be paralleled: the particulars are stated in the Appendix (No. 20.)

The mutineers in another ship were proved to be connected with corresponding societies at Nottingham. The oath which they attempted to administer was, "to carry the ship into an enemy's port, French, Dutch, or Irish;" and they meant, in the event of being brought into action with an enemy's ship, to shoot their own officers on the quarter-deck.

While these proceedings of the United Irishmen in the fleet exhibit so dreadful a picture of their sanguinary designs, and of the similarity of their views and principles to those which have produced so much calamity and bloodshed in Ireland, their conduct on shore has not been less deserving of the most serious attention. Your committee have no hesitation in stating, on the clearest proof, strongly confirmed by recent circumstances, that among the various bodies enlisted, in any part of Great Britain, for the purposes of sedition and treason, the societies which have been formed by the United Irishmen in this country are in all respects the most formidable,

particularly at the present moment; whether considered with a view to their combination, their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the designs of which they are preparing, in a very short time, to attempt the execution, in direct co-operation with France.

The danger to be apprehended from these societies is much increased, from the constant communication which they maintain with the societies in Ireland; their mutual confidence in each other; and the alarming circumstance of their being at this moment subject to the same secret direction and the same chiefs.

These societies have been instituted not only in London but in different parts of the country, and have formed themselves into subdivisions. In the Appendix (Nos. 23 and 24) are inserted printed forms of certificates of election to the society, which were seized among the papers of a person long engaged in this conspiracy. One of these forms has been framed for a "London Society." The other appears to relate to a society called an "*External Society*." The impression of the seal on the former of them is the same with that of the seal found in the custody of lord Edward Fitzgerald, when he was apprehended. The reference in these certificates to the constitution and the test confirm the unquestionable information which your committee have received, that these societies form a part of the dreadful system which was unhappily established in Ireland. The constitution of the United Irishmen, such as it was acted upon in Ireland, appears to regulate their proceedings; and copies of this constitution have been found in the possession of persons principally concerned in promoting these

these meetings. The views which they entertain at this moment, and the sanguine hopes with which they look to their accomplishment, are apparent in an inflammatory and treasonable paper recently found at one of those meetings, of which government had received intelligence, and the persons present at which were consequently apprehended. This paper is inserted in the Appendix (No. 25). Other papers, seized at the same meeting, strongly confirm the account which your committee have received, that a mode has lately been adopted by these societies (similar to that practised both in Ireland and Scotland), of keeping the accounts of the society, by substituting different numbers for the names of the members. Your committee think it also not immaterial to insert in the Appendix (No. 26) copy of a printed card, which has been found in the possession of different persons, and particularly, among other seditious papers, in that of a person recently apprehended, who, there is reason to believe, has been very lately chosen to act as general secretary to the different societies of United Irishmen now in London. The person named in this card, and the transaction to which it relates, are such as to require no comment.

Your committee have received different accounts of the numbers of this society; but, though their force is probably exaggerated by themselves, for evident reasons, there is sufficient ground for believing that their numbers have been long considerable. Many Irish, ordinarily resident here, chiefly among the lowest classes of the community, have been gradually induced to become members of this society. But

the most active part consists of those Irish rebels who have fled to this country, rendered desperate by their crimes, not daring to return to Ireland, and either unable to make their way to the countries subject to France, or not receiving sufficient encouragement to attempt it, they remain here, waiting for the opportunity of executing those violent and desperate projects to which they have become familiar. And they appear to be under the direction of some persons of a higher class, who sometimes furnish pecuniary aid and form the committee; by means of which a constant correspondence is carried on through Hamburg, with France.

Among these plans, there is good reason to believe, that early in 1798, it was seriously in agitation among the conspirators in Ireland to convey, in small vessels, from Ireland to England, a great number of United Irishmen; and to land them on different parts of the coast, with instructions to divide themselves into small bodies, and to endeavour to make their way to the capital, in the manner least liable to suspicion, under the disguise of those trades and occupations in which the Irish, commonly resorting hither, are principally engaged. Their object is represented to have been that of co-operating with the Corresponding Society in effecting an insurrection in London at the time of the rebellion breaking out in Ireland, for the purpose of distracting the military force, and preventing reinforcements being sent to that country; and the plan is said to have failed, from the Corresponding Society shrinking from the execution of it. About the same period, another project was secretly formed (of

which your committee have received more distinct information) for collecting, at one point, a chosen body of the most determined from among the United Irish employed on the river Thames, to whom a new oath of secrecy, obedience, and fidelity, was to be administered; large rewards were to be promised; they were to be kept wholly ignorant of the precise service they were intended to perform till the moment of its execution, which was to take place as soon as an attack on some part of the coast was announced on the part of the French: they were then to be privately armed with daggers, to be put under leaders of known talents and courage, and formed into three divisions; and were to make an attack, by surprise, at the same moment, on both houses of parliament, on the tower, and on the bank.

The intelligence obtained from time to time by government, respecting the proceedings and plans of the conspirators, the seizure and detention of some of the intended leaders, and perhaps the timidity or reluctance of some of the parties concerned, prevented any open attempt to realize these extravagant designs when they were first in contemplation.

But, notwithstanding the continuance of every precaution, and although these conspirators cannot be ignorant of the prepared and formidable force, and the determined spirit and general loyalty with which such an enterprise would be immediately resisted, your committee have received undoubted proofs that plans of this nature are now, more than ever, in agitation. Attempts are actually making, by agents from Ireland, to concert with the French

government the time for a fresh and general insurrection in Ireland. Intelligence has been received, that in the ports of France the utmost diligence is used in preparing another expedition to co-operate with the rebels in that kingdom. The time for making this attempt seems to be in a great measure fixed. The expectation which appears to be generally entertained among the traitors in Ireland tallies, in this respect, with the intelligence which has been laid before your committee; and this expectation has been particularly communicated from thence to their confederates in this country. It seems to be intended, at the same time, to attempt a diversion by another French force on different parts of the coasts of this kingdom. The manner in which such expeditions are likely to be calculated to advance the ends of the conspirators, both in Great Britain and Ireland, and the species of warfare which the French have had in contemplation, will be sufficiently evident for a reference to the instructions of Tate, who was made prisoner in Wales (which are printed in the Appendix to the Report made last session, on the treatment of prisoners of war), and to those of Humbert, who commanded the force which landed last year in Ireland, and who had also been desired to command an expedition against Cornwall, which are inserted in the Appendix to this Report (Nos. 27 and 28). For the purpose of co-operating with these attempts, and particularly with the same view as that to which the measures before enumerated were directed in the beginning of 1798, that of preventing, if possible, reinforcements being sent from hence to Ireland; it is

also part of the plan, that an effort should be made to create an insurrection in the metropolis, and in some other parts of the kingdom, where these societies are most numerous. Your committee are fully confident, that while plans of this nature continue to be traced and known, and while government retains the means which it at present possesses, such wild and desperate projects may be expected to lead only to consequences destructive to their authors; but your committee are, at the same time, so forcibly struck with the view they have had of this part of the system, and with the peculiar danger continually arising from the society of United Irishmen, which they deem to be in its nature incompatible with the secure maintenance of public tranquillity, that they have thought it necessary to bring it thus distinctly under the immediate consideration of the house.

#### § 8. *Societies at Hamburgh.*

In addition to this mass of treason in Great Britain and in Ireland, your committee find, that, for the purpose of more convenient communication between France and Ireland, a committee of United Irishmen has been formed at Hamburgh. That place has long been the receptacle of those disaffected persons who have fled from Great Britain or Ireland, either from apprehension of the consequences of the treasonable practices in which they have been engaged, or for the purpose of assisting the conspiracies carried on against their respective countries; and with the latter view it has been the centre of a correspondence which has long subsisted among the British and Irish societies

established at that place, as well as in London and Paris; and this correspondence with Great Britain and Ireland has frequently been covered by the pretence of commercial transactions, or of communicating intelligence for the public newspapers.

Hamburgh has also been the resort of the disaffected of every other country, whose intrigues are constantly directed to the object of spreading the principles of jacobinism in Holstein and the north of Germany, and generally in all the northern parts of Europe. Many emissaries, English, Scotch, and Irish, have been dispatched from time to time from Hamburgh to Great Britain and Ireland, and to various parts of the continent, as circumstances required. There has recently been established at Hamburgh, Altona, and the neighbourhood, a society called "The Philanthropic Society," for the purpose of correspondence with the republicans of all countries, upon the plan of the corresponding societies established in Great Britain and Ireland; and whose avowed object is the reform of all kingdoms and states. The leading members of this society, who direct all the rest, compose a committee of about twenty persons, British, French, Dutch, and Germans. The members of the subordinate societies at Hamburgh and Altona, are all under the control of the committee, or principal society before-mentioned. This committee constantly corresponds with Great Britain and Ireland, and all parts of Germany. It has secretaries skilled in different languages, and corresponding agents in different towns, particularly in London. It may become a

formidable engine in the hands of the French directory, and it appears to be making considerable progress; but there is reason to hope that it has at length attracted the notice of the governments of those places.

### *Conclusion.*

Upon a review of all the circumstances which have come under the consideration of your committee, they are deeply impressed with the conviction—that the safety and tranquillity of these kingdoms have, at different periods from the year 1791, to the present time, been brought into imminent hazard, by the traitorous plans and practices of societies, acting upon the principles, and devoted to the views, of our inveterate foreign enemy:

That, although the society of United Irishmen, in Ireland, has alone been enabled to attain its full strength and maturity; yet the societies instituted on similar principles in this country, had all an undoubted tendency to produce similar effects, if they had not been checked by the general demonstrations of the zeal and spirit of his majesty's faithful subjects, and by the timely and judicious use of those extraordinary powers, which parliament has, in its wisdom, from time to time confided to his majesty's government:

That, either directly or indirectly, a continual intercourse and connection has been maintained between all these societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and that the real objects of the instigators of these proceedings, in both kingdoms, were no other than the entire overthrow of the British consti-

tution, the general confiscation of property, and the erection of a democratic republic, founded on the ruins of all religion, and of all political and civil society, and framed after the model of France.

The vigorous resistance opposed to the rebellion in Ireland, the success of the measures which have been employed for detecting and defeating the designs of the conspirators here, and the general and ardent spirit of loyalty and attachment to the laws and constitution, have hitherto counteracted the progress of the mischief, and averted impending danger; but even these circumstances by no means appear to your committee to justify the hope that the mischief is eradicated, or the danger past.

The principles and views of the conspirators remain unchanged. Their reliance on the assistance and co-operation of France, by which they expect ultimately to effect their purposes, continues undiminished; and the system of those secret societies which are at once the instruments of seditious conspiracy at home, and the channel of treasonable correspondence with France, though in many parts broken and interrupted, is by no means destroyed.

Your committee have already referred to the positive information laid before them, stating that hostile preparations are now making, with extraordinary vigour and exertion, in some of the ports of France, for the invasion of this country, or of Ireland. The activity of seditious and treasonable societies, in their correspondence with France, and in their endeavours to gain proselytes here, keeps pace with the preparations of the enemy; and the principle

principle of secrecy, generally enforced by unlawful oaths, which is the great characteristic of these societies, peculiarly fits them for the most desperate enterprises, and, by holding out a prospect of security, increases the means of seduction. It has, at the same time, an obvious tendency to elude detection in the first instance, and to defeat legal inquiry in the next. To this principle therefore, in the opinion of your committee, such farther measures, as parliament in its wisdom may think fit to adopt for the public safety, should be more immediately and decisively pointed.

Your committee have seen, with satisfaction, the powers which, in conformity to the ancient practice and true principles of the constitution, have from time to time, as the exigency required, been confided to his majesty's government; and they feel it their duty particularly to remark, that the power of arresting and detaining suspected persons (a remedy so constantly resorted to by our ancestors in all cases of temporary and extraordinary danger) has, under the present new and unprecedented circumstances, been found particularly efficient. It has greatly interrupted and impeded the correspondence with the enemy, and has checked, from time to time, the progress and communication of sedition and treason at home. But from particular circumstances which have come under the observation of your committee in the course of their inquiry, they feel it their duty to remark, that the good effects of this measure would be rendered more complete, and the public tranquillity better secured, if the leading persons who have been, or may be hereafter detained on suspicion of

treasonable practices shall hereafter be kept in custody in places sufficiently distant from the metropolis.

The whole of the secret information which has been laid before your committee has strongly confirmed them in their opinion of the necessity of confiding these extraordinary powers to his majesty's government; and the very circumstances which create this necessity, and which continue at this time to operate more powerfully than ever, have rendered it their peculiar duty to abstain from disclosing, in its full extent, the particular information, of which they have stated to the house the general result, and on which their judgement is founded; but they trust that they have laid before the house sufficient grounds to justify their persuasion, that the multiplied and various attempts, by which the enemies to their country carry on their dangerous conspiracies, can only be defeated by a corresponding vigilance on the part of government, and by the exercise of such additional powers, as may from time to time be intrusted to it by parliament, and may be best adapted to the peculiar exigency of the moment. And although your committee do not think it any part of their province to suggest particular measures, the consideration of which must be left to the wisdom of parliament, they cannot forbear particularly and earnestly pressing their unanimous opinion, that the system of secret societies, the establishment of which has, in other countries, uniformly preceded the aggression of France, and, by facilitating the progress of her principles, has prepared the way for her arms, cannot be suffered to exist in these kingdoms compatibly with the safety of

their government and constitution, and with their security against foreign force and domestic treason.

Your committee have great satisfaction in adding, that if this growing and formidable evil can be effectually repressed, and if the same system of vigilance and precaution which has been successfully adopted for some years past, is adhered to, there is every reason to look forward with confidence to the ultimate disappointment and defeat of the projects which have been so long pursued by our foreign and domestic enemies. Impressed with a just sense of the blessings enjoyed under our happy constitution, which distinguish this country from every nation in Europe, all ranks and conditions of society have shown their determination to preserve those blessings entire,

and have stood forward with a becoming ardour and alacrity in their defence. While this laudable spirit continues to pervade every part of the kingdom, and while the wisdom of the legislature encourages and directs its exertions for the public safety, your committee entertain a full conviction that the religion, the laws, and the constitution of Great Britain, and with them the interests and happiness of all classes of his majesty's subjects, will, in the midst of surrounding danger and calamity, and in spite of every machination at home or abroad, rest, under the protection of Divine Providence, on the surest basis, secured by the energy and firmness of the government, and by the courage, the patriotism, and the virtue of the nation.\*

*Abstract of the total Amount of the Loans raised by the British Government since the Year 1750.*

1750 — 1,000,000	1767 — 1,500,000	1784 — 6,000,000
51 — 2,100,000	68 — 1,900,000	85 — none
52 — none	69 — none	86 — none
53 — none	70 — none	87 — none
54 — none	71 — none	88 — none
55 — 1,000,000	72 — none	89 — 1,002,500
56 — 2,000,000	73 — none	90 — none
57 — 3,000,000	74 — none	91 — none
58 — 5,000,000	75 — none	92 — none
59 — 6,600,000	76 — 2,000,000	93 — 4,500,000
60 — 8,000,000	77 — 5,000,000	94 — 11,000,000
61 — 12,000,000	78 — 6,000,000	95 — 18,000,000
62 — 12,000,000	79 — 7,000,000	96 — 25,500,000
63 — 3,500,000	80 — 12,000,000	97 — 32,500,000
64 — none	81 — 12,000,000	98 — 17,000,000
65 — none	82 — 13,500,000	99 — 20,500,000
66 — 1,500,000	83 — 12,000,000	

\* We have thought it unnecessary to lay before our readers the Appendix to this Report, which contains only details of the principal facts stated in the body of it.

*Public Acts passed in the Third Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.*

*December 17, 1798.*

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry, for 1799.

For continuing a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff.

To continue the act for preventing and punishing attempts to seduce persons serving in the navy or army from their allegiance.

*December 20.*

To continue the act enabling his majesty to accept the services of such part of the militia as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland.

*December 22.*

An act for raising the sum of three millions by way of annuities.

To enlarge the time limited for the redemption of the land-tax, and to explain and amend the former act.

*January 4, 1799.*

An act for extending the time allowed for taking out certificates for using armorial bearings.

To amend the acts respecting promissory notes and bills of exchange.

To continue the Scotch small note act.

To continue the act respecting merchandise on board of neutral ships, and for regulating the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

*January 9.*

An act to repeal the duties imposed by an act for granting aid and contribution for the prosecution of

the war, and to grant certain duties upon income in lieu thereof.

To continue the act empowering his majesty to secure and detain suspected persons.

For exempting the volunteer corps from being ballotted for the supplementary militia, under certain conditions.

For indemnifying those who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices, &c.

To revive and continue the act for establishing courts of judicature in Newfoundland.

*March 7.*

An act for raising a certain sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

*March 21.*

An act to amend the income-act.

To amend the land-tax redemption act.

To continue the bounties on British and Irish linens exported, and taking off the duties on the importation of foreign raw linen yarns.

*Mutiny-act.*

For the regulation of the marines on shore.

To continue the act for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited sum.

To continue the Scotch small note act.

To continue the act for disallowing the bounty on sail-cloth or canvas exported to Ireland.

To revive and continue the act for prohibiting the importation of cambrics and French lawns, except warehoused for exportation.

To repeal part of the provisional cavalry act.

*April 10.*

An act to continue the Scotch distillery act.

N 4

To



To permit ships to sail from Newfoundland without convoy.

*April 19.*

An act for raising a farther sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

For amending the game-act respecting partridges.

*May 10.*

An act for raising an additional sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

For enlarging the time for the redemption of the land-tax.

For extending the time of the income-tax.

For amending three acts relative to the redemption of the land-tax.

To amend the act imposing stamp-duties on attornies' indentures.

For exempting the volunteer corps and associations from being ballotted for the militia, under certain conditions.

To continue the importation of rape-seed, and seal-skins, and the duties on glass.

For remedying certain defects in the law respecting offences committed upon the high seas.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers, &c. on quartering soldiers.

*May 20.*

An act to continue the act for securing and detaining suspected persons, until March, 1800.

For making perpetual the act to explain and amend the laws relating to the punishment of felons, as far as relates to the burning in the hand.

For making perpetual such part of the same act as relates to the lodgings of judges at country assizes.

*June 13.*

An act for permitting certain East-India goods to be warehoused, and

for repealing the duties, and granting other duties in lieu thereof.

To continue the promissory note act.

To continue the small Scotch note act.

For indemnifying the governors, &c. of the West-India islands for permitting the importation and exportation of goods in foreign bottoms.

To extend the bail given in cases of criminal information in Scotland.

To make perpetual the act for the relief of debtors.

For continuing the act for the transportation of felons, and the removal of offenders to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland respectively.

For continuing the act relating to penitentiary houses.

To continue the act for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

To explain the act relating to colliers in Scotland.

For encouraging the improvement of lands subject to the servitude of thirlage in Scotland.

To grant indemnity for penalties incurred under the tanners' act, and to repeal certain parts of the said act relating to the buying of hides.

*June 21.*

An act for raising 15,500,000*l.* by annuities.

To repeal the duty on Prussian yarns.

For regulating the rates of portage in London, Westminster, and Southwark.

To amend the Scotch militia-act.

*July 1.*

Act to grant additional duties on sugar and coffee.

For

For granting to his majesty 200,000*l.* to be placed to the account of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt.

For allowing a bounty on pilchards, and transferring the salt duties to the excise.

For regulating the salaries of the Scotch sheriffs.

To enable a person appointed to the office of baron of the exchequer to take upon himself the degree of a serjeant-at-law.

July 12.

Act to raise a sum by lottery.

For raising three millions.

For raising 3,500,000*l.* by loans or exchequer-bills.

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by the same.

For repealing the salt-duties, and granting others.

For postage on ship-letters.

To continue the Scotch distillery-act.

To enable the lords of the treasury to issue exchequer-bills on the credit of the income-tax.

For altering the time for making up the duties on vellum, parchment, and paper stamped.

To amend the income-act.

For exempting certain public bodies from the legacy-duty.

For regulating the spirit-licence-act.

To repeal so much of the act of queen Anne, &c. as puts an end to the forfeiture of inheritances upon attainder of treason, after the death of the pretender and his sons.

To continue the act for farming the post-horse-duty.

To regulate the importation of goods from foreign colonies in America.

For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia.

To allow the importation of Spanish wool.

For suppressing seditious and treasonable societies.

For regulating the carrying of slaves from the coast of Africa.

To prevent unlawful combinations of workmen.

For purchasing the duke of Richmond's coal-duty.

An act to regulate the quarantine of the Levant trade.

To continue certain laws respecting the Greenland-fishery.

To revive and continue certain laws respecting the British-fisheries, and Newfoundland fishery.

For prohibiting the exportation of corn.

To regulate the East India shipping.

To protect masters against embezzlements by their clerks or servants.

For a grant to his majesty out of the consolidated fund.

For granting certain stamp-duties on bill of exchange and promissory notes.

For augmenting the judges' salaries in England and Scotland.

To amend the land-tax redemption act.

For reducing the militia forces, and augmenting the regulars.

To permit the importation of certain naval stores from Germany.

For recruiting the forces of the East-India company.

To enable his majesty, by order in council, to permit the importation of certain goods in neutral ships.

*An accurate Extract of the Prices of the Quartern Loaf, Wheaten Bread, at the Commencement and Conclusion of the several Mayoralties herein stated, from the Year 1735, to the present Time.*

The Price at the Commencement of each Mayoralty shows the Price at the Conclusion of the preceding Mayoralty.

Nov. 9.	MAYORS.	Price of the quartern loaf, wheaten.	Weight of the penny loaf, wheaten.	Nov. 9.	MAYORS.	Price of the quartern loaf, wheaten.	Weight of the penny loaf, wheaten.
		d.	lb. oz. dr.			d.	oz. dr.
1735	Williams	5½	0 12 10	1768	Turner	6½	10 11
—36	Thompson	5¼	0 12 1	—69	Beckford*	6	11 9
—37	Barnard	5½	0 12 10	—70	Croffley	6½	10 10
—38	Perry	5¼	0 13 3	—71	Nash	7¼	9 9
—39	Salter	6	0 11 9	—72	Townsend	8	8 11
—40	Parsons*	7½	0 9 4	—73	Bull	7½	9 4
—41	Godschall*	5½	0 13 3	—74	Wilkes	8	8 11
—42	Wilmot	4¼	0 14 10	—75	Sawbridge	6½	11 1
—43	Westley†	4¼	1 0 5	—76	Hallifax	6½	10 11
—44	Marshall	4½	1 0 5	—77	Esdaile	7½	9 4
—45	Hoare	4½	0 14 10	—78	Plumbe	6½	11 1
—46	Benn	5½	0 12 10	—79	Kennet	5¼	13 1
—47	Ladbroke	5	0 13 14	—80	Lewes	7½	9 4
—48	Calvert	6	0 11 9	—81	Plomer	7	9 4
—49	Pennant*	5¼	0 13 3	—82	Newnham	8¼	8 6
—50	Cockayne	5	0 13 14	—83	Peckham	7¼	9 9
—51	Winterbottom*	6	0 11 9	—84	Clarke	7½	9 4
—52	Gascoyne	5½	0 12 10	—85	Wright	6½	10 11
—53	Ironside*	6	0 11 9	—86	Sainsbury	6	11 9
—54	Janßen	5	0 13 14	—87	Burnell	6½	10 11
—55	Bethell	5	0 13 14	—88	Gill	6½	10 11
—56	Dickenfont†	7½	0 9 4	—89	Pickett	7¼	8 15
—57	Afgill	7½	0 9 4	—90	Boydell	7¼	9 9
—58	Glyn	6	0 11 9	—91	Hopkins	6½	10 11
—59	Chitty	5	0 13 4	—92	Sanderfon	7¼	9 2
—60	Blackiston	5½	0 12 10	—93	Le Mesurier	7¼	9 4
—61	Fluyder	4½	0 15 7	—94	Skinner	7¼	8 15
—62	Beckford	5½	0 12 10	—95	Curtis†	12¼	5 10
—63	Bridgen	6	0 11 9	—96	Watfon	8¼	7 15
—64	Stephenfon	6½	0 10 11	—97	Anderfon	9¼	7 8
—65	Nelson	7	0 9 14	—98	Glynn	8	8 11
—66	Kite	8	0 8 11	—99	Combe	13	5 5
—67	Harley	8¼	0 8 6				

\* Died in their Mayoralty.—Parsons succeeded by Lambert, 1740. Godschall, by Heathcote, 1741. Pennant, by Blackford, 1749. Winterbottom, by Alfop, 1751. Ironside, by Rawlinfon, 1753. Beckford, by Trecothick, 1769.

† Westley, 1743, bread for two weeks, at 4d. the quartern loaf, in this mayoralty. Dickenfon, 1756, bread at 9½d. four weeks. Curtis, 1795, five weeks, at 15d. the penny loaf weighed 4 oz. 10 drs.

AVERAGE

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 187

## AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN FOR 1799.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
January . . . .	6	2	3	7	2	5	4	0
February . . . .	6	2	3	6	2	2	4	2
March . . . . .	6	3	3	7	2	6	4	2
April . . . . .	6	8	3	7	2	9	4	4
May . . . . .	7	7	4	6	3	4	4	9
June . . . . .	7	11	4	5	3	11	5	3
July . . . . .	8	4	4	6	3	10	5	5
August . . . . .	9	1	4	10	4	0	5	10
September . . . .	9	5	4	11	4	0	6	10
October . . . . .	10	5	5	2	4	0	6	7
November . . . .	11	3	5	3	4	0	7	6
December . . . .	11	8	5	8	4	0	7	7
General Average	8	5	4	5½	3	5	5	6½

*Account of the Import of Foreign Wheat into the Port of London, from the 1st of January, 1781, to 1799, presented to the House of Lords :*

	Quarters. Bushels.			Quarters. Bushels.	
1781 —	93,270	0	1791 —	49,504	5
1782 —	4,635	6	1792 —	7,065	5
1783 —	240,134	3	1793 —	170,971	3
1784 —	36,966	5	1794 —	10,654	5
1785 —	605	0	1795 —	108,911	5
1786 —	—	4	1796 —	477,877	6
1787 —	—	6	1797 —	195,462	6
1788 —	4	5	1798 —	152,449	0
1789 —	5,908	0	1799 —	233,208	4
1790 —	67,032	0			

PRICES

*An accurate Extract of the Prices of the Quartern Loaf, Commencement and Conclusion of the several Mayoralty, the Year 1735, to the present Time.*

The Price at the Commencement of each Mayoralty shews the Price at the Con-

Nov. 9.	MAYORS.	Price of the quartern loaf, wheaten.	Weight of the penny loaf, wheaten.	Nov. 9.	MAYORS.
		d. lb. oz. dr.			
1735	Williams	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 12 10	1768	Turner
—36	Thompson	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 12 1	—69	Beckford
—37	Barnard	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 12 10	—70	Croftley
—38	Perry	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 13 3	—71	Nash
—39	Salter	6	0 11 9	—72	Townshend
—40	Parsons*	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 9 4	—73	Ball
—41	Godschall*	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 13 3	—74	Wilkes
—42	Wilmot	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 14 10	—75	Sawbridge
—43	Westley†	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0 5	—76	Hallifax
—44	Marshall	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 0 5	—77	Eldon
—45	Hoare	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 14 10	—78	Plumbe
—46	Benn	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 12 10	—79	Kennel
—47	Ladbroke	5	0 13 14	—80	Lewes
—48	Calvert	6	0 11 9	—81	Plomer
—49	Pennant*	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 13 3	—82	Newman
—50	Cockayne	5	0 13 14	—83	Peckham
—51	Winterbottom*	6	0 11 9	—84	Clarke
—52	Gascoyne	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 12 10	—85	Wright
—53	Ironside*	6	0 11 9	—86	Saintsbury
—54	Janßen	5	0 13 14	—87	Burnes
—55	Bethell	5	0 13 14	—88	—
—56	Dickenfont†	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 9 4	—89	—
—57	Algill	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 9 4	—90	—
—58	Glyn	6	0 11 9		
—59	Chitty	5	0 13 4		
—60	Blackiston	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 12 10		
—61	Flayder	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 13 7		
—62	Beckford	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 12 10		
—63	Bridgen	6	0 11 9		
—64	Stephenson				
—65	Nelson				
—66	Kite				
—67	—				

## OF CORN FOR

Year	Area	Area
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following Years :

32	£ 19,659,000
33	19,256,000
34	22,288,000
35	22,736,000
36	23,187,000
37	21,013,000
38	25,654,000
	<hr/>
	153,793,000
etc	<hr/>
- - -	21,970,000
	17,740,000
	<hr/>
all 7 years	4,230,000

the following Years :

mm-	Total.
1.	
000	16,086,000
000	16,300,000
000	16,869,000
000	17,472,000
000	19,340,000
000	20,120,000
000	22,731,000
	<hr/>
9,000	128,918,000
	<hr/>
40,000	18,416,000
	<hr/>
36,000	24,904,000
92,000	20,390,000
25,000	26,734,000
27,000	27,312,000
102,000	30,518,000
903,000	28,917,000
771,000	33,800,000
	<hr/>
1256,000	192,575,000
	<hr/>
1322,000	27,510,000
1314,300	18,416,000
	<hr/>
4,008,000	9,094,000
	<hr/>

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1799.

Thermometer without.				Thermometer within			Barometer.			Hygrometer.			Rain.
Greatest Height.	Leaf Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	Greatest Height.	Leaf Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Leaf Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Leaf Height.	Mean Height.	Inches.
Deg.	Deg.	Deg.		Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	
50	23	35,6	55	41	49,0	30,43	29,25	28,38	29,98	86	61	79,1	0,949
56	22	33,7	60	42	51,0	30,26	29,31	29,84	29,70	92	57	75,2	2,235
56	28	39,4	62	49	53,6	30,23	29,31	29,84	29,84				0,433
56	30	44,7	58	47	54,3	30,23	28,75	29,62	28,75				1,671
70	40	53,2	62	54	58,7	30,38	29,33	29,84	29,84				1,749
77	49	59,4	67	58	62,1	30,41	29,18	30,04	30,04				0,552
77	52	63,1	68	62	64,9	30,18	29,22	29,82	29,82				2,913
72	51	61,1	66	62	63,3	30,12	29,26	29,81	29,81	78	45	59,8	2,209
August . . .	46	57,2	67	60	62,1	30,40	29,04	29,82	29,82	83	45	63,9	2,824
September . .	35	49,7	63	55	59,5	30,37	29,34	29,80	29,80	88	53	69,4	2,191
October . . .	32	45,0	60	53	56,1	30,40	28,82	29,87	29,87	87	55	71,9	1,587
November . .	50	34,7	57	43	50,4	30,54	29,19	29,93	29,93	85	60	71,1	0,349
December . .													
Whole Year		48,5			57,1			29,84	29,84				19,662

1799.

January . .  
 February . .  
 March . . .  
 April . . .  
 May . . . .  
 June . . . .  
 July . . . .  
 August . . .  
 September . .  
 October . . .  
 November . .  
 December . .

AGE.

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 189

## Total Value of Imports into Great Britain, in the following Years :

In the year 1785	£ 15,94,8000	In the year 1792	£ 19,659,000
1786	15,786,000	1793	19,256,000
1787	17,804,000	1794	22,288,000
1788	18,027,000	1795	22,736,000
1789	17,821,000	1796	23,187,000
1790	19,130,000	1797	21,013,000
1791	19,669,000	1798	25,654,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Average of these	124,185,000	Average of these	153,793,000
7 years - - -	17,740,000	7 years - - -	21,970,000
			<hr/>
			17,740,000
			<hr/>
			Excess in the last 7 years 4,230,000

## Total Value of Exports from Great Britain, in the following Years :

	Foreign Ma- nufactures.	British Man- ufactures.	Total.
In the year 1785	5,004,000	11,082,000	16,086,000
1786	4,470,000	11,830,000	16,300,000
1787	4,815,000	12,053,000	16,869,000
1788	4,747,000	12,724,000	17,472,000
1789	5,561,000	13,779,000	19,340,000
1790	5,199,000	14,221,000	20,120,000
1791	5,921,000	16,810,000	22,731,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Average of these	35,717,000	93,195,000	128,918,000
7 years - - -	5,102,000	13,314,000	18,416,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
In the year 1792	6,568,000	18,336,000	24,904,000
1793	6,497,000	13,892,000	20,390,000
1794	10,008,000	16,725,000	26,734,000
1795	10,785,000	16,527,000	27,312,000
1796	11,416,000	19,102,000	30,518,000
1797	12,013,000	16,903,000	28,917,000
1798	14,023,000	19,771,000	33,800,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Average of these	71,315,000	121,256,000	192,575,000
7 years - - -	10,187,000	17,322,000	27,510,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5,102,000	19,314,300	18,416,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Excess in the last			
7 years - - -	5,085,000	4,008,000	9,094,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>



METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1799.

	Thermometer without.				Thermometer within				Barometer.				Hygrometer.				Rain.
	Greatest Height.	Leaf Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	Greatest Height.	Leaf Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	Greatest Height.	Leaf Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	Greatest Height.	Leaf Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	
1799.																	
January . .	50	23	35,6	55	41	49,0	30,43	29,25	29,98	86	61	79,1	86	61	79,1	0,949	
February . .	56	22	33,7	60	42	51,0	30,26	28,88	29,70	92	57	75,2	92	57	75,2	2,235	
March . .	56	28	39,4	62	49	53,6	30,23	29,31	29,84							0,433	
April . .	56	30	44,7	58	47	54,3	30,23	28,75	29,62							1,671	
May . .	70	40	53,2	62	54	58,7	30,38	29,33	29,84							1,749	
June . .	77	49	59,4	67	53	62,1	30,41	29,18	30,04							0,552	
July . .	77	52	63,1	68	62	64,9	30,18	29,22	29,82							2,913	
August . .	72	51	61,1	66	62	63,3	30,12	29,26	29,81				78	45	59,8	2,209	
September .	71	46	57,2	67	60	62,1	30,40	29,04	29,82				83	45	63,9	2,824	
October . .	63	35	49,7	63	55	59,5	30,37	29,34	29,80				88	53	69,4	2,191	
November .	58	32	45,0	60	53	56,1	30,40	28,82	29,87				87	55	71,9	1,587	
December .	50	17	34,7	57	43	50,4	30,54	29,19	29,93				85	60	71,1	0,349	
Whole Year			48,5			57,1			29,84								19,662

# A GENERAL BILL

## OF

### CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

FROM DECEMBER 11, 1798, to DECEMBER 10, 1799.

Christened { Males 10087 } 18970. Buried { Males 9046 } 18134.  
 { Females 8883 } { Females 9088 }

Increased in the burials this year, 21.

Died under 2 years	- 5211	30 and 40	- 1724	70 and 80	- 1125	101 - 2
Between 2 and 5	- 1790	40 and 50	- 1924	80 and 90	- 456	105 - 0
5 and 10	- 644	50 and 60	- 1758	90 and 100	- 63	108 - 0
10 and 20	- 573	60 and 70	- 1585	100 - -	- 0	117 - 0
20 and 30	- 1299					

DISEASES.							
<b>A</b> Bortive and still		906	Palpitation of the	Bruised	2		
born 580		1	heart	Burnt	13		
Abcess 27		1	Palsy	105	Drowned	99	
Aged 1343		5	Pleurisy	14	Excessive drinking	5	
Ague 3		1784	Qzinsy	1	Executed *	12	
Amputation		3	Rash	1	Found dead	10	
Apoplexy and sudden-ly 249		5	Rheumatism	3	Fractured	2	
Asthma and Phthi- sic 663		5	Rickets	0	Frighted	2	
Bedridden 2		23	Scurvy	3	Frozen	2	
Bleeding 16		91	Small pox	111	Killed by falls and fe- veral other acci- dents	64	
Bursten and rup- ture 20		11	Sore throat	12	Killed themselves	28	
Cancer 48		4	Stomach	2	Killed by a cow	0	
Childbed 131		6	St. Anthony's fire	0	Killed by fighting	0	
Colds 14		76	Stoppage in the stom- mach	11	Murdered	3	
Colick, gripes, and twisting of the guts 8		78	St. Vitus's Dance	1	Poisoned	6	
Consumption 4843		1	Swine pox	2	Scalded	2	
Convulsions 3794		1	Teeth	335	Shot	1	
Cough and whooping cough 451		433	Thrush	35	Smothered	1	
Cramp, Croup 16		1	Tumor in the womb	0	Starved	4	
Diabetes 1		1	Vomiting and loose nefs	11	Sprain	0	
		10	Worms	11	Strangled	0	
		107			Suffocated	7	
		1			Tooth-ach	0	
		233					
		3					
		226					

## CASUALTIES.

**B** It by a mad dog 2  
 Broken limbs 4

Total 269

\* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 25; of which number 12 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

SUPPLIES

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1799.

## NAVY.

£ s. d.

November 27, 1798.

That 120,000 seamen be employed, including 20,000 marines.

For wages for ditto . . . . .	2,886,000	0	0
For victuals for ditto . . . . .	2,964,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve, . . . . .	4,680,000	0	0
For ordnance sea-service on board such ships . . . . .	390,000	0	0

December 3.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers . . . . .	729,063	6	7
For buildings and repairs of ships, and other extra works . . . . .	693,750	0	0

June 25, 1799.

For the expense of the transport-service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health . . . . .	1,311,200	0	0
	<u>£ 13,654,013</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>

## ARMY.

December 3, 1798.

That 52,051 men be employed for land-service, including 5,766 invalids.			
For guards, garrisons, and other land-forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, and in Ireland . . . . .	1,977,253	7	10
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Portugal, the Cape of Good Hope, those on special services, and a corps of foot in New South Wales . . . . .	861,653	10	3
For difference between the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service abroad . . . . .	42,901	19	0
For four troops of dragoons, and twenty companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain, for recruiting regiments serving in East India . . . . .	29,124	3	4
			For

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 193

For recruiting and contingencies for land-forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	£	s.	d.
	185,000	0	0
For general and staff-officers, and officers of hospitals	114,144	5	5
For full pay to supernumerary officers	41,741	16	0
For allowantes to the paymaster-general of the forces, commissary-general of the musters, &c. &c.	123,006	13	3
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers; and others, on quartering soldiërs	220,000	0	0
For reduced officers of land-forces and marines	169,379	7	1
For allowances to reduced horse guards	20	12	11
On account of officers late in the service of the states-general	1,000	0	0
Ditto - - - of reduced officers of British American forces	52,500	0	0
For allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	7,500	0	0
For the in and out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, and the expenses of the hospital	142,688	11	3
For pensions to widows of commissioned officers	18,591	3	3
For expenses expected to be incurred in the barrack-master-general's department	622,478	0	0
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain	173,735	18	7

June 25, 1799.

To defray the extraordinary services of the army for 1799	2,500,000	0	0
	£ 7,277,319	8	2

## MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

December 3, 1798.

For the embodied militia of Great Britain, the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, and several corps of fencible infantry	3,139,908	10	8
For contingencies for the embodied militia, and corps of fencible infantry	60,000	0	0
For clothing for the embodied militia, and corps of miners	279,934	19	2
For corps of fencible cavalry	418,440	5	8
For extra feed for ditto	25,000	0	0
For the embodied provisional cavalry	109,151	3	8
For the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry	500,000	0	0

June 13, 1799.

Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.
Ditto - - - for allowances to subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace.

£ 4,532,434 19 2

## 196 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

	£	s.	d.
Ditto, for purchase of the old goal in the county of Surrey, for the purpose of converting the same into a court and prison for the Marshalsea	4,214	12	0
Ditto, for making up, and publishing weekly, returns of the average price of sugar	897	6	0
Ditto, to Mr. Baldwin, for his attendance in the house of peers, on the trial of Mr. Hastings	261	15	6
Ditto, for allowances and salaries to additional clerks in the office of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts	2,762	15	0
Ditto, for disbursements on account of the settlement at New South Wales	529	12	0
Ditto, for expenses of alterations at the house of the speaker	849	16	3½
Ditto, for expenses attending the parliament-office	412	9	10
Ditto, for the purchase of a house, for an office of one of the secretaries of state	7,878	3	0
Ditto, to pay the expense of the police-office in Wapping	1,437	6	6
Ditto, to defray extraordinary expenses of prosecutions relating to the coin	300	0	0
Ditto, for completing the indexes to the rolls of parliament, and to the journals of the house of lords	1,955	18	0
Ditto, for making a survey of the Isle of Dogs, and several plans and estimates of docks, and other works; and for executing copper-plates of the plans thereof	411	3	9
Ditto, for salaries to officers, and incidental expenses of the commission for reducing the national debt	1,731	16	0
Ditto, for incidental expenses attending the execution of the act for sale of the land-tax	600	0	0
Ditto, for a clerk employed on various businesses and references relative to American claims	121	11	6
For the works and repairs of the military roads and bridges in North Britain	4,000	0	0
For supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	20,000	0	0
To enable his majesty to purchase the collection of natural history belonging to the late Dr. John Hunter, for the use of the public	15,000	0	0

June 25.

To enable his majesty to make remittances, to be applied to his service in Ireland, on provision being made by the parliament of that kingdom, for defraying the interest and charges of a loan to that amount	3,000,000	0	0
Ditto,			

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 197

Ditto, to make good the sums which may be awarded under the seventh article of the treaty with America, to be paid by the British government	£	s.	d.
	60,000	0	0
Ditto, to make indemnification to earl St. Vincent and sir Charles Grey, on account of decrees against them for the detention of American ships	35,000	0	0
To be paid to William Ashforth, and others, being the amount of the first payments on the sum subscribed to the loan of 7,500,000 <i>l.</i> in 1796, by Robert Roeses, stock-broker, and which became forfeited to the public, by his omitting to make the future payments	4,275	16	0

June 27.

For the purchase of ground for erecting a penitentiary house for convicts, and towards the expense of erecting the same	36,000	0	0
	£ 6,105,310	14	6½

## NATIONAL DEBT.

June 8, 1799.

To the bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0
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## EXCHEQUER-BILLS.

June 8, 1799.

To make good the sums paid for principal and interest of certain exchequer-bills, charged on the supplies of 1797	153,148	10	7
Ditto, the interest paid on exchequer-bills, raised on the credit of the loan of 18,000,000 <i>l.</i> , granted for 1797	114,037	16	3½
Ditto, the sums paid for interest on exchequer-bills, granted for 1798	210,071	5	11½

June 13.

For payment of interest due to the bank, on sundry exchequer-bills, and for advances on bills of exchange drawn on the lords of the treasury	465,759	16	11½
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June 18.

For paying off exchequer-bills, made out by virtue of act of last session, for raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> thereby	3,000,000	0	0
	0	3	Ditto,

# 198 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

Ditto, by virtue of act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of 1,000,000 <i>l</i> .	£	s.	d.
	1,000,000	0	0
Ditto, by virtue of act for raising an additional sum thereby	3,000,000	0	0
	<u>£ 8,443,017</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9½</u>

## VOTE OF CREDIT.

June 8, 1799.

To enable his majesty to enter into such farther engagements, and take such measures, as may be best adapted to the exigency of affairs	3,000,000	0	0
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## RECAPITULATION.

Navy	13,654,013	6	7
Army	7,277,319	8	2
Militia and fencible corps	4,532,434	19	2
Ordnance	1,570,827	5	0
Miscellaneous services	6,105,510	14	8½
National debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer-bills	8,443,017	9	9½
Vote of credit	3,000,000	0	0
Total supplies	<u>£ 44,782,923</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4½</u>

## WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

### ANNUAL GRANTS.

November 30, 1798.

For continuing certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff; and for raising four shillings in the pound upon pensions, offices, and personal estates	2,000,000	0	0
For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry	750,000	0	0

June 18, 1799.

That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land-tax			
That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the same			
	<u>£ 2,750,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

EXTRA-

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 199

## EXTRAORDINARY AIDS.

	£	s.	d.
December 11, 1798.			
For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by annuities . . . . .	3,000,000	0	0
February 23, 1799.			
For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills . . . . .	3,000,000	0	0
April 8.			
For raising 1,500,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills . . . . .	1,500,000	0	0
April 18.			
For applying 521,890 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 7½ <i>d.</i> being part of the surplus of the consolidated fund, on the 5th of April, 1799 . . . . .	521,890	16	7½
May 2.			
For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills . . . . .	3,000,000	0	0
June 8.			
For raising 15,500,000 <i>l.</i> by annuities . . . . .	15,500,000	0	0
June 13.			
For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills . . . . .	3,000,000	0	0
June 17.			
For raising 703,541 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by a lottery . . . . .	703,541	13	4
June 18.			
For applying 3,229,000 <i>l.</i> out of the moneys that shall arise of the surplus of the consolidated fund . . . . .	3,229,000	0	0
June 20.			
For raising 3,500,000 <i>l.</i> by exchequer-bills . . . . .	3,500,000	0	0
For raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i> by ditto . . . . .	3,000,000	0	0
June 25.			
For applying 34,145 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> remaining in the hands of the paymaster-general of the forces, out of the sum granted for defraying the extraordinary ex- penses of the army, for 1799 . . . . .	34,145	2	9
	39,988,577	12	8½
Annual grants . . . . .	2,750,000	0	0
Total of ways and means . . . . .	£ 42,738,577	12	8½

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TAXES.



## TAXES.

## 1. INCOME DUTY.

December 4, 1798.

Charging annually, during a term to be limited, certain proportional duties upon Income from 60*l.* to 200*l.*; whether any such income shall arise from lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or from any kind of personal property, or other property whatever; or from any profession, office, employment, trade, or vocation: and one-tenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 200*l.* and upwards.

## 2. DUTIES ON SUGAR AND COFFEE.

June 8, 1799.

For charging an additional duty of 8*d.* per cwt. on brown and muscovado sugar, of the British plantations, imported.

Ditto of 4*s.* per cwt. on white, or clayed sugar, ditto.

Ditto of 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. on sugar, not of the British plantations, imported and warehoused, upon the delivery of the same, out of warehouse, for exportation.

Ditto of 6*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. on sugar imported by the East-India company, ditto.

That 2*s.* 6*d.* part of the drawback now allowed on the exportation of every hundred weight of sugar exported in the same state in which it was imported; and also on the exportation of every hundred weight of sugar called bastards, and ground or powdered sugar, and refined East sugar broken in pieces, and all sugar called candy; be no longer paid or allowed.

That 4*s.* part of the drawback now allowed on the exportation of every hundred weight of any other refined sugar, be no longer paid or allowed.

For charging an additional duty of 4*s.* per cwt. on coffee, imported and warehoused, upon the delivery of the same, out of warehouse, for exportation.

June 13.

For charging an additional duty of 8*d.* per cwt. on brown and muscovado sugar imported by the East-India company.

## 3. DUTIES ON BILLS OF EXCHANGE, AND NOTES.

June 8, 1799.

For charging a duty of 2*d.* on bills of exchange, and notes, where the sum expressed therein, or made payable thereby, shall not amount to forty shillings.

June 11.

For charging a duty of 2*d.* upon notes under forty shillings, which may be re-issuable from time to time, after payment at the place where first issued. Ditto of 4*d.* upon notes under forty shillings, which may be re-issued from time to time, after payment at the same or any other place than where first issued.

STATE

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. \*197

## GENERAL VIEW.

*Result of the year 1796-7, collectively.*

<i>Revenues</i> —Bengal	£ 5,703,906	
Madras	1,996,328	
Bombay	315,987	
		8,016,171
<i>Charges</i> —Bengal	3,868,942	
Madras	2,408,492	
Bombay	841,825	
		7,113,259
Nett revenues of the three Presidencies		902,912
Deduct supplies of Bencoolen, &c.		101,190
Remainder		801,722
Deduct farther interest paid on debts.		
Bengal	352,325	
Madras	37,040	
Bombay	37,482	
		426,847
Nett surplus from the Territorial revenues		£ 374,875
Add		
Amount sales of imports, certificates, &c.		381,988
Amount applicable to purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.		756,813
Amount actually advanced for purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of the China investment,		
At Bengal	£ 1,202,394	
Madras	642,048	
Bombay	286,913	
Bencoolen	18,183	
		2,149,538
Exceeds amount applicable from revenues as before		1,392,723
Cargoes invoiced to Europe in 1796-7, with charges		1,877,432

## GENERAL VIEW.

*Result of Estimates 1797-8, collectively.*

<i>Revenues</i> —Bengal	£ 5,743,848	
Madras	2,334,676	
Bombay	319,101	
		8,397,625
		<i>Charges</i>

# 1198 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

<i>Charges</i> —Bengal	3,893,991
Madras	2,482,858
Bombay	844,050
	<hr/> 7,220,979

Nett estimated revenue of the three Presidencies	1,176,746
Deduct	
Supplies of Bencoolen, &c.	85,840

Remainder	1,090,906
Deduct farther	
Interest on the debts	576,775

Add	514,131
Estimated amount, sales of imports, and certificates, &c.	500,336

Amount estimated to be applicable in 1797-8, to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.	1,014,467
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## DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	7,146,084
Amount this year	9,294,539

Increase	2,148,455
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Debts transferred in the year	544,402
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## *Debts bearing Interest.*

Amount last year	5,590,142
Amount this year	7,479,162

Interest of debt bearing interest	1,889,020
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Amount of interest payable by accounts of last year	419,345
Amount of interest payable by accounts of this year	576,775

Increase of interest payable annually	157,430
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## ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, &c. last year	8,958,669
Ditto by the present statement	10,531,145

Increase of assets	1,572,476
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Deduct	
Increase of assets from the above increase of debts—the state of the Company's affairs of India is worse by	575,979

HOME

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 199

## HOME ACCOUNTS.

Aggregate amount of sales	6,053,401
Less than last year	£ 2,108,908
Difference in Company's goods alone	1,431,488
Private trade more than last year	30,746
Remaining difference in sale of Dutch goods	
Sales of Company's goods, estimated at	6,282,282
Actually amounted to	4,718,822
Less than estimated	1,556,060
Receipts on sale of Company's goods, estimated at	6,555,116
Actually amounted to	5,946,468
Receipt less than estimated	608,648
Charges and profit on private trade, estimated at	196,000
Actually amounted to	115,808
Less than estimate	80,192

## GENERAL RESULT.

Balance at close of year 1797-8, expected to be against the Company	1,836,326
Actual balance in consequence of issue of bonds, of aid by loans, and of smaller payments for freight, &c. than expected, was in favour	540,646
Making the balance of cash better than estimated	2,376,966

## ESTIMATES, 1798-9.

Receipt for sales of Company's goods	5,905,927
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## RESULT.

After calculating on a payment to the bank, amounting to 800,000 <i>l</i> . and a large sum for freight, without reckoning an increase of capital, issue of bonds or loans, the balance against the Company, on 1st of March, 1799, expected to be	1,518,957
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## DEBTS AT HOME.

In March, 1797	7,918,559
In March, 1798	7,288,692
	Decrease

# \*200 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1899.

	£
Decrease	132,069
Assets at home and abroad on the 1st of March, 1797	12,476,719
Ditto on the 1st of March, 1798	13,213,370
Increase	732,597
Adding increase of assets to the above decrease of debts, the state of affairs at home appears better	1,366,322

## CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance in China last year in favour	£ 279,250
Ditto this year against	716,943
Difference at China against	998,193
Balance at St. Helena last year	58,465
Ditto this year	54,248
Decrease at St. Helena	4,215
Left at China and St. Helena	1,002,410

## GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debt in India	£ 2,148,455
Decrease of debts at home	631,765
Increase of debts	1,516,690
Increase of assets in India	1,572,476
Increase of assets at home	734,557
Deduct	2,307,033
Balance at China and St. Helena, left	1,002,410
Nett increase of assets	1,304,623
The increase of debt, or the general state of the the Company's concerns, is, in this view, more than at the close of the last year	212,067
Add charges of four ships from Bombay, arrived in time for insertion in the home account	201,153
The total then is	£ 413,220

STATE



# STATE PAPERS.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 22d January.*

G. R.

**H**IS majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of counteracting, and finally defeating, this design; and he trusts that a review of all the circumstances which have recently occurred (joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest) will dispose the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide in the manner which they shall judge most expedient for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for their common security, and to augment and consolidate the strength, power, and resources, of the British empire.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 1st March.*

G. R.

**H**IS majesty being desirous of making competent provision for the honourable support and

maintenance of his dearly beloved sons, Prince Edward and Prince Ernest Augustus, which the money applicable to the purposes of his majesty's civil government would be insufficient to defray; and being also desirous of being enabled to extend to his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia, the provision which he has been enabled to make out of the hereditary revenue for the other branches of his royal family, desires the assistance of parliament for this purpose; and his majesty relies on the affection of his faithful commons, that they will make such provision as the circumstances of the case may appear to require.

*Protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords, against the Address in Favour of an Union with Ireland, 11th April.*

it; **BECAUSE** the measure of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, the policy of which is highly questionable, and the importance of which demands the most calm, dispassionate, and deliberate examination, is persisted in and urged forward in compliment to his majesty's ministers, under circumstances which ought imperiously to have deterred us from the prosecution of it.

The

The moment of civil disturbance and division, when the necessity of military law is alleged by ministers, and acknowledged by parliament, seems ill calculated for ensuring the full and unequivocal consent of the Irish people, without which even the supporters of the measure must confess it to be illusory, and dangerous, in the extreme. And to commit the parliament of Great Britain to the wisdom of a project, which the commons of Ireland have rejected, and to which the inhabitants of that kingdom are disinclined, appears to us a whimsical expedient for securing the connection of the two countries, and consolidating the strength of the empire.

2dly, Because, as no jealousy or division has existed between the two legislatures, the present dangers and discontents in Ireland cannot be attributed to the independence of parliament, but must rather be considered as the bitter fruits of a coercive system of policy, suggested by his majesty's advisers, and enforced under the sanction of the executive power with unconstitutional and wanton severity.

3dly, Because, though the possibility of a different will, in the two separate legislatures, cannot be controverted, yet possible inconveniences in remote and extreme cases from supposed legislative measures, or possible instances of additional embarrassment to the executive government, are no arguments for the subversion of a system in which no such inconveniences have been experienced, and no such difficulties encountered. For the consequences of such reasoning would lead us to consolidate into one the different branches of our own excellent con-

stitution; to remove all the checks which the jealousy of our ancestors has imposed on the executive government; to condemn whatever theory might suppose difficult, though practice had shown it to be easy; and to substitute hypothesis and speculation for history, fact, and experience.

4thly, Because the notion, that a legislative union will either conciliate the affections of the discontented in Ireland, or furnish more effectual means for defeating the design of the enemy in that country, seems unsupported by reasoning, and in direct contradiction to analogy and experience. Were we to admit the beneficial consequences of an union, yet the benefits which, according to such hypothesis, are likely to result, to Ireland from the measures, are, at least, progressive and distant, and can furnish, therefore, no reasonable hope of allaying immediate discontent, suppressing actual rebellion, or defeating designs already on foot. If, indeed, the enemies of the connection endeavoured to effectuate a separation of the two kingdoms, by sowing jealousies and dissensions between the two parliaments (as was the case in Scotland, immediately previous to the union), the measure proposed would manifestly be an effectual, it might be represented as the only, remedy for the evil: but if it be true that their object is to disseminate jealousy, and foment discontent, not between the distant legislatures and governments of England and Ireland, but between the people and parliament, between the governed and government of that country; and if, by representing their legislature as the corrupt agent of British ministers, and slavish en-

gine

gine of British tyranny, they have succeeded in alienating a large portion of his majesty's subjects; and if it be farther true, as stated in the report of the committees of secrecy of the Irish parliament, that the misrepresentations of a few individuals have been found sufficient to seduce the allegiance of one whole province in Ireland; we are indeed at a loss to conceive how the danger of such designs is to be averted, or the force of such misrepresentations diminished, by a measure, which reduces the number of representatives of the Irish people, transfers the legal organ of their will out of the bosom of their own country, and annihilates all independent and exclusive authority in that kingdom.

An examination of the immediate consequences which the union formerly produced in Scotland, and a contemplation of the recent effects of its discussion in Ireland, suggest yet stronger reasons for doubting its efficacy either in healing discontents, or furnishing the means of resistance to any attempt of the enemy. We learn, from the most authentic documents of those times, that in Scotland its agitation produced disorder and tumult; that, six years after it passed, nearly all the Scotch peers voted for its dissolution, and founded that vote on the discontents it had occasioned; that it remained for a long period a subject of fullen discontent; that a protest of its dissolution was considered, by the agents of the Pretender, as advantageous to his cause in Scotland; and that two rebellions broke out in that kingdom, subsequent to its accomplishment.

Furthermore, from what information we have been able to procure, we observe, with the deepest concern

and alarm, that its discussion in Ireland has already been attended with the most fearful symptoms. From the increased powers with which it has recently been deemed necessary to arm the executive power, we cannot but infer, that the prospect of an incorporating union has failed to conciliate the minds of the disaffected; and, from the ferment occasioned by its discussion, it is evident that all other parties in Ireland are alienated or divided, and the means of resistance in case of insurrection or foreign invasion thereby materially weakened.

We thought it therefore more prudent, in this moment of alarm, to desist from the prosecution of a measure, which might become a fresh subject of complaint, and a new source of discontent and division. And we were more disposed to seek for the re-establishment of mutual confidence, in the adoption of conciliatory laws, in the removal of odious disabilities, in the redress of grievances, and the operation of a milder system of policy on the affections of the Irish people, than in any experiment of theory and nominal union of governments.

5thly, Because, at a time when the danger of innovation has been deemed a sufficient pretext for the continuation of abuses, the suspension of improvement, and the preservation of a defective representation of the people, we cannot regard without jealousy and alarm an innovation of direct contrary tendency, viz. the introduction of a number of members into the British parliament, from a legislature, one branch of which has acknowledged the imperfection of its own constitution; and against the other branch of which the sale of peerages has been publicly



publicly alleged, and as publicly offered to be proved.

And, however invidious it might be to cite any example in confirmation of such opinion, we are not so blind to matters of notoriety, or so deaf to the lessons of experience, as not to apprehend, from a measure of this nature, an enormous increase of the influence of the crown; neither could we perceive, either in the present temper of the Irish people, inflamed by civil animosity, and exasperated by recent rebellion, or in the general moderation of his majesty's present advisers, any thing to allay our apprehensions or remove our jealousies; and we were unwilling to give our consent, at a period when new burdens are every day imposed, and new sacrifices every day required of the people, to a measure which must supply additional reasons for doubting the adequacy of their representation, and suspecting the independence of parliament.

(Signed)

Holland.  
Thanet.  
King.

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*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 6th June.*

G. R.

**H**IS majesty thinks proper to acquaint this house, that he had some time since concluded an eventual engagement with his good brother and ally, the Emperor of Russia, for employing forty-five thousand men against the common enemy, in such manner as the state of affairs in Europe at that period appeared to render most advantageous. The change of circumstances which has since arisen, having rendered a dif-

ferent application of that force more desirable, his majesty has recently had the satisfaction to learn that the views of the Emperor of Russia in that respect are entirely conformable to his own. But his majesty has not yet received any account that the formal engagements to that effect have been regularly concluded. He has, however, the satisfaction of knowing that the same promptitude and zeal, in support of the common cause, which his ally has already manifested in a manner so honourable to himself, and so signally beneficial to Europe, have induced him already to put this army in motion towards the place of its destination, as now settled by mutual consent. His majesty therefore thinks it right to acquaint the house of commons, that the pecuniary conditions of this treaty will oblige his majesty to pay the sum of two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds in stipulated instalments, as preparation-money; and to pay a monthly subsidy of seventy-five thousand pounds, as well as to engage for a farther payment, at the rate of thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds per month: which payment is not to take place till after the conclusion of a peace made by common consent.

His majesty relies on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, to enable him to make good these engagements.

And his majesty being desirous of continuing to afford the necessary succours to his ally, the queen of Portugal, as well as to give timely and effectual assistance at this important conjuncture to the Swiss Cantons, for the recovery of their ancient liberty and independence, and to make every other exertion for improving to the utmost the signal advantages

vantages which, by the blessing of God, have attended the operations of the combined arms on the continent, since the commencement of the present campaign; recommends it also to the house of commons to enable his majesty to enter into such farther engagements, and to take such measures, as may be best adapted to the exigency of affairs, and most likely, by continued perseverance and vigour, to complete the general deliverance of Europe from the insupportable tyranny of the French republic.

sideration which a question of this sort deserves, and when the attendance is so thin in this house.

Thirdly, Because we have the satisfaction of thinking it is not necessary for the preservation of his majesty, whose throne cannot be more secure by severe penal statutes. We therefore will not agree to destroy that hope which Sir William Blackstone exultingly says our posterity may entertain—that corruption of blood may one day be abolished and forgotten.

Ponsonby.  
Holland.

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*Protest entered in the House of Lords  
against committing the Treason  
Forfeiture Bill, 4th July.*

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*Protest against the third reading of the  
Militia Reduction Bill, 12th July.*

Dissentient,

**FIRST**, Because the statute, which it is by this bill proposed to make perpetual, appears to us to be unjust and impolitic, and contrary to the mild spirit of the laws of England—unjust, because it reduces to poverty and ruin children for the crimes of their ancestors; impolitic, because, instead of healing the divisions and animosity occasioned by civil war, it tends to make them continue.

It appears to us to be contrary to the express declaration of Magna Charta, which says, that no person shall be disinherited or deprived of his franchises unless he be heard in his defence; for in this case we disinherit persons who cannot be heard, and who have committed no crime.

Secondly, Because it does not appear that any urgent necessity calls for the immediate adoption of this law at this late period of the session, when it cannot receive the due con-

Dissentient,

**BECAUSE** the measures prescribed by the bill are destructive of the constitutional force of the country; by making the militia ballot a fund for the supply, and its discipline a drill for the accommodation of other corps, and by degrading its officers to the humiliating situation of commanding the miserable remnants of their regiments rejected by recruiting serjeants of the line.

Because the subversion of this constitutional force must be the inevitable consequence, as it is probably the object, of these measures; for it cannot be imagined that gentlemen of property (such as are required by the still remaining wreck of the militia laws) should hereafter come forward, in times of difficulty and danger, with a zeal and patriotism so much applauded, and so bitterly insulted; that men of the highest consideration and fortune, such as alone can form a constitutional force, should quit their domestic

domestic comforts and family occupations without personal views, or professional allurements, to fill a station so degrading to them as that of drill serjeants for the army. But exclusive of this great and insuperable objection, we consider this bill as framed under circumstances of gross inattention to the public interest, to private rights of various descriptions, and to the clearest and most important principles of the constitution: and we should esteem ourselves neglectful of our own characters, as well as deficient in public duty, if we did not record our marked and unreserved reprobation of a measure of such dangerous tendency: First, because the promoters of this bill have, contrary to every principle of common justice, established an arbitrary proportion, by which the respective counties are hereafter to be burdened with the expense of raising their future militia, deviating from the established scale, approved and sanctioned by the acts of the twenty-sixth and thirty-seventh of the king, without any grounds laid before parliament, by which the justice of such deviation could be estimated; though in a few days, and with no expense, the annual list for the county ballots returned to the lieutenants of each county, and directed (by the 26th of George the Third, chap. 107, clause 50) to be transmitted to the secretary of state, would without error have produced a correct scale.

Secondly, Because all militia-men, not arriving (after the enroiment) at their respective regiments at the exact time contained in any order which may be given to them, are declared to be deserters, liable to be taken from service in the militia for five years within the kingdom, and

condemned to serve in regiments of the line for life in any part of the world, by sentence of a regimental court marshal, where neither the judge nor the witnesses are upon oath; and by an additional injustice the county, which paid the service of the man, is liable to the farther charge of supplying his place.

Thirdly, Because the difficulties and embarrassments which men enrolled to serve in the militia are exposed to by this bill are so obviously cruel and unjust, that it affords no slight ground of suspicion that they are intended to promote the recruiting the regular forces from the militia by the forced desertions of the unfortunate individual who shall be engaged in the militia service; for the man, as soon as he is enrolled, perhaps many hundred miles from his regiment, is ordered to join it, but by this bill no pay is to commence nor allowance to be granted till he actually arrives at his regiment; he is deprived of all former sources of subsistence, and is not entitled to the means of present support; plunder or charity alone can maintain him on the road: and if under all these insurmountable difficulties he does not arrive within the time limited in his orders, he is liable to be treated as a deserter.

Fourthly, Because by this bill the regiments of militia are invited to a state of disorder and mutiny by anticipation, as the bill has publicly declared that desertion before the period of its passing into a law was to be made an offence not necessarily followed by punishment, but that every man may by such desertion take leave of absence till August, if by that time he shall enlist into the regular service. The bill encourages immediate desertion from a service

service to which the man had sworn fidelity, and the king is empowered to authorize the deserter's entrance into another service, discharged from any claim by the militia regiment to which he belongs.

Fifthly, Because by this bill the most important and incontrovertible principle of the constitution is flagrantly impeached. Whether it is legal or not, to appropriate public money by an order of the commissioners of the treasury, and levy money on the land-owners by a similar order, without consent of parliament, is stated by this bill as a matter of doubt entertained by parliament; and on the grounds of this pretended doubt, a clause of indemnity is introduced, of which the title of the bill gave no intimation, and to which the attention of the legislature had not been directed.

In the general neglect, overthrow, and denial of private justice, public principles, and national rights, it is not to be wondered at, that little attention should be paid to the feelings of individuals, however called by their country to stations of considerable confidence and trust; yet we cannot but express our disapprobation of the grating directions to commanding officers of militia regiments, to crimp for another service their associates and fellow-foldiers, and become at once the instruments both of their own disgrace, and of that of the militia establishment, to which they are zealously attached.

Carnarvon.

Radnor.

Wentworth Fitzwilliam.

*His Majesty's Speech, to both Houses of Parliament, on closing the Session, 12th July.*

My lords and gentlemen,  
THE favourable appearances, which I announced to you at the commencement of the present session, have since been followed by successes beyond my most sanguine expectations.

By the progress of the imperial arms, under the command of the Archduke Charles of Austria, a great part of Switzerland has already recovered its ancient religion, laws, and liberties: and the uninterrupted and brilliant victories of the combined armies under the command of field-marshal Suwarroff, have, in the short period which has elapsed since the opening of the campaign, nearly accomplished the deliverance of Italy from the degrading yoke of the French republic.

The decision and energy which distinguish the councils of my ally the emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert happily established between us, will enable me to employ, to the greatest advantage, the powerful means which you have intrusted to me, for establishing, on permanent grounds, the security and honour of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe.

I have the satisfaction of seeing, that internal tranquillity is in some degree restored in my kingdom of Ireland.

The removal of the only remaining naval force of the enemy to a distant quarter must nearly extinguish even the precarious hope which the traitorous and disaffected have entertained of foreign assistance.

But our great reliance for the immediate safety of that country must still rest on the experience, zeal, and bravery of my troops of all

all descriptions, and on the unshaken loyalty and voluntary exertions of my faithful subjects in both kingdoms.

Its ultimate security can alone be ensured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain; and I am happy to observe that the sentiments manifested by numerous and respectable descriptions of my Irish subjects justify the hope that the accomplishment of this great and salutary work will be proved to be as much the joint wish, as it unquestionably is the common interest, of both my kingdoms.

The provisions which you have made for suppressing those dangerous and seditious societies, which had been formed for the purpose of disseminating the destructive principles of the French revolution, are peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of the times, and have furnished additional security to the established constitution.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

The unusual sacrifices which you have made in the present moment, on behalf of my subjects, are wisely calculated to meet effectually the exigencies of this great crisis. They have, at the same time, given additional security to public credit, by establishing a system of finance, beneficial alike to yourselves and to posterity; and the cheerfulness with which these heavy burdens are supported evinces at once the good sense, the loyalty, and the public spirit of my people.

My lords and gentlemen,

It is impossible to compare the events of the present year with the state and prospects of Europe at the distance of but a few months, without acknowledging, in humble

thankfulness, the visible interposition of Divine Providence, in averting those dangers which so long threatened the overthrow of all the establishments of the civilized world.

It may be permitted to us to hope that the same protecting Providence will continue to us its guidance through the remainder of this eventful contest; and will conduct it finally to such an issue as shall transmit to future ages a memorable example of the instability of all power founded on injustice, usurpation, and impiety; and shall prove the impossibility of ultimately dissolving the connection between public prosperity and public virtue.

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*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses at the Meeting of Parliament, 24th September.*

My lords and gentlemen,  
I HAVE called you together at this unusual season, in order to recommend it to you to consider of the propriety of enabling me, without delay, to avail myself, to a farther extent, of the voluntary services of the militia, at a moment when the increase of our active force abroad may be productive of the most important and beneficial consequences.

We have seen the happy effects of the measure which you adopted on this subject in the last session; and the forces which I was thereby enabled to employ, have already displayed, in the face of the enemy, a courage, discipline, and steadiness, worthy of the character of British soldiers.

In the short interval since the close of the last session our situation and prospects have, under the blessing of Providence, improved beyond the most

most sanguine expectation. The abilities and valour of the commanders and troops of the combined imperial armies have continued to be eminently displayed. The deliverance of Italy may now be considered as secured by the result of a campaign, equal in splendour and success to any of the most brilliant recorded in history; and I have had the heart-felt satisfaction of seeing the valour of my fleets and armies successfully employed to the assistance of my allies, to the support of our just cause, and to the advancement of the most important interests of the British empire.

The kingdom of Naples has been rescued from the French yoke, and restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign, and my former connections with that power have been renewed.

The French expedition to Egypt has continued to be productive of calamity and disgrace to our enemies, while its ultimate views against our eastern possessions have been utterly confounded. The desperate attempt which they have lately made to extricate themselves from their difficulties has been defeated by the courage of the Turkish forces, directed by the skill, and animated by the heroism, of a British officer, with a small portion of my naval force under his command; and the overthrow of that restless and perfidious power, who, instigated by the artifices, and deluded by the promises of the French, had entered into their ambitious and destructive projects in India, has placed the British interests in that quarter in a state of solid and permanent security.

The vigilance, decision, and wisdom of the governor-general in coun-

cil on this great and important occasion, and the tried abilities and valour of the commanders, officers, and troops employed under his direction, are entitled to my highest praise.

There is, I trust, every reason to expect that the effort which I am making, for the deliverance of the United Provinces, will prove successful. The British arms have rescued from the possession of the enemy the principal port and naval arsenal of the Dutch republic; and although we have to regret the loss of many brave men in a subsequent attack against the enemy, whose position enabled them to obstruct our progress, I have the strongest ground to expect that the skill of my generals, and the determined resolution and intrepidity of my troops, and of those of my allies, will soon surmount every obstacle; and that the fleet which, under the usurped dominion of France, was destined to co-operate in the invasion of these islands, may speedily, I trust, under its ancient standard, partake in the glory of restoring the religion, liberty, and independence of those provinces, so long in intimate union and alliance with this country.

While you rejoice with me in the events which add so much lustre to the British character, you will, I am persuaded, as cordially join in the sentiments so justly due to the conduct of my good and faithful ally the emperor of Russia; to his magnanimity and wisdom directing to so many quarters of Europe the force of his extensive and powerful empire, we are, in a great degree, indebted for the success of our own efforts, as well as for the rapid and favourable change in the general situation of affairs. I have directed copies to be laid before you of those engagements,

ments, which have consolidated and cemented a connection so consonant to the permanent interests of my empire, and so important at the present moment to every part of the civilized world.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

The ample supplies which you have granted to me in the course of the last session, will, I trust, so nearly provide for the exigencies of the public service, even on the extensive scale which our present operations require, as to enable me, without farther aid, to continue those exertions to the close of the present year:—but in order to afford you the convenience of a longer recess, I recommend it to you to consider of providing for the expense which will be necessary in the early part of the ensuing year; and with this view I have ordered the proper estimates to be laid before you.

My lords and gentlemen,

In pursuance of your recommendation, I judged it proper to communicate to my two houses of parliament in Ireland, at the close of their last session, the sentiment which you had expressed to me respecting an incorporating union with that kingdom. The experience of every day confirms me in the persuasion that signal benefit would be derived to both countries from that important measure; and I trust that the disposition of my parliament there will be found to correspond with that which you have manifested for the accomplishment of a work, which would tend so much to add to the security and happiness of all my Irish subjects, and to consolidate the strength and prosperity of the empire.

*Protest against the Militia Service Extension Bill.*

Dissentient,  
1st, **B**ECAUSE, by this bill, and by the recited act of the last session, whose powers are by this bill aggravated and extended, the constitutional purposes of the militia establishment are totally and finally subverted.

2dly, Because all the purposes of procuring men for the army might have been easily obtained, by disbanding the supplementary war militia (which by its extraordinary increase had confessedly occasioned a scarcity of men), without reducing the permanent militia establishment to a service, in which no gentleman could hereafter hope that his patriotic and disinterested industry would enable him to form his county regiment to a continued state of discipline, at the head of which he might, with credit and honour to himself, answer the purpose of its institution in the defence of his country against invasion.

3dly, Because, by this measure, all that system and arrangement which nourished the zeal of independent country gentlemen is irrecoverably done away in the existing pressure of a formidable and alarming war, and the peace-establishment of the militia (if, mangled as it is by this bill, it can survive the war) will necessarily be reduced to a mere standing army of the worst sort: independent of an annual vote of parliament—deprived of all its former constitutional advantages—connected with the people by nothing but the unequal and oppressive burdens it imposes on them, and commanded by such persons as may be procured to be regulating officers

scers to a mere drill of army recruits.

4thly, Because the landed interest of England and Wales, already so heavily burdened, is most materially affected by this total revolution in the militia system; inasmuch as the peculiar expenses of a militia, originally formed for our unalienable domestic defence and insular garrison, are unjustly continued on the oppressed owners and occupiers of land in England and Wales, when they are by this measure deprived of the advantages which they had purchased; namely, those of security, resulting from a permanent domestic protection for their wives and children, which, under the faith of parliament, was held out to them as the valuable consideration for heavy taxes imposed solely on them.

5thly, Because this bill operates with most unjustifiable partiality; it does not fairly and equally extend to Scotland; Scotland is still protected in the enjoyment of a constitutional militia; neither reduced to the disgraceful condition of a drill for the army, nor liable to be employed in the defence of England: from its services (confined and limited solely to the boundaries of Scotland), England and Wales can derive no protection, whilst the reduced remnants of the militia of England and Wales may be removed from the defence of their own homes; to that of the most remote parts of Scotland.

Carnarvon:  
Wentworth Fitzwilliam.

For all but the second reason.  
Buckinghamshire.

*Declaration between the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Russia, in Addition to the Treaty of December, 1798.*

BY the provisional treaty, concluded between his majesty, the king of Great Britain, and his majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, the 29th (18th) of December, 1798, it is stipulated, that the body of 45,000 men, furnished by his said imperial majesty for the support of the common cause, should be employed in co-operating with the troops of his Prussian majesty, if that sovereign should be induced to join his forces to those of their majesties; but the endeavours which their royal and imperial majesties have employed for this purpose having been unsuccessful, and that prince persisting in his adherence to his system of neutrality, the two high contracting parties, in order to neglect nothing on their part, which may contribute to the success of the good cause, have resolved, that the said body of 45,000 men, originally destined to second the hostile demonstrations of Prussia against France, shall be equally employed against the common enemy, in whatever other quarter their majesties may judge to be most advantageous to their common operations.

For this purpose, the plenipotentiaries of their said royal and imperial majesties have signed the present declaration, which is to be considered as forming a part of the provisional treaty above-mentioned, concluded between the two courts the 29th (18th) of December, 1798.

P 2

Done



ments, which have consolidated and cemented a connection so consonant to the permanent interests of my empire, and so important at the present moment to every part of the civilized world.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

The ample supplies which you have granted to me in the course of the last session, will, I trust, so nearly provide for the exigencies of the public service, even on the extensive scale which our present operations require, as to enable me, without farther aid, to continue those exertions to the close of the present year:—but in order to afford you the convenience of a longer recess, I recommend it to you to consider of providing for the expense which will be necessary in the early part of the ensuing year; and with this view I have ordered the proper estimates to be laid before you.

My lords and gentlemen,

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3dly, Because, by this measure, all that system and arrangement which nourished the zeal of independent country gentlemen is irrecoverably done away in the existing pressure of a formidable and alarming war, and the peace-establishment of the militia (if, mangled as it is by this bill, it can survive the war) will necessarily be reduced to a mere standing army of the worst sort: independent of an annual vote of parliament—deprived of all its former constitutional advantages—connected with the people by nothing but the unequal and oppressive burdens it imposes on them, and commanded by such persons as may be procured to be regulating ac-

fers to a mere drill of army recruits.

4thly, Because the landed interest of England and Wales, already so heavily burdened, is most materially affected by this total revolution in the militia system; inasmuch as the peculiar expenses of a militia, originally formed for our unalienable domestic defence and insular garrison, are unjustly continued on the oppressed owners and occupiers of land in England and Wales, when they are by this measure deprived of the advantages which they had purchased; namely, those of security, resulting from a permanent domestic protection for their wives and children, which, under the faith of parliament, was held out to them as the valuable consideration for heavy taxes imposed solely on them.

5thly, Because this bill operates with most unjustifiable partiality; it does not fairly and equally extend to Scotland; Scotland is still protected in the enjoyment of a constitutional militia; neither reduced to the disgraceful condition of a drill for the army, nor liable to be employed in the defence of England: from its services (confined and limited solely to the boundaries of Scotland), England and Wales can derive no protection, whilst the reduced remnants of the militia of England and Wales may be removed from the defence of their own homes, to that of the most remote parts of Scotland.

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For this purpose, the plenipotentiaries of their said royal and imperial majesties have signed the present declaration, which is to be considered as forming a part of the provisional treaty above-mentioned, concluded between the two courts the 29th (18th) of December, 1798.

P 2

Done

Done at St. Peterburgh, this 29th (18th) of June, 1799.

(L. S.) Le comte de Kotschoubey.

(L. S.) Le comte de Rostopchin.

(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

*Convention between his Britannic Majesty, and the Emperor of all the Russias, signed at St. Peterburgh, 22d (11th) June, 1799.*

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity.

**H**IS majesty, the king of Great Britain, and his majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, in consequence of the friendship and the ties of intimate alliance which exist between them, and of their common and sincere co-operation in the present war against the French, having constantly in their view to use every means in their power most effectually to distress the enemy, have judged that the expulsion of the French from the seven United Provinces, and the deliverance of the latter from the yoke under which they have so long groaned, were objects worthy of their particular consideration; and wishing, at the same time, to give effect, as far as possible, to a design of that importance, their said majesties have resolved to conclude with each other a convention relative to this plan, and to the most proper means of carrying it into the most speedy execution. For this purpose, they have named, as their plenipotentiaries, to wit, his majesty, the king of Great Britain, sir Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the imperial court of Russia, knight of the order of the bath; and his majesty, the empe-

ror of all the Russias, the count of Kotschoubey, his vice-chancellor, actual privy counsellor, actual chamberlain, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newsky, commander of that of St. John of Jerusalem, and great cross of the order of St. Vladimir of the second class; and the count of Rostopchin, his actual privy counsellor, member of the college of foreign affairs, director-general of the posts, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newsky and of St. Anne of the first class, great chancellor and great cross of that of St. John of Jerusalem; who, after having reciprocally communicated to each other their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. His majesty, the king of Great Britain, thinking that the object, above announced, cannot be better attained than by the aid of a body of Russian troops, his imperial majesty, notwithstanding the efforts which he has already made, and the difficulties of his employing an additional body of forces to act at a distance from his dominions, has, nevertheless, in consequence of his constant solicitude in favour of the good cause, consented to furnish seventeen battalions of infantry, two companies of artillery, one company of pioneers, and one squadron of hussars, making, in all, 17,593 men, to be destined for the said expedition to Holland. But as that number of troops, according to the plan proposed by his Britannic majesty, is not sufficient, and as it has been judged that 30,000 men would be necessary for that purpose, his said majesty will, on his side, furnish 13,000 men of English troops, or at least 8,000 men, if that smaller number

number should be deemed sufficient, and amongst whom there shall be a proportion of cavalry sufficient for the services of such an army.

II. This corps of troops, of 17,593 men, together with the necessary artillery, shall assemble at Revel, in order that they may be from thence conveyed to their destination, either in English or other vessels freighted by his Britannic majesty.

III. In order to enable his majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, to afford to the common cause this additional and efficacious succour, his majesty, the king of Great Britain, engages to furnish the under-mentioned subsidies, upon the condition that his imperial majesty of all the Russias shall have a right to recall, into his dominions, the above-mentioned corps of troops, if, through any unforeseen event, such subsidies should not be regularly furnished to him.

IV. The amount and the nature of those pecuniary succours have been settled and regulated in the following manner: 1st. In order to enable his imperial majesty to assemble and expedite this corps as soon and as well equipped as possible, his majesty, the king of Great Britain, engages, as soon as he shall receive advice that the above-mentioned troops have reached the place of their rendezvous, that is to say, at Revel; and that it shall be declared that they are ready to embark (whether the transports be arrived or not), to pay for the first and most urgent expenses, the sum of 88,000*l.* sterling, dividing the payments into two parts, to wit, that 44,000*l.* sterling be paid immediately after it shall have been

declared, either by the commander-in-chief of that corps to the English commissary, or by the ministry of his imperial majesty to the minister of his Britannic majesty resident at St. Petersburg, that the said corps is ready; and that the second payment, completing the sum total of 88,000*l.* sterling, shall take place three months afterwards and at the commencement of the fourth. 2d. His majesty, the king of Great Britain, engages, in like manner, to furnish to his majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, a subsidy of 44,000*l.* sterling per month, to be computed from the day on which the above-mentioned corps of troops shall be ready. This subsidy shall be paid at the commencement of each month, and destined for the appointments and the entertainment of the troops. It shall be continued until they shall return into Russian ports, in English or other vessels, freighted by his Britannic majesty.

V. If this corps of Russian troops should meet with difficulties in procuring, during the expedition to which it is destined, or in case of its wintering, as shall be hereafter mentioned, in England, or during the voyages it shall have to make, its necessary subsistence, by means of the measures which the Russian commanders or commissaries may take for that purpose, his Britannic majesty, upon the requisition of the minister of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, residing at his court, shall furnish whatever may be necessary to the Russian troops; and an exact account shall be kept of all the provisions and other articles so delivered, in order that their value may be afterwards deducted from the subsidy, such provisions

for the accommodation of the crews and officers.

IV. As the six ships, five frigates, and two transports, above mentioned, having been originally intended for another destination, were furnished with provisions for three months, his Britannic majesty, instead of furnishing them in kind, as it is stated in the second article, engages to pay, according to an estimate which shall be made, the value of these provisions. With regard to the officers, his majesty the king of Great Britain will adopt the same principle as has been followed until the present time, respecting the officers of the Russian squadron which is joined to the naval forces of England. That shall serve as a rule for indemnifying them for the preparations which they may have made for the campaign, such as it had been originally intended to take place.

This separate article shall be considered as forming part of the convention above-mentioned, as being inserted therein word for word; and it shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged in the same manner.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their names, signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at St. Peterburgh, this 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

(L. S.) Le comte de Kotschoubey.

(L. S.) Le comte de Rostopschin.

(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

*the Court of Directors of the East-India Company; dated 20th March, 1799.*

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors.*

Honourable sirs,

**I**N my separate dispatch of the 21st of November, by the Eurydice, I informed your honourable court, that, although I had deemed it my duty to call your armies into the field in every part of your possessions, my views and expectations were all directed to the preservation of peace in India.

2. In the letter of the 13th of January, from the governor-general in council at Fort St. George, I apprized your honourable court of my arrival at this presidency, to which I thought it my duty to proceed from Behgal, in the hope of opening a negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun, for the amicable adjustment of the differences which had arisen between that prince and the honourable company's government.

3. In my dispatches to the secret committee of your honourable court, I have regularly transmitted advice of the state of political affairs in India, and I have fully explained the principles which have governed my conduct, not only towards Tippoo Sultaun, but towards all the native powers, since I have taken charge of the government general.

4. Having ultimately been compelled to commence hostilities against Tippoo Sultaun, it is now become my duty to lay before your honourable court an accurate detail of the causes of the war in which we are engaged.

5. For this purpose, it will be necessary to draw your attention to a period

*Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Mornington to*

Russias, the solution of such difficulties shall be looked for in the stipulations of the said treaty of the year 1793, or likewise in that concluded with the court of Vienna the 3d (14th) of July, 1792.

X. The present convention shall be ratified by his majesty the king of Great Britain, and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and the ratifications shall be exchanged here in the space of two months, to be computed from the day of its signature, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with full powers by his majesty the king of Great Britain, and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their names, signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

(L. S.) Le comte de Kotschoubey.

(L. S.) Le comte de Rostopschin.

(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

#### *Separate Article.*

I. Although it be stated in article II. of the convention concluded this day, that the corps of Russian troops, forming 17,593 men, destined for the expedition to Holland, shall be conveyed to its destination in English, or other vessels freighted by his majesty the king of Great Britain; nevertheless, in order so much the more to facilitate this important enterprise, his majesty the emperor of all the Russias consents to furnish six ships, five frigates, and two transport vessels, which being armed *en flutes*, will receive on board as many troops as they shall be able to contain, whilst the remainder of the said corps shall be embarked on board

of English or other transport-vessels, freighted by his Britannic majesty.

II. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias will lend these ships and frigates upon the following conditions: 1st. There shall be paid by England, upon their quitting the port of Cronstadt, in order to go to the place of rendezvous, which is Revel, the sum of 58,927*l.* 10*s.* sterling, as a subsidy for the expenses of equipment, &c. for three months, to be computed from the day, as it is above stated, of their departure from Cronstadt. 2dly, After the expiration of these three months, his Britannic majesty shall continue the same subsidies, that is to say, of 19,642*l.* 10*s.* sterling a month, which shall be paid at the commencement of each month. 3dly. Independently of this pecuniary succour, his Britannic majesty shall provide for the subsistence of the crews; and the officers and sailors shall be treated on the same footing as are the English officers and sailors in time of war, and as are the Russian officers and sailors, who are at present in the Squadron of his imperial majesty, which is united to the English Squadron. 4thly. All these stipulations shall have full and entire effect until the return of the above-mentioned ships and frigates into Russian ports.

III. If it should happen, contrary to all expectation, that those six ships, five frigates, and two transport vessels, should not be able, through some unforeseen event, to return to Russia before the close of the present campaign, his Britannic majesty engages to admit them into the ports of England, where they shall receive every possible assistance both for necessary repairs, and

for the accommodation of the crews and officers.

IV. As the six ships, five frigates, and two transports, above mentioned, having been originally intended for another destination, were furnished with provisions for three months, his Britannic majesty, instead of furnishing them in kind, as it is stated in the second article, engages to pay, according to an estimate which shall be made, the value of these provisions. With regard to the officers, his majesty the king of Great Britain will adopt the same principle as has been followed until the present time, respecting the officers of the Russian Squadron which is joined to the naval forces of England. That shall serve as a rule for indemnifying them for the preparations which they may have made for the campaign, such as it had been originally intended to take place.

This separate article shall be considered as forming part of the convention above-mentioned, as being inserted therein word for word; and it shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged in the same manner.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their names, signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburg, this 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

(L. S.) Le comte de Kotlichoubey.

(L. S.) Le comte de Rostopchin.

(L. S.) Charles Whitworth,

*the Court of Directors of the East-India Company; dated 20th March, 1799.*

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors.*

Honourable sirs,

IN my separate dispatch of the 21st of November, by the Eurydice, I informed your honourable court, that, although I had deemed it my duty to call your armies into the field in every part of your possessions, my views and expectations were all directed to the preservation of peace in India,

2. In the letter of the 13th of January, from the governor-general in council at Fort St. George, I apprized your honourable court of my arrival at this presidency, to which I thought it my duty to proceed from Behgal, in the hope of opening a negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun, for the amicable adjustment of the differences which had arisen between that prince and the honourable company's government.

3. In my dispatches to the secret committee of your honourable court, I have regularly transmitted advices of the state of political affairs in India, and I have fully explained the principles which have governed my conduct, not only towards Tippoo Sultaun, but towards all the native powers, since I have taken charge of the government general.

4. Having ultimately been compelled to commence hostilities against Tippoo Sultaun, it is now become my duty to lay before your honourable court an accurate detail of the causes of the war in which we are engaged.

5. For this purpose, it will be necessary to draw your attention to a period

*Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Mornington to*

a period of time as remote as the month of June, 1798, and to trace from that date the progress of those events which have finally produced the necessity of resorting to arms for the security of your interests committed to my charge.

6. A proclamation issued by the governor-general of the Isle of France, in the month of February, 1798, made its first appearance at Calcutta on the 8th June of the same year. (A. Enclosure, No. 1\*.)

7. This proclamation states, that an embassy had arrived at the Isle of France with letters from Tippoo Sultaun, addressed not only to the government of that island, but to the executive directory of France, proposing to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, to subsidize and to supply whatever troops the French might furnish to the sultaun, and to commence against the British power in India a war of aggression, for which the sultaun is declared to be fully prepared, waiting with anxiety the moment when the succour of France shall enable him to satisfy his ardent desire of expelling the British nation from India. The proclamation concludes by offering encouragement to the subjects of France to enter into the service of Tippoo Sultaun, on terms to be fixed with his ambassadors then on the spot.

8. Although I was inclined, in the first instance, to doubt the authenticity of this extraordinary publication, I thought it advisable to transmit a copy of it, on the 9th of June, to lieutenant-general Harris, (then governor of Fort St. George,

and commander-in-chief on the coast of Coromandel, informing him, that, if the proclamation should prove authentic, it must lead to a serious discussion with Tippoo Sultaun; and directing lieutenant-general Harris to consider, without delay, the means of assembling the army on the coast of Coromandel, if necessity should unfortunately require such a precaution.

9. On the 18th of June, 1798, I received a regular authentication of the proclamation, in a letter from his excellency the earl of Macartney, dated the 28th of March; and at the same time several persons arrived at Calcutta, who had been present in the Isle of France, at the time of the publication of the proclamation.

10. By a strict examination of the most respectable of these persons, I was enabled to obtain an authentic and accurate statement of all the material circumstances attending the publication of the proclamation at the Isle of France; the substance of which statement I have already forwarded to your secret committee, and now have the honour to submit to your honourable court.

11. Tippoo Sultaun dispatched two ambassadors, who embarked at Mangalore for the Isle of France, and arrived at Port Nord-ouest in that island, towards the close of the month of January, 1798. The ambassadors were received publicly and formally by the French government, with every circumstance of distinction and respect, and they were entertained at the public

\* In the course of this letter will be found references to several documents, which, as the substance of them is herein stated, we do not think it necessary to lay at full length before the public. The proclamation above mentioned may be found in our Annual Register, for 1798, p. 255.



expence during their continuance on the island.

12. Previous to the arrival of ambassadors on the island, no idea or rumour existed there of any aid to be furnished to Tippoo Sultaun by the French, or of any prospect of a war between that prince and the company; but within two days after the arrival of the ambassadors, the proclamation in question was fixed up in the most public places, and circulated through the town of Port Nord-ouest.

13. The ambassadors, far from protesting against the matter or style of the proclamation, held without reserve, in the most public manner, the same language which it contains, with respect to a war of aggression to be commenced by Tippoo Sultaun against the British possessions in India; and they even suffered the proclamation to be publicly distributed by their agents at the place of their residence.

13. The ambassadors were present when the French government proceeded to act under the proclamation in question; and the ambassadors aided and assisted in the execution of the proclamation, by making promises, in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpose of inducing recruits to enlist in his service.

15. The ambassadors proposed to levy men to any practical extent, stating their powers to be unlimited with respect to the force to be raised in the name of Tippoo Sultaun. They entered into certain stipulations and engagements in the name of the sultaun (according to the tenour of the last paragraph of the proclamation) with several Frenchmen, and others, particularly with Mr. Dubuc, whom the ambassadors engaged in the service of their so-

vereign, for the express purpose of assisting in the war to be immediately commenced against the British power in India.

16. The proclamation therefore originated in the arrival of Tippoo's ambassadors at the Isle of France; it was distributed by their agents, it was avowed in every part by their own public declarations, and finally it was executed, according to its tenour, by their personal assistance and co-operation.

17. On the 7th of March, 1798, the ambassadors embarked at Port Nord-ouest, on board the French frigate *La Preneuse*, together with the force thus raised in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, amounting to about two hundred men, inclusive of several officers, the chiefs of whom were M. M. Dubuc and Chapuy.

18. Such is the substance of the evidence obtained from the persons who were present in the Isle of France during the residence of Tippoo's ambassadors; from other authentic sources I learnt the sequel of the transaction.

19. The French frigate *La Preneuse*, with the sultaun's ambassadors and the French troops levied for his service, arrived at Mangalore on the 26th of April, 1798.

20. An opportunity now occurred of ascertaining, beyond the possibility of doubt, whether the acts of the sultaun's ambassadors in the Isle of France were conformable to the instructions of their sovereign: For although the presumption was already sufficiently powerful, that the ambassadors would not have ventured to transgress the limit of their commission in a matter of such momentous importance, as the conclusion of offensive engagements with the French

French against the English East-India company, it yet remained a question, whether Tippoo Sultaun would venture openly to avow proceedings, which could not fail to expose him to the just resentment of your government.

21. This question was immediately solved, for the sultaun, without hesitation, permitted the French force to land publicly at Mangalore; and, far from manifesting the least symptom of disapprobation of the conduct of the embassy in any part of the negotiation, he formally received his ambassadors, and the French officers, and principal persons in their suite, with public and extraordinary marks of honour and distinction; and finally, he admitted the greater part of the French force, raised for the purpose of making war upon the honourable company, into his service, in which it is still entertained.

22. By this public and unequivocal sanction, he must be considered not only to have personally ratified the engagements contained in the proclamation of the governor-general of the Isle of France, but to have taken the preliminary measures for accomplishing the design which the ambassadors had avowed in his name.

23. Tippoo Sultaun, therefore, having actually concluded offensive and defensive engagements with the French against the honourable company; having collected, by the aid of the French, a force openly destined to carry those engagements into effect; having applied to the executive directory of France, for a more powerful force, destined to the same end; having signified, through his public ambassadors, to the enemy, that his preparations for war (as far as they depended upon

himself) were actually complete; having avowed the object of those preparations to be the subversion of the British empire in India; and finally, having declared the delay of the meditated blow to proceed from no other cause, than his expectation of receiving farther aid from the enemy; I could not hesitate to pronounce, that he had flagrantly violated the treaties of peace subsisting between him and the honourable company; and that he had committed an act of direct hostility and aggression against the British government in India.

24. To confirm the conclusions necessarily resulting from the facts already stated, I received undoubted information, that Tippoo Sultaun had, for some time past, been employed in military preparations, conformably to the hostile spirit of his engagements with the enemy; that the greater part of his army was actually in a state of equipment for the field, and that a large portion of it was there encamped under his personal command.

25. To your honourable court it would be superfluous to observe, that no provocation had been offered by any of your governments in India, to justify or to palliate any act of hostility, or even any emotion of jealousy or suspicion on the part of Tippoo Sultaun; but I think it necessary to remark in this place, that, at the very moment of receiving the authentic copy of the proclamation issued in the Isle of France, I had ordered the disputed district of Wynaad to be delivered to the sultaun, after a public acknowledgement of the justice of his claim to that possession, and I had proposed to open an amicable negotiation for the purpose of adjusting his recent claims

claims to a part of the district of Cooya, on similar principles of equity, according to the tenor of the seventh article of the treaty of Seringapatam.

26. The sultaun himself had not attempted to allege even the pretext of a grievance against the British government: in his letters to Sir John Shore, (written a short time before the return of the Mysorean ambassadors from the Isle of France, and received at Fort William, on the 26th of April, 1798, the day on which the French force landed at Mangalore) Tippoo declares, "that his friendly heart is disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord between the two nations;" and he signifies his desire, that "Sir John Shore would impress Lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisting between the two states."

27. This is not the language of hostility, nor even of discontent; from what disposition in the friendly heart of the sultaun these amicable professions have proceeded, how they are connected with a regard to truth and justice, or calculated to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord, and to impress me with a sense of the firmness of the sultaun's friendship, your honourable court can now determine without difficulty, since it is now proved, that these letters were written at the very crisis when he was in anxious expectation of the hourly arrival of that military succour which he had earnestly solicited from the enemy, for the express purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the company's possessions.

28. That Tippoo Sultaun had not

yet received the effectual succour which he had solicited from the French, might have been ascribed either to the distracted state of the government of Mauritius, or to their want of zeal in his cause, or to the rashness and imbecility of his own councils; but neither the measure of his hostility, nor of our right to restrain it, nor of our danger from it, were to be estimated by the magnitude of the force which he had actually obtained, for I knew that his demands of military assistance were unlimited; I knew that they were addressed not merely to the government of the Mauritius, but to the executive directory of France, and I could not ascertain how soon, either by some revolution in the government of the Mauritius, or by direct intercourse with France, those demands might be satisfied to the full extent of his acknowledged expectations.

29. Under all these circumstances an immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpose of frustrating the execution of his unprovoked and unwarrantable projects of ambition and revenge, appeared to me to be demanded by the soundest maxims both of justice and policy.

30. The act of Tippoo Sultaun's ambassadors, ratified by himself, and followed by the admission of a French force into his army, was equivalent to a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war. But while his hostile purpose had been clearly manifested, the immediate means of accomplishing it had happily disappointed the ardour of his hopes.

31. The inconsiderable amount of the aid which he had already received from the French, while it could

could not be construed as a limitation of my just right to vindicate the public safety, affording strong argument of policy in favour of attacking this desperate, implacable, and treacherous enemy, before he could either complete the improvement of his own army, under the French officers whom he had already admitted into his service, or could receive a farther accession of strength, under the progressive operation of his alliance with France.

32. In the moment of his comparative weakness, of his disappointment and probable dejection, the principles of justifiable self-defence, and of prudential precaution, required that we should strike such an instantaneous blow against his power and resources, as should preclude the possibility of his deriving any substantial advantage from the aid of France, whenever it might reach his dominions.

33. Such was the tenor of my opinions as early as the 20th of June, 1798. Although at that early period I could not ascertain from what quarter the French would attempt to assist the sultaun, I recorded my conviction that some attempt to assist him would be among the earliest of their operations. The conclusion of peace upon the continent of Europe, the weak state of our allies in India (particularly of the Nizam, whose councils and army were at that period subjected to the overbearing influence of a powerful French faction), might appear both to Tippoo and to France to offer a favourable crisis for the attack of the British possessions in India. The disposition of the French government to attempt such an enterprise has never been

disguised; and, although I had not obtained positive proof that any formal and regular correspondence, between Tippoo Sultaun and the executive directory of France, had existed previous to the embassy and letters which arrived at the Mauritius, in January, 1798, yet the nature of that transaction afforded a strong presumption that a previous intercourse of the same hostile character had taken place. This presumption was farther corroborated by my certain knowledge, that for some time past various emissaries of France had reached the councils of Tippoo Sultaun, and that through their representations he had been taught to entertain a confident expectation of speedy and effectual support.

34. Even admitting that this expectation was likely to be frustrated, either by a failure of faith on the part of France, or by the vigilance and superior power of his majesty's fleets, I was apprized that Tippoo had also dispatched an embassy to Zemaun Shah, the object of which could be no other than to encourage that prince in the prosecution of his long-threatened invasion of Hindostan. The whole tenor of my advices from the north-western countries of Hindostan, led me to believe that Zemaun Shah would cross the Attack, and would endeavour to pursue his avowed project of invasion, in the course of the ensuing season; and it appeared probable that his approach, which must necessarily engage the attention of the army in Bengal, might be the signal to Tippoo Sultaun for an irruption into the Carnatic.

35. In addition to these considerations, it appeared by no means improbable, that the impetuosity of  
Tippoo

Tippoo Sultaun's temper, exasperated by the assiduous and unremitting insigations of the emissaries of France; might break forth into hostilities, without waiting for the actual movement of any Indian or European ally. His late embassy to the Isle of France sufficiently manifested a disposition capable of pursuing its favourite object of vengeance against the British nation with more zeal than discretion. It is my duty farther to remark, that, in the month of June, 1798, the distribution and condition of the army on the coast of Coromandel, to which I shall advert more fully in a subsequent part of this dispatch, offered but too strong a temptation to the enterprize of a faithless and active enemy. Under such circumstances it would have been an unmanly and weak policy to have confided the safety of the Carnatic to the precarious forbearance of Tippoo Sultaun, or to have left him any longer in the undisturbed possession of the powerful advantage of being able to choose, according to his convenience, the time and mode of the attack, which he had openly menaced,

36. I therefore recorded my decided judgement, that it was necessary to assemble the armies on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar without delay, and I issued my final orders for this purpose on the 20th June, 1798.

37. To assemble the army on both coasts was an indispensable precaution, which I could not have been justified in omitting, from the moment that I was apprized of Tippoo Sultaun's offensive engagements with the French, and of the landing of a French force at Mangalore. But, being resolved, on all

occasions, to submit to your court a full and distinct view of the whole scope of my motives and intentions, I have no hesitation in declaring, that my original resolution was (in circumstances would have admitted) to have attacked the sultaun instantly, and on both sides of his dominions, for the purpose of defeating his hostile preparations, and of anticipating their declared object; I was concerned however to learn, from persons most conversant in military details, at Fort St. George, (notwithstanding the distinguished discipline of your army on the coast of Coromandel, and the eminent valour, activity, and skill of its officers), its dispersed state, and certain radical defects in its establishments, would render the assembling a force equal to offensive movements against Tippoo, a much more tedious and difficult operation than I had apprehended.

38. Some officers of approved military talents, experience, and integrity, at Fort St. George, declared that your army in the Carnatic could not be assembled for offensive purposes before the commencement of the year 1800, and that a period of six months would be required for its equipment, even for the purpose of defending the Carnatic against any sudden attack. The difficulty of assembling and moving your army on the coast of Coromandel, furnished indeed an alarming proof of the defenceless and perilous state of the Carnatic in that arduous conjuncture. But in proportion to the pressure of that difficulty, the necessity of an instantaneous and active exertion became more urgent; for whether the army, when assembled, was to anticipate or wait the attack of Tippoo, it appeared

appeared an equally indispensable measure of precaution to resume, without delay, the power of meeting that vindictive and restless prince in the field. I was not therefore discouraged, either by the suggestions to which I have referred, or by subsequent representations of a similar character and tendency, from insisting on the immediate execution of my orders for assembling the army; and adverting to the fatal consequences which have formerly been experienced in the Carnatic, by neglecting to keep pace with the forwardness of hostile equipments in Mysore, I resolved to intrust the protection of your possessions on the coast of Coromandel to no other security than a complete and early state of preparation for war.

39. At Bombay, my orders for assembling the army were executed with great promptitude and alacrity, unaccompanied by any symptoms of indisposition to those united and zealous efforts, which the exigency of the crisis demanded from every branch of your civil and military service.

40. The unavoidable delay which obstructed the assembling your army in the Carnatic, having compelled me to relinquish my first intention of striking an immediate blow against the power and resources of Tippoo Sultaun, I applied myself to the formation of such a permanent system of preparation and defence, as, while it tended to restore to the government of Fort St. George, with all practicable dispatch, the power of repelling any act of aggression on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, might ultimately enable me to demand both a just indemnification for the expense which the Sul-

taun's violation of treaty had occasioned to your government, and a seasonable security against the consequences of his recent alliance with the enemy.

41. With this view, while the army was assembling on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, my early attention was directed to strengthen and improve the defensive alliance concluded between the honourable company, and their highnesses the Nizam and Peshwah, under the treaties of Paangul, Poonah, and Seringapatam, for the purpose of establishing a barrier against the ambition and revenge of Tippoo Sultaun.

42. The state of this alliance afforded abundant matter of painful anxiety; I found both the Peshwah and the Nizam (whose respective power it was the object of the treaty of Seringapatam to maintain) in such a state of efficiency as might render them useful allies in the event of a war with Mysore, reduced to the lowest condition of depression and weakness, the former by the intrusion of Doulet Row Sindia, and the latter by the threatened hostilities of the same chieftain, by the establishment of a numerous and active French faction, in the centre of the Decan; and while the internal convulsions of each state had diminished the resources of both, their co-operation against Tippoo Sultaun had become impracticable, by the progress of their mutual animosities and dissensions.

43. In this scene of general confusion, the power of Tippoo Sultaun alone, (which it had been the policy of all our alliances and treaties to reduce) had remained undisturbed and unimpaired, if it had

had not been augmented and improved.

44. The final result to the British government appeared to me to be, first, the entire loss of the benefit of the treaty of triple alliance against Tippoo Sultaun, by the utter inability of our allies to fulfil their defensive engagements with the company; and, secondly, the establishment of a French army of 14,000 men, in the dominions of one of our allies, in the vicinity of the territories of our irreconcilable enemy, and on the confines of the Carnatic and of the northern circars.

45. In this state of our political relations, the company was exposed, without the aid of a single ally, to the hazard of a contest with the united force of Tippoo Sultaun, and of the French.

46. My separate dispatch, under date the 21st of November, forwarded by the *Eurydice*, will have apprized your honourable court of the measures which I took for the purpose of restoring to his highness the Nizam, the power of fulfilling his defensive engagements with the company.

47. At the same time my endeavours were employed, with equal assiduity, to give vigour and effect to the treaties subsisting with his highness the Peshwah. The return of Nana Furnavees to the administration, afforded, for some time, a just expectation that our alliance with the Mahrattas would speedily be restored with additional vigour and advantage; but the increasing distractions of the Mahratta empire unfortunately frustrated the wise counsels of that experienced and able statesman, and disappointed my views at the court of Poonah; I had, however, the satisfaction to

ascertain, that the disposition of that court, under the administration of Nana, continued perfectly favourable to the British interests; and that want of power would be the sole cause of its inaction, in the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun.

48. Towards the commencement of the month of August, 1799, I learnt the preparations making by the French, in the Mediterranean. Various circumstances attending the equipment of that armament, inclined me to apprehend, that at least a part of it might be destined for an expedition to India, although I could not believe that the attempt would be made through Egypt. Under these impressions, I took the earliest opportunity of directing the attention of rear-admiral Rainier to the coast of Malabar; and at the same time I proposed to strengthen his majesty's squadron in those seas, according to any arrangement which his excellency might suggest; and I issued orders to the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, to attend to his excellency's suggestions on this important subject. I am happy to inform your honourable court, that his excellency, with the utmost readiness, acceded to the proposition which I had suggested to him, with respect to the defence of the coast of Malabar, although his original intention had been to proceed, in the first instance, to the straits of Malacca.

49. On the 18th of September, I ratified the new subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, of which I have stated the substance in my separate dispatch, of the 21st of November, by the *Eurydice*.

50. On the 18th of October, I received the first authentic information

tion of the invasion of Egypt, by the French, and of the progress of their arms in that country.

51. It is unnecessary to call the attention of your honourable court to the evident connection of the invasion of Egypt, with the joint designs of the French, and of Tippoo Sultaun, against the British power in India; and I trust it is now equally superfluous to enter into any detailed reasoning for the purpose of satisfying you of the security which, at that period of time, would have resulted to your interests in India, if my original intention of anticipating the hostile projects of Tippoo Sultaun could have been carried into immediate effect, according to my anxious wish. The necessity, however, of either compelling Tippoo Sultaun to detach himself from the interests of France, or of depriving him of the power of co-operating with the French, if they should be enabled to reach India, now became too evident to admit of any doubt. My opinion had long been decided, that no negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun could be successful, unless accompanied by such a disposition of our force as should alarm him for the safety of his capital, and that no military operation could effect an adequate or speedy reduction of his power, unless directed immediately to the siege of that city.

52. On the 20th of October, therefore, I gave peremptory orders to the government of Fort St. George, for completing the equipment of their battering train, and for advancing it with all practicable despatch to the most eligible station on the frontier of the Carnatic, with a view of proceeding towards

Seringapatam at the earliest possible period, if such a movement into Mysore should become necessary. At the same time I signified, to the government of Fort St. George, my intention of reinforcing their army with 3000 volunteers from the native infantry, on the establishment of Bengal, who had offered their services with the utmost alacrity and zeal.

53. To the government of Bombay, I issued farther orders for the collection not only of their troops, but of the largest possible supplies on the coast of Malabar.

54. On the 22d of October, (as I have already informed your honourable court,) the dismissal of the French faction in the Nizam's army was happily accomplished at Hyderabad.

55. On the 31st of October, I received the intelligence of the glorious victory obtained by his majesty's squadron, under the command of sir Horatio Nelson; but being still uncertain of the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been intended to co-operate with it in India, by the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope, I did not relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under my orders. The opportunity now appeared favourable for opening a negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun. I had already communicated to the allies, the Nizam, and the Peshwah, a circumstantial detail of the conduct of that prince, and had received from both the most unequivocal assurances of their entire concurrence in my sentiments and views, as well as of their determi-



had not been augmented and improved.

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48. Towards the commencement of the month of August, 1799, I learnt the preparations making by the French, in the Mediterranean. Various circumstances attending the equipment of that armament, inclined me to apprehend, that at least a part of it might be defined for an expedition to India, although I could not believe that the attempt would be made through Egypt. Under these impressions, I took the earliest opportunity of directing the attention of rear-admiral Rainer to the coast of Malabar; and at the same time I proposed to strengthen his majesty's squadron in those seas, according to any arrangement which his excellency might suggest; and I issued orders to the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, to attend to his excellency's suggestions on this important subject. I am happy to inform your honourable court, that his excellency, with the utmost readiness, acceded to the proposition which I had suggested to him, with respect to the defence of the coast of Malabar, although his original intention had been to proceed, in the first instance, to the straits of Malacca.

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50. On the 18th of October, I received the first authentic information,

nating that dangerous consequences might result from a longer delay.

65. The advanced period of the season absolutely required that I should ascertain the sultaun's views within a short time; my proposition contained nothing derogatory to the honour or dignity of the sultaun. It was now urged for the third time without variation, and it related simply and distinctly to the admission of an ambassador, for the purpose of opening a negociation; to demand an immediate answer to a proposition of such a nature, could not, therefore, be deemed either offensive or unreasonable.

66. Subsequently to the dispatch of my letter No. 5. I received from the sultaun the letter No. 6. in reply to my letter No. 3. dispatched from Fort William. The sultaun's silence in his letter No. 6. with respect to the admission of major Doveton, afforded an additional proof of his disposition to evade the pacific advances of the allies.

67. I now employed every effort, to advance the military preparations in the Carnatic, which had already made a considerable progress during the months of November and December. From the moment of my arrival at Fort St. George, all the inhabitants of this settlement, and every officer, civil and military, appeared to be animated by an unanimous determination to discharge their respective duties, with a degree of cheerfulness and ardour, correspondent to the exigency and importance of the occasion; and I was soon satisfied that the disposition, of which I lamented the appearance in the months of July and August, had either been subdued, by the just exercise of authority, or corrected by reflection,

and by the more full disclosure of the views of the enemy. The zeal, alacrity, and public spirit, of the bankers and commercial agents at Madras, as well as of the most respectable of your civil servants at this presidency, enabled me, within a few weeks, to raise a large sum of money, by loan, for the public service. Previous to my departure from Bengal, I had remitted twenty lacks of rupees in specie for the use of this presidency; I now dispatched the Sybille to Calcutta for a farther supply; and the extraordinary exertion of his excellency the vice-president in council, assisted by the diligence and ability of Mr. Thomas Myers, the accountant-general of Bengal, furnished me with an additional aid of twenty lacks, within so short a time, that the movement of the army was not delayed for an instant, on account of a deficiency of treasure; and lieutenant-general Harris was provided with a sufficient supply of specie to maintain his army in the field until the month of May.

68. Tippoo Sultaun remaining silent for a considerable time, after the receipt of my letter of the 9th of January, I concluded that his object must be to delay his answer until the season should be so far advanced, as to render the capture of Seringapatam impracticable during the present year.

69. In the mean while the advices from Busforah, Bagdad, Constantinople, and Bombay, were of so uncertain a nature, as to leave me still in doubt with respect to the condition of the French army in Egypt; the only safe conclusion which could be drawn from those advices being, that the French still maintained the possession of that country with a large army.

70. No intelligence had been received from the Red Sea respecting the arrival of any of his majesty's ships on that station; nor had I been able to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, what means the French might either have provided, or might find on the spot, to enable them to reach the sultaun's dominions.

71. In addition to these circumstances, I knew that while Tippoo Sultaun had declined to receive an ambassador, from the honourable company, and had omitted to answer my late letters, he had dispatched native vakeels from Seringapatam, who, together with M. Dubuc (one of the leaders of the French force raised in the Isle of France, under M. Malartie's proclamation), were on the point of embarking at Tranquebar, with an avowed mission from the sultaun to the executive directory of France.

72. On the 3d of February I had received no answer from the sultaun to my letter of the 9th of January, although the communication between Seringapatam and Fort St. George does not require, at the most, a longer time than eight, and is sometimes effected in four days.

73. In order, therefore, to defeat the object of the sultaun's silence, and to avail myself of the actual superiority of our force, and of the advantages of the present season, before the French could effect any junction with him, I determined to commence hostilities without delay, and to suspend all negotiation, until the united forces of the company, and of their allies, should have made such an impression on the territories of Mysore, as might give

full effect to our just representations.

74. With these views, on the 3d of February, I directed lieutenant-general Harris to enter the territory of Mysore with the army assembled under his command. On the same day, I issued orders to lieutenant-general Stuart to be prepared to co-operate from Malabar; and I signified to rear-admiral Rainier, and to the several allies of the company, that I now considered the British government in India to be at war with Tippoo Sultaun.

75. At length, on the 13th of February, I received, from Tippoo Sultaun, the letter marked No. 7, informing me, that, being frequently disposed "to make excursions and hunt," he was, accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion," and desiring "that I would dispatch major Doveton "slightly attended."

79. But the season for negotiation through the pacific channels, so often offered by me, was now elapsed. After mature deliberation on the grounds already stated I had directed the advance of the army into the territory of the sultaun; and I had signified to the allies my determination to proceed to hostilities. To have delayed the advance of the army, would at once have thrown the advantage, which I then possessed into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, and have rendered the siege of his capital impracticable, during the present season. On the other hand, an embassy, combined with the hostile irruption of any army into Mysore, would have been liable to the imputation of insincerity towards Tippoo Sultaun; and while it bore the appearance of indecision in the

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82. A considerable force, under the command of lieutenant-colonels Read and Brown, will co-operate with lieutenant-general Harris in the southern districts of the Carnatic and Mysore.

83. Under these circumstances, general Harris entered the territory of Mysore, on the 5th of March, with orders to proceed directly to Seringapatam.

84. Having thus submitted to your honourable court, according to the order of dates, a detailed relation of the events which have led to the war in which we are actually engaged, and having declared to you the motives and objects of my conduct, in every stage of this important transaction, I must request your permission to conclude this dispatch with such reflections as arise in my mind from the review of my past measures, and from the prospect of their ultimate consequences and permanent effect.

85. From the first disclosure of the nature and object of Tippoo Sultaun's embassy to the Isle of France, every principle of justice and policy demanded from your government in India, that an instantaneous effort should be made to reduce his power and resources, before he could avail himself of the advantages of the alliance which he had concluded. The defect of means is the sole consideration which can justify me for not having made that effort at the early period when its success would have placed the security of your possessions on a foundation, which the invasion of India by a French force could not have impaired.

86. For, without the aid of some native power, it is scarcely possible that the French should ever make

any permanent impression on your empire in India; and no native power (excepting Tippoo Sultaun) is so infatuated as to be disposed to assist or receive a French army.

87. The progress of events, since the date of my orders of the 20th. of June, 1798, has not only confirmed the principles of justice and policy, by which an attack upon the sultaun was, at that time, demanded, but has manifested that the designs of France, as well as of the sultaun, were of a much more extensive and formidable nature, than any which have ever been attempted against the British empire in India since the hour of its first foundation.

88. While the magnitude and danger of these designs were gradually disclosed, I had the satisfaction to feel that the means of averting them were augmenting in a proportion nearly equal, by the success of the negotiations at Hydrabad, and by the advance of the military preparations, which I had ordered, throughout your possessions.

89. At the commencement of the month of February, the crisis arrived in which I was called upon to form my ultimate decision on the important question at issue with Tippoo Sultaun, and to determine the final result of the whole system of my measures.

90. On the one hand, the apparent establishment of the French army in Egypt, and the uncertainty of the state of our naval power in the Red Sea, rendered the danger still urgent from that quarter; while Tippoo Sultaun's repeated evasions of my proposals for negotiation, combined with his embassy to the executive directory of France, under the conduct of M. Dubuc, appear-

ed to preclude all hope of detaching the sultaun from his recent alliance with the enemy. On the other hand, I now possessed ample means of frustrating the most dangerous effects of that alliance, by a seasonable application of the powerful force, which the treachery and aggression of the sultaun had compelled me to collect at a heavy expense to your finances.

91. Your honourable court will determine, whether, in this state of affairs, my orders of the 3d of February, were premature, and whether I should have been justified, on the 13th of February, in recalling those orders, for the purpose of admitting, at that late period, a negotiation, which would have enabled Tippoo Sultaun to defeat every object of the armament of the allies for the present season, and would have afforded him ample time to reap the full benefit of his connection with France, before the season for besieging his capital should return.

92. In deciding these important questions, you will necessarily consider what degree of reliance was to be placed on the sincerity of the sultaun's disposition to conclude an amicable adjustment with your government, at the very moment when he had actually dispatched, on an embassy to the executive directory of France, the commander of the French troops raised in the Mauritius, and admitted into the sultaun's service, for the express purpose of carrying on a war of aggression against your possessions in India.

93. The admirable condition of your armies on both coasts, and the unequalled perfection of their equipment in every department, added to the extraordinary spirit and animation with which the campaign

has been opened, afford every reason to hope, that the issue of the war will be speedily and prosperous, and that it must terminate in a considerable reduction of Tippoo Sultaun's resources and power.

94. The wisdom of your honourable court will anticipate the extensive benefits which must result to your interests, from an event now become essential to the peace and security of your possessions in India.

95. The policy of the treaty of Seringapatam certainly was not to maintain Tippoo Sultaun's power in such a state as should leave him a constant object of alarm and apprehension to the company; that he has been justly so considered for some years past, cannot be doubted by any person acquainted with the records of any of your governments in India. The present is the second crisis within the last three years, in which the government-general has thought it necessary to assemble the army on the coast of Coromandel, for the sole purpose of checking his motions; and the apprehension of his intentions has obstructed our operations against our European enemies in India during the course of our present war.

96. The continuance of Tippoo's power on its actual scale, and under such circumstances, must have proved to the company a perpetual source of solicitude, expense, and hazard. But the engagement which he has contracted with the French, the public proofs which he has given of his eagerness to receive in Mysore as large a force as they can furnish, combined with the prodigious magnitude of their preparations, and the incredible progress of their arms, evidently directed to the destruction of the British power in India, form

Tippoo Sultaun's temper, exasperated by the assiduous and unremitting insigations of the emissaries of France; might break forth into hostilities, without waiting for the actual movement of any Indian or European ally. His late embassy to the Isle of France sufficiently manifested a disposition capable of pursuing its favourite object of vengeance against the British nation with more zeal than discretion. It is my duty farther to remark, that, in the month of June, 1798, the distribution and condition of the army on the coast of Coromandel, to which I shall advert more fully in a subsequent part of this dispatch, offered but too strong a temptation to the enterprize of a faithless and active enemy. Under such circumstances it would have been an unmanly and weak policy to have confided the safety of the Carnatic to the precarious forbearance of Tippoo Sultaun, or to have left him any longer in the undisturbed possession of the powerful advantage of being able to choose, according to his convenience, the time and mode of the attack, which he had openly menaced.

36. I therefore recorded my decided judgement, that it was necessary to assemble the armies on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar without delay, and I issued my final orders for this purpose on the 20th June, 1798.

37. To assemble the army on both coasts was an indispensable precaution, which I could not have been justified in omitting, from the moment that I was apprized of Tippoo Sultaun's offensive engagements with the French, and of the landing of a French force at Mangalore. But, being resolved, on all

occasions, to submit to your court a full and distinct view of the whole scope of my motives and intentions, I have no hesitation in declaring, that my original resolution was (if circumstances would have admitted) to have attacked the sultaun instantly, and on both sides of his dominions, for the purpose of defeating his hostile preparations, and of anticipating their declared object; I was concerned however to learn, from persons most conversant in military details, at Fort St. George, (notwithstanding the distinguished discipline of your army on the coast of Coromandel, and the eminent valour, activity, and skill of its officers), its dispersed state, and certain radical defects in its establishments, would render the assembling a force equal to offensive movements against Tippoo, a much more tedious and difficult operation than I had apprehended.

38. Some officers of approved military talents, experience, and integrity, at Fort St. George, declared that your army in the Carnatic could not be assembled for offensive purposes before the commencement of the year 1800, and that a period of six months would be required for its equipment, even for the purpose of defending the Carnatic against any sudden attack. The difficulty of assembling and moving your army on the coast of Coromandel, furnished indeed an alarming proof of the defenceless and perilous state of the Carnatic in that arduous conjuncture. But in proportion to the pressure of that difficulty, the necessity of an instantaneous and active exertion became more urgent; for whether the army, when assembled, was to anticipate or wait the attack of Tippoo, it appeared

that dangerous consequences might result from a longer delay.

65. The advanced period of the season absolutely required that I should ascertain the sultaun's views within a short time; my proposition contained nothing derogatory to the honour or dignity of the sultaun. It was now urged for the third time without variation, and it related simply and distinctly to the admission of an ambassador, for the purpose of opening a negociation; to demand an immediate answer to a proposition of such a nature, could not, therefore, be deemed either offensive or unreasonable.

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had not been augmented and improved.

44. The final result to the British government appeared to me to be, first, the entire loss of the benefit of the treaty of triple alliance against Tippoo Sultaun, by the utter inability of our allies to fulfil their defensive engagements with the company; and, secondly, the establishment of a French army of 14,000 men, in the dominions of one of our allies, in the vicinity of the territories of our irreconcilable enemy, and on the confines of the Carnatic and of the northern circars.

45. In this state of our political relations, the company was exposed, without the aid of a single ally, to the hazard of a contest with the united force of Tippoo Sultaun, and of the French.

46. My separate dispatch, under date the 21st of November, forwarded by the Eurydice, will have apprized your honourable court of the measures which I took for the purpose of restoring to his highness the Nizam, the power of fulfilling his defensive engagements with the company.

47. At the same time my endeavours were employed, with equal assiduity, to give vigour and effect to the treaties subsisting with his highness the Peshwah. The return of Nana Furnaveels to the administration, afforded, for some time, a just expectation that our alliance with the Mahrattas would speedily be restored with additional vigour and advantage; but the increasing distractions of the Mahratta empire unfortunately frustrated the wise counsels of that experienced and able statesman, and disappointed my views at the court of Poonah; I had, however, the satisfaction to

ascertain, that the disposition of that court, under the administration of Nana, continued perfectly favourable to the British interests; and that want of power would be the sole cause of its inaction, in the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun.

48. Towards the commencement of the month of August, 1799, I learnt the preparations making by the French, in the Mediterranean. Various circumstances attending the equipment of that armament, inclined me to apprehend, that at least a part of it might be destined for an expedition to India, although I could not believe that the attempt would be made through Egypt. Under these impressions, I took the earliest opportunity of directing the attention of rear-admiral Rainer to the coast of Malabar; and at the same time I proposed to strengthen his majesty's squadron in those seas, according to any arrangement which his excellency might suggest; and I issued orders to the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, to attend to his excellency's suggestions on this important subject. I am happy to inform your honourable court, that his excellency, with the utmost readiness, acceded to the proposition which I had suggested to him, with respect to the defence of the coast of Malabar, although his original intention had been to proceed, in the first instance, to the straits of Malacca.

49. On the 18th of September, I ratified the new subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, of which I have stated the substance in my separate dispatch, of the 21st of November, by the Eurydice.

50. On the 18th of October, I received the first authentic information

tion of the invasion of Egypt, by the French, and of the progress of their arms in that country.

51. It is unnecessary to call the attention of your honourable court to the evident connection of the invasion of Egypt, with the joint designs of the French, and of Tippoo Sultaun, against the British power in India; and I trust it is now equally superfluous to enter into any detailed reasoning for the purpose of satisfying you of the security which, at that period of time, would have resulted to your interests in India, if my original intention of anticipating the hostile projects of Tippoo Sultaun could have been carried into immediate effect, according to my anxious wish. The necessity, however, of either compelling Tippoo Sultaun to detach himself from the interests of France, or of depriving him of the power of co-operating with the French, if they should be enabled to reach India, now became too evident to admit of any doubt. My opinion had long been decided, that no negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun could be successful, unless accompanied by such a disposition of our force as should alarm him for the safety of his capital, and that no military operation could effect an adequate or speedy reduction of his power, unless directed immediately to the siege of that city.

52. On the 20th of October, therefore, I gave peremptory orders to the government of Fort St. George, for completing the equipment of their battering train, and for advancing it with all practicable dispatch to the most eligible station on the frontier of the Carnatic, with a view of proceeding towards

Seringapatam at the earliest possible period, if such a movement into Mysore should become necessary. At the same time I signified, to the government of Fort St. George, my intention of reinforcing their army with 3000 volunteers from the native infantry, on the establishment of Bengal, who had offered their services with the utmost alacrity and zeal.

53. To the government of Bombay, I issued farther orders for the collection not only of their troops, but of the largest possible supplies on the coast of Malabar.

54. On the 22d of October, (as I have already informed your honourable court,) the dismissal of the French faction in the Nizam's army was happily accomplished at Hyderabad.

55. On the 31st of October, I received the intelligence of the glorious victory obtained by his majesty's squadron, under the command of sir Horatio Nelson; but being still uncertain of the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been intended to co-operate with it in India, by the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope, I did not relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under my orders. The opportunity now appeared favourable for opening a negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun. I had already communicated to the allies, the Nizam, and the Peshwah, a circumstantial detail of the conduct of that prince, and had received from both the most unequivocal assurances of their entire concurrence in my sentiments and views, as well as of their determination

70. No intelligence had been received from the Red Sea respecting the arrival of any of his majesty's ships on that station; nor had I been able to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, what means the French might either have provided, or might find on the spot, to enable them to reach the sultaun's dominions.

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69. In the mean while the advices from Bussorah, Bagdad, Constantinople, and Bombay, were of so uncertain a nature, as to leave me still in doubt with respect to the condition of the French army in Egypt; the only safe conclusion which could be drawn from those advices being, that the French still maintained the possession of that country with a large army.

70. No intelligence had been received from the Red Sea respecting the arrival of any of his majesty's ships on that station; nor had I been able to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, what means the French might either have provided, or might find on the spot, to enable them to reach the sultaun's dominions.

71. In addition to these circumstances, I knew that while Tippoo Sultaun had declined to receive an ambassador, from the honourable company, and had omitted to answer my late letters, he had dispatched native vakeels from Seringapatam, who, together with M. Dubuc (one of the leaders of the French force raised in the Isle of France, under M. Malartie's proclamation), were on the point of embarking at Tranquebar, with an avowed mission from the sultaun to the executive directory of France.

72. On the 3d of February I had received no answer from the sultaun to my letter of the 9th of January, although the communication between Seringapatam and Fort St. George does not require, at the most, a longer time than eight, and is sometimes effected in four days.

73. In order, therefore, to defeat the object of the sultaun's silence, and to avail myself of the actual superiority of our force, and of the advantages of the present season, before the French could effect any junction with him, I determined to commence hostilities without delay, and to suspend all negotiation, until the united forces of the company, and of their allies, should have made such an impression on the territories of Mysore, as might give

full effect to our just representations.

74. With these views, on the 3d of February, I directed lieutenant-general Harris to enter the territory of Mysore with the army assembled under his command. On the same day, I issued orders to lieutenant-general Stuart to be prepared to co-operate from Malabar; and I signified to rear-admiral Rainier, and to the several allies of the company, that I now considered the British government in India to be at war with Tippoo Sultaun.

75. At length, on the 13th of February, I received, from Tippoo Sultaun, the letter marked No. 7, informing me, that, being frequently disposed "to make excursions and hunt," he was, accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion," and desiring "that I would" dispatch major Doveton "slightly attended."

79. But the season for negotiation through the pacific channels, so often offered by me, was now elapsed. After mature deliberation on the grounds already stated I had directed the advance of the army into the territory of the sultaun; and I had signified to the allies my determination to proceed to hostilities. To have delayed the advance of the army, would at once have thrown the advantages which I then possessed into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, and have rendered the siege of his capital impracticable, during the present season. On the other hand, an embassy, combined with the hostile irruption of any army into Mysore, would have been liable to the imputation of insincerity towards Tippoo Sultaun; and while it bore the appearance of indecision in the eyes

eyes of the allies, would have promoted, and perhaps warranted, a similar degree of instability in their councils and operations.

77. The design of this tardy, reluctant, and insidious, assent to the admission of an embassy from the British government could be considered in no other light than that of a new artifice for the purpose of gaining time, until a change of circumstances and of season might enable the sultaun to avail himself of the assistance of France. This conclusion was now confirmed by my knowledge of the actual embarkation of M. Dubuc and two native vakeels, on an embassy from Tippoo to the executive directory of France; an event which took place at Tranquebar, on the 7th of February.

78. I therefore replied to the letter of Tippoo Sultaun in the terms of the enclosure, No. 8; in which I have declared lieutenant-general Harris to be the only person now authorized by me to receive and to answer whatever communications the sultaun may think fit to make, with a view to the restoration of peace, on such conditions as appear to the allies to be indispensably necessary to their common security. This letter I directed general Harris to forward to the sultaun on the day on which the army under his command should pass the frontier, and, at the same time, I instructed him to issue, in the name of the allies, the accompanying declaration, marked No. 9.

79. The Nizam's contingent consists of above 6,000 of the honourable company's troops, subsidized by his highness, of about the same number of his own infantry (including a portion of Mr. Peron's Se-

poys, now commanded by British officers) and a large body of cavalry.

80. This force, under the general command of Mur Allum, formed a junction with the British army on the 19th of February; and it is with the greatest satisfaction that I remark to your honourable court, the beneficial effects which the company have already derived from the recent improvement of our alliance with the court of Hyderabad. The Nizam's contingent actually arrived in the vicinity of Chittoor, in a state of preparation for the field, before general Harris was ready to proceed on his march from Vellore.

81. I have annexed to this dispatch, No. 10, the last return of lieutenant-general Harris's army, previous to his passing the frontier, an army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, or more perfect in its discipline, and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal, of its officers, never took the field in India. The army, on the coast of Malabar, (of which I also enclose a return, No. 11.) is in an equally efficient and respectable condition; and the extraordinary efforts which have been made by lieutenant-general Stuart and major-general Hartley, seconded by the cordial attachment and unremitting assiduity of the rajah of Coorga, have collected, within a very short period of time, a supply so abundant, that I am induced to transmit the particulars of it to your honourable court, as a testimony of the distinguished merits of those valuable officers, and of the loyalty and active exertions of that faithful tributary of the honourable company. (No. 12.)

82. A considerable force, under the command of lieutenant-colonels Read and Brown, will co-operate with lieutenant-general Harris in the southern districts of the Carnatic and Mysore.

83. Under these circumstances, general Harris entered the territory of Mysore, on the 5th of March, with orders to proceed directly to Seringapatam.

84. Having thus submitted to your honourable court, according to the order of dates, a detailed relation of the events which have led to the war in which we are actually engaged, and having declared to you the motives and objects of my conduct, in every stage of this important transaction, I must request your permission to conclude this dispatch with such reflections as arise in my mind from the review of my past measures, and from the prospect of their ultimate consequences and permanent effect.

85. From the first disclosure of the nature and object of Tippoo Sultaun's embassy to the Isle of France, every principle of justice and policy demanded from your government in India, that an instantaneous effort should be made to reduce his power and resources, before he could avail himself of the advantages of the alliance which he had concluded. The defect of means is the sole consideration which can justify me for not having made that effort at the early period when its success would have placed the security of your possessions on a foundation, which the invasion of India by a French force could not have impaired.

86. For, without the aid of some native power, it is scarcely possible that the French should ever make

any permanent impression on your empire in India; and no native power (excepting Tippoo Sultaun) is so infatuated as to be disposed to assist or receive a French army.

87. The progress of events, since the date of my orders of the 20th. of June, 1798, has not only confirmed the principles of justice and policy, by which an attack upon the sultaun was, at that time, demanded, but has manifested that the designs of France, as well as of the sultaun, were of a much more extensive and formidable nature, than any which have ever been attempted against the British empire in India since the hour of its first foundation.

88. While the magnitude and danger of these designs were gradually disclosed, I had the satisfaction to feel that the means of averting them were augmenting in a proportion nearly equal, by the success of the negotiations at Hyderabad, and by the advance of the military preparations, which I had ordered, throughout your possessions.

89. At the commencement of the month of February, the crisis arrived in which I was called upon to form my ultimate decision on the important question at issue with Tippoo Sultaun, and to determine the final result of the whole system of my measures.

90. On the one hand, the apparent establishment of the French army in Egypt, and the uncertainty of the state of our naval power in the Red Sea, rendered the danger still urgent from that quarter; while Tippoo Sultaun's repeated evasions of my proposals for negotiation, combined with his embassy to the executive directory of France, under the conduct of M. Dubuc, appear-

ed to preclude all hope of detaching the sultaun from his recent alliance with the enemy. On the other hand, I now possessed ample means of frustrating the most dangerous effects of that alliance, by a seasonable application of the powerful force, which the treachery and aggression of the sultaun had compelled me to collect at a heavy expense to your finances.

91. Your honourable court will determine, whether, in this state of affairs, my orders of the 3d of February, were premature, and whether I should have been justified, on the 13th of February, in recalling those orders, for the purpose of admitting, at that late period, a negotiation, which would have enabled Tippoo Sultaun to defeat every object of the armament of the allies for the present season, and would have afforded him ample time to reap the full benefit of his connection with France, before the season for besieging his capital should return.

92. In deciding these important questions, you will necessarily consider what degree of reliance was to be placed on the sincerity of the sultaun's disposition to conclude an amicable adjustment with your government, at the very moment when he had actually dispatched, on an embassy to the executive directory of France, the commander of the French troops raised in the Mauritius, and admitted into the sultaun's service, for the express purpose of carrying on a war of aggression against your possessions in India.

93. The admirable condition of your armies on both coasts, and the unequalled perfection of their equipment in every department, added to the extraordinary spirit and animation with which the campaign

has been opened, afford every reason to hope, that the issue of the war will be speedily and prosperous, and that it must terminate in a considerable reduction of Tippoo Sultaun's resources and power.

94. The wisdom of your honourable court will anticipate the extensive benefits which must result to your interests, from an event now become essential to the peace and security of your possessions in India.

95. The policy of the treaty of Seringapatam certainly was not to maintain Tippoo Sultaun's power in such a state as should leave him a constant object of alarm and apprehension to the company: that he has been justly so considered for some years past, cannot be doubted by any person acquainted with the records of any of your governments in India. The present is the second crisis within the last three years, in which the government-general has thought it necessary to assemble the army on the coast of Coromandel, for the sole purpose of checking his motions; and the apprehension of his intentions has obstructed our operations against our European enemies in India during the course of our present war.

96. The continuance of Tippoo's power on its actual scale, and under such circumstances, must have proved to the company a perpetual source of solicitude, expense, and hazard. But the engagement which he has contracted with the French, the public proofs which he has given of his eagerness to receive in Mysore as large a force as they can furnish, combined with the prodigious magnitude of their preparations, and the incredible progress of their arms, evidently directed to the destruction of the British power in India, form



new and prominent features in our political situation in this quarter of the world.

97. Admitting the wisdom of that policy, which dictated the preservation of Tippoo Sultaun's power, at the close of the last war with Mysore, the spirit of our present councils must be accommodated to the variation of circumstances, and to the actual position, character, and views of our enemies.

98. In such a conjuncture of affairs, I am persuaded that your honourable court will be of opinion, that no object can be deemed so urgent, or so necessary to the safety of your possessions, as the effectual reduction of the only declared ally of France now existing among the native powers of India.

99. If Tippoo Sultaun had been disposed to content himself with the quiet possession of his present dominions; if he could have been brought to a sense of his own peril in forming a connection with the French, the representations which I addressed to him would have produced an early and salutary impression. Whatever speculative opinions might have been entertained with respect to his interests, views, and power, the justice and moderation of the British government would never have disturbed his tranquillity. But he resolved to attempt the recovery of his lost dominions, at the hazard of those which he still retains; and in the ardour of his passionate pursuit, he overlooked not only the certain destruction of his own independence, the inevitable consequence even of the most prosperous success of any alliance with France, but also the predominant influence of the English East-

India company, which would detect his treachery, and turn against his own empire the ruin which he had meditated against theirs.

100. The secrecy of his councils, the promptitude of his resources, his constant and active state of equipment for war, added to the facility of his intercourse with the French through his remaining territories on the coast of Malabar, form the most dangerous circumstances in the actual condition of his power and dominion, and constitute his principal means of offence.

101. If success should attend your arms in this war, I entertain a firm confidence that those dangers will either be wholly averted, or so considerably diminished, as to afford to your government in India the prospect of durable security and genuine peace.

102. I cannot close this letter without repeating to your honourable court the cordial expressions of my entire satisfaction in the zealous and honourable co-operation of lord Clive, as well as of all the members of this government. The beneficial effect of their cheerful and ready concurrence, in forwarding all my views, is manifest in the rapid progress and perfect completion of the equipments of the army in the field, and furnishes a striking and salutary example of the inestimable advantages of unanimity and concord among your servants in India. I have the honour to be, honourable sirs, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient

and faithful servant,

Mornington.

Fort St. George,  
20th March, 1799.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Executive Directory.*

*The Circar Condabad to the Executive Directory, respecting the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

In the name of the friendship which the Circar Condabad and his nation vow to observe towards the French republic, a friendship and alliance which will endure as long as the sun and moon shall continue to shine in the heavens, and will be so solid that the most extraordinary circumstances shall never break or disunite either the one or the other.

The English, jealous of the connection and friendship which for a long time reigned between my circar and France, have united themselves to the Mahrattahs, to the Nizam Ali Khan, and to my other enemies, for the purpose of declaring war against me; a war as odious and unjust as that which had lasted for some years before, and which was attended with such fatal consequences to me, by taking from me my finest provinces, three crores and thirty lacks of rupees.

The republic is not ignorant of any of these unfortunate circumstances; and of my having endeavoured to dispute every inch of territory, which I was forced to give up to our common enemy. I should not have been compelled to make those cruel sacrifices had I been assisted by the French, my ancient allies; who, deceived by the perfidious projects of governor-general Copway, at Pondicherry, together with governor Campbell, at Madras, agreed to the evacuation of the place which they commanded. The French republic, by expelling

the English from their rich possessions in India, will certainly repair the faults of their ancient government.

Animated for a long time by these sentiments, I have communicated them to the government of the Isle of France, through the medium of two ambassadors, from whom I have just had the high satisfaction of receiving such answers as I wished for; as well as the republican colours from the chief of brigade Chapuys, and naval captain Dubuc, who have brought to me such succours in soldiers and officers as circumstances have permitted general Malartie and rear-admiral Sercey to send me.

I keep near me the former officer, and send you the second in quality of an ambassador, for the purpose, at the same time that he demands your alliance offensive and defensive, of obtaining forces sufficient to attack and annihilate our common enemies. I will transmit to you, by his means, my standard, which, united to that of the republic, will serve as a basis of the alliance which the two nations are about to contract. I have also charged him to communicate particular orders to you.

I join with him in the embassy Sheik Abdoubrain and Mahomet Bismila, my subjects, who are equally directed to represent me in all affairs which they have to transact with you.

Whatever may be the circumstances in which the two nations may hereafter find themselves, whether together or separately in all their transactions, may the good, the glory, and the advantage of both be always the end of them! May their respective sentiments be guaranteed

guaranteed by the appearances of fidelity, and the solemn pledges given by each of them! and may the heavens and earth draw near to each other and unite, sooner than our alliance shall experience the slightest alteration!

Given at my palace at Seringapatam, July 20, 1798.

*Copy of Article's of Engagement proposed by Tippoo Sultan to the Directory.*

Recapitulation of the demands which my ambassadors are to make of the executive directory at Paris:

Article I. Ten or fifteen thousand troops, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

II. A naval force to, carry on hostilities on the coast where our armies may be, in order to favour their operations, or reinforce them, if necessary.

III. The circar shall furnish all warlike stores and provisions to the armies of the republic, as well as horses, oxen, and every necessary article, with the exception of European liquors, which he has not in his country.

IV. The orders of the king shall be taken with respect to all the marches and military operations.

V. The expedition shall be directed against some point of the coast of Coromandel, and in preference against Porto Novo, where the disembarkation of the troops shall take place; and the king shall first repair thither with his army, his intention being to commence his operations in the heart of the enemy's country.

VI. The king demands, that notice shall be given to him by the republic, in dispatching two cor-

vettes from Europe, at a distance of twenty days from each other, of the number of ships and troops to be sent to him, that he may immediately enter upon the campaign, and make himself master of the coast of Coromandel, before the arrival of the republican forces.

VII. All the conquests made from the enemy shall, with the exception of the provinces which the king has been obliged to cede to the English, to the Mahrattas, and to Nizam Ali Khan, be equally divided between the two nations, and according to the respective conventions; the same division shall take place of the enemy's vessels and the Portuguese colonies, for the purpose of indemnifying the king for the expenses of the war.

VIII. If any difficulty shall arise between the allied armies, each of them shall possess the right of referring to their modes of justice, according to their laws and customs, and every discretionary article shall be agreed upon in writing between both nation.

IX. That whatever may be the wish of the republic to make peace with England, or to continue the war, it shall always consider the king as its friend and faithful ally, and include him in all its treaties, and communicate to him all its intentions.

X. All French who now are in, or may come into the states of the king, shall be treated as friends and allies; and they shall be empowered to come and go, and carry on trade, without being liable to any trouble or molestation, but shall, on the contrary, receive every assistance of which they may stand in need.

XI. This article relates to bringing into the service of the sultan several

several French artists and mechanics, skilled in casting cannon, in paper and glass making, with some engineers and builders.

Given in my palace of Seringapatam, under my signature, that of my prime minister, and authenticated with the state seal, on the 20th of July, 1798.

*Copy of a Letter from Dubuc to the Rajah of Travencore's Minister at Aleppo.*

My lord,

I expect, with impatience, the arrival of some vessels from India, to hear from you, and to learn from you that your health is perfectly re-established, if, as it has been reported here, it has been in a bad state.

As the means of sending intelligence to India are very fluctuating, I take the opportunity of a vessel which is sailing for the coast of Coromandel, to write to the prince Tippoo Suldaun, with whom I have the honour to correspond. I request he will be pleased to communicate my letter to you, after having caused it to be translated into the Oriental language, that it may not be necessary for you to show it to any one.

I have often considered, in my own mind, why your prince was not in alliance with the suldaun; and in recollecting that the great nabob, Hyder Ali, his father, had been the friend and ally of Ram Rajah, I was astonished that that friendship, which had been deranged by some event, had not been renewed. It is very common in Europe for a power which has been at war with its neighbour to become its friend and

ally. You have been at war with the Pacha. I feel the sincerest conviction that every resentment should be forgotten; that all former disputes should be consigned to oblivion; and that it is the duty of the two princes to enter into a treaty of alliance and friendship, in a way solid and suitable to their reciprocal interests. Were I in India, I should give you, as well as the suldaun, such substantial grounds for that proceeding, that I am confident my wishes would be fulfilled; but it will be peculiarly your glory to unite these two powers. You are the counsellor and the friend of your king; you direct his affairs so advantageously, that if you find this alliance profitable (and I do not doubt but you will), it will be sufficient for you to propose it to him, and the two princes will readily come to a good understanding.—Should my hopes be gratified in this respect, my joy will be complete, for you will be considered our ally in becoming that of a prince who has been for a long time united with France. I pray heaven to grant you long and happy days; and that those of your king may be prosperous, is the sincere wish of your servant and friend,

Mal. Descombre,  
Isle de France, March 5, 1798.

*Copy of a Letter from Dubuc to Tippoo Suldaun; dated 10th December, 1798, O. S.*

Grand Pacha—health and respect!

The men have fortunately arrived, but we are in want of the most essential thing—the letters which they left on their way. I however hope they will arrive in a few

70. No intelligence had been received from the Red Sea respecting the arrival of any of his majesty's ships on that station; nor had I been able to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, what means the French might either have provided, or might find on the spot, to enable them to reach the sultaun's dominions.

71. In addition to these circumstances, I knew that while Tippoo Sultaun had declined to receive an ambassador, from the honourable company, and had omitted to answer my late letters, he had dispatched native vakeels from Seringapatam, who, together with M. Dubuc (one of the leaders of the French force raised in the Isle of France, under M. Malartic's proclamation), were on the point of embarking at Tranquebar, with an avowed mission from the sultaun to the executive directory of France.

72. On the 3d of February I had received no answer from the sultaun to my letter of the 9th of January, although the communication between Seringapatam and Fort St. George does not require, at the most, a longer time than eight, and is sometimes effected in four days.

73. In order, therefore, to defeat the object of the sultaun's silence, and to avail myself of the actual superiority of our force, and of the advantages of the present season, before the French could effect any junction with him, I determined to commence hostilities without delay, and to suspend all negotiation, until the united forces of the company, and of their allies, should have made such an impression on the territories of Mysore, as might give

full effect to our just representations.

74. With these views, on the 3d of February, I directed lieutenant-general Harris to enter the territory of Mysore with the army assembled under his command. On the same day, I issued orders to lieutenant-general Stuart to be prepared to co-operate from Malabar; and I signified to rear-admiral Rainier, and to the several allies of the company, that I now considered the British government in India to be at war with Tippoo Sultaun.

75. At length, on the 15th of February, I received, from Tippoo Sultaun, the letter marked No. 7, informing me, that, being frequently disposed "to make excursions and hunt," he was, accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion," and desiring "that I would dispatch major Doveton "dignity attended."

79. But the season for negotiation through the pacific channels so often offered by me, was now elapsed. After mature deliberation on the grounds already stated I had directed the advance of the army into the territory of the sultaun; and I had signified to the allies my determination to proceed to hostilities. To have delayed the advance of the army, would have once have thrown the advantage which I then possessed into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, and have rendered the siege of his capital impracticable, during the present season. On the other hand, an embassy, combined with the hostile irruption of any army into Mysore, would have been liable to the imputation of insincerity towards Tippoo Sultaun; and while it bore the appearance of indecision in the

them; be ready either to defend yourself, or to make an attack. The preparations for war are going on with great rapidity. The army of the Nizam is already on its march; it must be stopped. The English were desirous of carrying away Ouauquil Sadas Chidevaram; but I discovered the plot, and it has not succeeded. It is necessary that your majesty should instantly write to the government of Tranquebar, by a swift courier, to demand its immediate protection for your general-in-chief Dubuc, his major Fillietag, the interpreter De Bay, and your Ouauquil. Lord Mornington, governor-general of Bengal, and general Clarke, are coming to the coast about the end of this month, for the purpose of entering into negotiations with your majesty; which, if they are not advantageous to them, they will cause you to declare war against them. The result of that measure will be the invasion of your country, and the dethroning of you, by substituting for you and your heirs a nabob of their own making. Your majesty must perceive, that nothing less is in agitation than the destruction of your kingdom. You must exert yourself, and negotiate every where to maintain your power, until the moment when I shall be able to secure it for ever for yourself and your august children. It is very easy for the English, in consequence of their intrigues in every part of India, to cause troubles of a serious kind, and deprive you of all your allies. Should they succeed in the war against your majesty, they would afterwards effect the destruction of the power of the Mahrattahs, and deprive them of every possession which might be ceded to them by a new treaty

of peace. It is therefore evidently their interest to treat jointly with you, for the purpose of finding a certain and mutual guarantee, and that each member may defend the stipulations and cessions made by each at the peace which you signed in your capital with the contracting parties. The English threaten you, the Mahrattahs are bound to support you, and not suffer you to be overcome. The barrier, which separates you from the former, should exist without any encroachment. You may rely on your allies as long as you possess interests in common, and you would be abandoned by them were these common interests to cease.

The time is short and precious. You must give proofs of your good intentions, and gain over the English; and, at the same time, throw obstacles in the way of their negotiations at Poona. In such a conjuncture, the Mahrattahs ought to give to the law of treaties all possible weight, and not to omit recalling to the minds of the English the assistance granted by them against your majesty. Should their remonstrances be neglected, and the means of conciliation prove fruitless, let them instantly take up arms, and threaten the nation guilty of a breach of the treaties. Such a proceeding would, perhaps, stop all military designs and operations against your majesty. But if the event should prove different, the sword must be drawn, and the sheath thrown so far as to render every search for it useless. We have no intelligence of any peculiar interest from Europe. The republic is uniformly victorious, and continues to refuse peace to England. Scindia has already taken Delhi; and I think

82. A considerable force, under the command of lieutenant-colonels Read and Brown, will co-operate with lieutenant-general Harris in the southern districts of the Carnatic and Mysore.

83. Under these circumstances, general Harris entered the territory of Mysore, on the 5th of March, with orders to proceed directly to Seringapatam.

84. Having thus submitted to your honourable court, according to the order of dates, a detailed relation of the events which have led to the war in which we are actually engaged, and having declared to you the motives and objects of my conduct, in every stage of this important transaction, I must request your permission to conclude this dispatch with such reflections as arise in my mind from the review of my past measures, and from the prospect of their ultimate consequences and permanent effect.

85. From the first disclosure of the nature and object of Tippoo Sultaun's embassy to the Isle of France, every principle of justice and policy demanded from your government in India, that an instantaneous effort should be made to reduce his power and resources, before he could avail himself of the advantages of the alliance which he had concluded. The defect of means is the sole consideration which can justify me for not having made that effort at the early period when its success would have placed the security of your possessions on a foundation, which the invasion of India by a French force could not have impaired.

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any permanent impression on your empire in India; and no native power (excepting Tippoo Sultaun) is so infatuated as to be disposed to assist or receive a French army.

87. The progress of events, since the date of my orders of the 20th. of June, 1798, has not only confirmed the principles of justice and policy, by which an attack upon the sultaun was, at that time, demanded, but has manifested that the designs of France, as well as of the sultaun, were of a much more extensive and formidable nature, than any which have ever been attempted against the British empire in India since the hour of its first foundation.

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ed to preclude all hope of detaching the sultaun from his recent alliance with the enemy. On the other hand, I now possessed ample means of frustrating the most dangerous effects of that alliance, by a reasonable application of the powerful force, which the treachery and aggression of the sultaun had compelled me to collect at a heavy expense to your finances.

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92. In deciding these important questions, you will necessarily consider what degree of reliance was to be placed on the sincerity of the sultaun's disposition to conclude an amicable adjustment with your government, at the very moment when he had actually dispatched, on an embassy to the executive directory of France, the commander of the French troops raised in the Mauritius, and admitted into the sultaun's service, for the express purpose of carrying on a war of aggression against your possessions in India.

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has been opened, afford every reason to hope, that the issue of the war will be speedily and prosperous, and that it must terminate in a considerable reduction of Tippoo Sultaun's resources and power.

94. The wisdom of your honourable court will anticipate the extensive benefits which must result to your interests, from an event now become essential to the peace and security of your possessions in India.

95. The policy of the treaty of Seringapatam certainly was not to maintain Tippoo Sultaun's power in such a state as should leave him a constant object of alarm and apprehension to the company: that he has been justly so considered for some years past, cannot be doubted by any person acquainted with the records of any of your governments in India. The present is the second crisis within the last three years, in which the government-general has thought it necessary to assemble the army on the coast of Coromandel, for the sole purpose of checking his motions; and the apprehension of his intentions has obstructed our operations against our European enemies in India during the course of our present war.

96. The continuance of Tippoo's power on its actual scale, and under such circumstances, must have proved to the company a perpetual source of solicitude, expense, and hazard. But the engagement which he has contracted with the French, the public proofs which he has given of his eagerness to receive in Mysore as large a force as they can furnish, combined with the prodigious magnitude of their preparations, and the incredible progress of their arms, evidently directed to the destruction of the British power in India, form



It is with great satisfaction I observe, that, notwithstanding our internal calamities, this kingdom, blended as its interests are in the general prosperity of the empire, has participated in the effects of the increasing wealth and commerce of Great Britain, and that our revenues and trade have increased.

My lords and gentlemen,

It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal regulation which have so long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and support. Your agriculture, your manufactures, and particularly the linen-manufacture, the Protestant charter schools, and other charitable institutions, will require, and will, I am sure, continue to receive that aid and encouragement which they have uniformly experienced from the liberality of parliament. I am confident you will feel a particular anxiety to give farther attention to the just and honourable claims of those who have suffered from their loyalty during the rebellion.

His majesty depends upon your persevering energy to repress, by every wise effort, the spirit of disaffection, which still requires the exercise of extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects. In recurring, where the occasion has required it, to acts of indispensable severity, I have not been inattentive to the suggestions of mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the effects of penal justice, and the necessary exertions of the powers of the state, with as much forbearance and lenity as could be consistent with the public safety.

In the general cause, which engages the empire, our prospect is

highly encouraging; but in proportion as a successful termination of the war becomes probable, our efforts should be redoubled, in order to secure it.

The zeal of his majesty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honourable co-operation of the British fencibles and militia, and the activity, skill, and valour of his majesty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the situation and circumstances of this kingdom, considering, on the one hand, the strength and stability of Great Britain, and, on the other, those divisions which have shaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for some permanent adjustment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our sister kingdom to every part of this island.

The unremitting industry, with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope, that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire.

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*His Excellency's Speech to both Houses, on proroguing the Parliament, 1st June.*

My

My lords and gentlemen,  
**I** HAVE received his majesty's commands to release you from your farther attendance in parliament, in order that the various parts of the kingdom, which are still agitated by the projects of the disaffected, may reap the advantage of your more immediate vigilance and protection.

I am at the same time to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the continued and undiminished zeal which you have manifested for counteracting the wicked plots of internal conspirators, and for the defeat of every hostile attempt which the desperation of the enemy may meditate.

The situation of affairs on the continent has been materially improved in the period which has elapsed since the commencement of the session. The signal advantages already obtained by the Austrian arms, and the vigorous and decisive exertions on the part of Russia, must be subjects of great joy and congratulation to all who can estimate the value of established order and legitimate government. I know the pleasure you must derive from the consoling prospect, that Europe may be ultimately rescued from the ravaging arms and the desolating principles of France.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I thank you, in his majesty's name, for the large and extraordinary supply which you have so honourably voted to meet every wish of the government, and every exigency of the state. You must reflect with the highest satisfaction on the liberal co-operation which, in every moment of difficulty, you have experienced from the British par-

liament: and I have the fullest confidence, that the public spirit of this country will not be found inferior to that of Great Britain, in submitting to such temporary burdens as the safety of the community may require.

I sincerely regret, that so extensive a demand should be made on your liberality; but, when no measure has been left untried by the malice of our enemies to sever this kingdom from the British empire, and to involve you in all the horrors of rebellion and massacre, you have displayed true wisdom in proportioning your exertions to the blessings you have to preserve, and the miseries you have to avert.

My lords and gentlemen,

I am to return you his majesty's acknowledgments for the many important measures you have accomplished this session. Your liberality and justice, to those who have suffered from their loyalty, will confirm the exertions of the well-disposed; and your judicious provisions for the regulation of paper currency are calculated to preserve its credit from depreciation without diminishing the necessary circulation.

I am sensible of the confidence which you have reposed in me, by enabling me to exercise the powers of martial law in the manner best adapted to the present circumstances of the country. It will be my care to employ those powers for the purposes for which they were given, by taking the most effectual and summary measures for the suppression and punishment of rebellious proceedings, interfering as little as possible with the ordinary administration of justice among his majesty's peaceable subjects.

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I have his majesty's particular commands to acquaint you, that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain has been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions, proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of the parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections. His majesty will receive the greatest satisfaction in witnessing the accomplishment of a system, which, by allaying the unhappy distractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce of his respective kingdoms, must afford them at all times, and especially in the present moment, the best means of jointly opposing an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of foreign and domestic enemies; and his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment, when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire.

I feel most sensibly the arduous situation in which I am placed, and the weight of the trust which his majesty has imposed upon me at this most important crisis; but if I should be so fortunate as to contribute in the smallest degree to the success

of this great measure, I shall think the labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the service of my country amply repaid, and shall retire with the conscious satisfaction, that I have had some share in averting from his majesty's dominions those dangers and calamities which have overspread so large a portion of Europe.

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*Decree of the Prince of Brazil, declaring himself Regent of Portugal.*

**T**AKING into consideration that, in virtue of the laws on which is founded the Portuguese monarchy, all the rights of sovereignty have devolved on my person, on account of the melancholy, verified, and very notorious infirmity of the queen my mother, and her incapacity of continuing to exercise them; and finding myself convinced (by the prolonged experience of seven years, in which the care and assistance of the most reputed physicians have been entirely ineffectual) that the same infirmity, in common language, would be considered an insanity; it has appeared to me, that in the actual circumstances of public affairs, as well as to what respects the foreign concerns, as to the internal administration of the kingdom, the good of the faithful Portuguese subjects, and my personal honour, are equally interested, in that (by my revoking my decree of the 10th of February, 1792, which was solely dictated by the sentiments of respect and filial love, of which I have always desired, and do desire, to give to the queen my sovereign and mother the most superabundant proofs) the government of these kingdoms and their

their dominions should continue from this day forward under my proper name and supreme authority; on which account, without withdrawing myself from the said sentiments, but acknowledging that they, from their nature, ought to be subordinate to the good of the people, and to the honour of the sovereignty, I have resolved that, from the date of the present decree, all laws, acts, decrees, resolutions, and orders, (which ought to be made out in the name of the queen my Sovereign and mother, if she was actually governing this monarchy), shall be formed and made out in my name, as prince regent, which I am during her actual impediment; and that, in like manner, shall be addressed to me all consultations, petitions, requests, and representations, which in future may ascend to my presence.

Joseph Sierra de Sousa, counselor of state for the affairs of the kingdom, shall make it to be so understood, and cause it to be executed, sending copies of this decree to those parts whereto they belong. Done at the palace of Queluz.

on the 15th of July, 1799.

(Signed) J. S. De Sousa.  
(The princes seal, &c.)

*Message of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, to the Councils, February 16.*

THE Ottoman Porte, informed that the expedition to Egypt was only directed against its real enemies, had begun to look upon it with a favourable eye; but it was soon led astray by the perfidious insinuations of England and the coalesced powers. The war

which it has declared against its ancient and faithful allies has been the fruit of this error, and will lead to its total ruin. It has drawn the Barbary powers into a war with France. The French government has adopted measures of reprisal, and it gives you notice of having done so.

*Treaty of Commerce between the French Republic and the Helvetic Republic.*

THE French republic and the Helvetic republic, in execution of the article XV. of the treaty of alliance concluded at Paris, the 2d Fructidor, in the 6th year of the French republic (19th August, 1798), and being desirous to secure, in a manner the most invariable and reciprocally advantageous, the commercial relations of the two countries, have nominated, for the purpose of carrying a treaty of commerce into completion and effect, to wit, the executive directory of the French republic, on the one part, citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs; and the executive directory of the Helvetic republic, on the other part, citizens Pierre Joseph Zeltner, and Amedee Jenner, ministers plenipotentiary; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. Neither of the two republics shall ever be at liberty to prohibit the importation, consumption, or carriage of any merchandise of the growth or manufacture of the other republic its ally, on condition that such merchandise shall be accompanied with certificates of their origin.

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II. Neither

II. Neither of the two republics shall ever prohibit the exportation of any produce of its territory or manufactures destined for the republic its ally, except corn or flour, and that only when the same prohibition shall have taken place by a general regulation extending to all nations: and as a prohibition at present exists in France, against the exportation of grain, the French republic, considering the indispensable want of this article under which the Helvetic republic labours and desirous to give it a particular proof of its affection, consents that it shall be authorized to export annually, on its own account, from the French territory, a million of myriagrammes of corn or flour, on condition that it shall be carried by the following places, viz. Versoix, Jougnes, Verrieres-de-Joux, and Bourg Libre, on Swiss carriages, conducted by Swiss carriers; and in certain cases when this importation of corn or flour should not be sufficient for the manifest wants of Helvetia, the French republic farther consents that in such case, by particular treaties to be yearly renewed, it should be at liberty to import to the amount of four millions of myriagrammes, but in no event whatever to exceed that quantity.

III. The duties on the import and export of merchandises of the growth or manufacture of the two allied republics, in their passage from one to the other, and which are fixed by the weight according to existing tariffs, shall continue to be collected in the same way, taking, however, for a basis the value of the merchandise, so far that in no case the duty paid shall exceed six per cent. of the value: and for this purpose, invoices of each kind of

merchandise shall be made out by the respective governments, who shall transmit a table of the various articles of their growth and manufacture, and regulate the form of the certificates which are to authenticate their origin. And in the mean time, and until the said regulations shall be carried into complete effect, it is agreed that the perception of duties shall take place on the basis of the declared value of the merchandises, saving to the comptrollers the privilege of detaining them, paying their said avowed value, with ten per cent. over, and upon condition that the articles exported from Helvetia shall not enter France except through the offices designated in the preceding article, to which shall be added one of the offices of the department of Mont-Terrible.

IV. The duties paid in Helvetia on retailed wines shall be the same on the wines of France as on those of the growth of Helvetia.

V. Whereas the reciprocal liberty of transfer of goods and manufactures is stipulated by the first article, the duty on the transfer shall not exceed one half per cent. of the value of the articles so transferred. The taxes for the maintenance of routes, as well by land as by water, shall not exceed those payable by the citizens of the republic which levies them. Waggoners, carriers, and watermen, on entering the territory of the one republic or the other, shall conform themselves to the laws and regulations respectively established in each of them.

VI. The two republics agree that their respective moneys shall be struck after the same model, and that then they shall have a legal circulation in the two countries, reciprocally.

VII. If

VII. If a merchant or any other French citizen shall die in Switzerland, the Helvetic republic undertakes to treat heirs, or other persons having a right to his property, as if they were natives, and so reciprocally in France, in case of the demise of a Swiss citizen.

VIII. French citizens domiciliated in Helvetia, and Helvetic citizens domiciliated in France, shall have their passports verified by the consuls of their respective nations.

IX. French citizens and Helvetic citizens, who shall travel for an unlimited term in the states of either allied republic, shall be at liberty to leave them with passports of their nation, on having them verified by the respective legations or consuls, and conforming to the police-laws in force in the countries in which they shall so travel.

X. It is agreed that the treaties or conventions, which the French and Helvetic republics shall make with other states, shall never injure in any respect the execution of the present, but, on the contrary, that each of them, on such occasions, shall use its efforts to secure the commercial advantages hereby stipulated to its allied republic.

XI. Nothing herein contained shall change or affect the commercial and political articles of the treaty of alliance.

The ratifications of the present treaty shall take place in the space of three decades, reckoning from the day of its being signed, and its full execution within four decades after the exchange of the ratifications.

Concluded and signed at Paris, the 11th Prairial, 7th year (30th May, 1799).

(Signed)

C. M. Talleyrand.

P. J. Zeltner.

A. Jenner,

*Message from the Executive Directory to the Councils, proposing to declare War against the Emperor of Germany, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, 13th of March.*

Citizens representatives,  
**W**HATEVER may have been the magnitude of the events that have taken place, since the conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio, we have still the remembrance of those that preceded it. We have not forgotten that it was after five years of triumphs, and at the moment in which the French armies were no more than thirty leagues from Vienna, that the republic consented to suspend the course of her victories, and preferred to the success of some last efforts, the immediate establishment of peace. It may be recollected, that when the treaty was concluded, the moderation of the conqueror appeared so great, that it wanted, in some sort, an apology.

Could we have foreseen that this compact, in which force shewed itself so indulgent—in which the most liberal compensation ought to have silenced all regret, so far from obtaining the promised stability, would have been from the beginning but the deceiving pledge of an ephemeral reconciliation, and that the sudden attacks made against it should all come from a power which was indebted to it for an ample indemnification for the losses she had experienced by the war? What a strange contrast! Whilst the republic with constant care fulfils every stipulation of a treaty, which is in proportion neither with her successes, nor with what she might deduce as legitimate revenge for the plans of destruction formed and pursued

pursued against her; Austria, instead of showing herself satisfied with an approximation that has spared her the greatest misfortunes, appears to be occupied only with deteriorating and destroying the compact that has formed her safety.

Among the violations of the treaty which that power has been guilty of, some have been so manifest, that they have already excited the surprise of Europe, and the indignation of republicans:—others, less public, or less perceived, have yet not been less hostile; and the directory can no longer defer marking out to the legislature the circumstances of the conduct of the cabinet of Austria; a conduct truly offensive, invasive of the state of peace, and which no effort nor example has been able to bring back to the observance of engagements contracted.

At the period of the concluding of the treaty of Campo Formio, it was reciprocally stipulated; by an additional act to the treaty, that all that part of the German territory, extending from the Tyrol and the frontier of the Austrian states to the left bank of the Mein, should be evacuated at once by the French and imperial troops, except the post of Kehl, which was to remain with the republic. A convention still more particular, concluded and signed at Rastadt, the 11th Frimaire, 6th year, renewed that engagement, and marked a fixed term for its execution. On the part of the republic that execution was prompt and entire. On the part of Austria it was deferred, eluded, and is not yet obtained. In Philipsburg the emperor has kept a garrison and provisions, which belong to him, in spite of the pretence that covers them. In Ulm and Ingoldstadt he has not ceased to

keep troops, and an *etat major* to receive more. All the places of Bavarin have remained at his disposal; and so far from that dutchy having been evacuated, according to the terms of the treaty, we see that it contains 160,000 Austrians destined at once to resume hostilities against the republic, and to invade a country so long coveted by the court of Vienna. If that court had intended to have shown itself faithful to the treaty, the first effect of this disposition would without doubt have been to press the reciprocal establishment of the respective legations: but so far from Austria having entertained a wish of making any beginning upon this head, what was the surprise of the directory when they were informed it was considered at Vienna, that the plenipotentiaries sent on both sides to the congress of Rastadt were sufficient to keep up the communications between the two states, and that the treaty of Campo Formio was to receive, by the treaty with the empire, ulterior developments, before the habitual relations of perfect understanding could be entirely established! So cold an interpretation of the treaty, so formal a distance, did not preface that it would be long respected.

In the mean time, a government, whose existence attested also the moderation of the republic, dared to provoke anew her vengeance by the most horrible attacks. The pope expiated his crime, and Rome acquired liberty; but the directory, foreseeing that persons would not fail to alarm the imperial court, and to give to the most just reprisals the aspect of ambitious aggression, thought proper to wave all considerations of etiquette, which might have

have prevented them, and to send to Vienna citizen Bernadotte, as ambassador from the French republic, to make it understood that the destruction of the pontifical government at Rome would make no change in the limitation of the states of Italy: that the existing and recognised republics would not be increased by any part of the Roman territory, which left the treaty of Campo Formio in all its integrity, since, by fixing the extent of the Cisalpine republic, it could not foresee nor prevent, with respect to their result, the events which might change the form of other states of Italy on account of their own aggressions. Yet the ambassador of the republic was received at Vienna with coldness. This mark of the most loyal eagerness, this sending of an agent invested with the most august character, was without reciprocity; and soon an event less injurious by the circumstances that accompanied it than by the impunity which it has obtained, manifested the secret sentiments of the court of Vienna. If, at the first news of this event, the directory had not had some foundation for seeing in it only the work of two courts eager to revive the war upon the continent; if they could have believed that the emperor knew the plot woven under his eyes; they would not have hesitated a moment in inciting the national vengeance against so outrageous a violation of the state of peace and the rights of nations, so religiously respected by the republic in the midst even of the most violent storms of the revolution. But it was possible that the cabinets of London and Peterburgh might have prepared and directed, by their agents, a tumult neither known nor approved

by the emperor. The expressions of regret conveyed, in the first moment, to the ambassador of the republic by M. de Colloredo, the announced appointment of M. Degelmann to Paris, were the motives for thinking that the imperial court would hasten to pursue and punish an attack, whose existence it acknowledged, and of which it feared to appear the accomplice. When it was known besides, that the minister who was accused of having seconded the fury of England and Russia, had given up his place to the count de Cobenzel, and that the latter was going to Seltz to make reparation, the directory could not repent having incited these conferences, by showing herself less ready to follow the first impulse of a legitimate resentment, than eager to do away, by common explanation, every thing that might oppose the establishment of the most perfect harmony.

Such was their desire to produce conciliation, that the envoy extraordinary of the republic had for his definitive instruction to content himself, in reparation for the event at Vienna of the 21st Germinal, with a simple disavowal, and a declaration that the guilty should be sought after. But scarcely had the conferences been opened at Seltz, when the imperial court altered its tone and its conduct—baron Degelmann did not proceed to Paris—M. de Thugut returned to the ministry—the informations commenced remained unavailing and ineffectual. The count de Cobenzel, instead of offering or giving the reparation, which was the principal object of his mission, affected a wish to direct the discussion to other points; and concluded by declining all satisfaction, even that with which the re-



public would have contented herself, when he was convinced that the directory would not listen to the insinuations by which the court of Vienna wished to render her, in the midst even of peace, an accomplice in the most strange spoliation.

The negotiators separated, and soon afterwards the negotiator who had been sent to Seltz, by his imperial majesty, to make profuse and vain protestations of peace, received a mission to Berlin and Petersburg, to connect himself with all the incitements of the British government to revive the war. The directory must have been animated with a profound love for peace, not to have yielded from that time to the evidence of the hostile dispositions of the house of Austria, and to have avoided answering the provocations received. They saw that at Rastadt, from the very opening of the congress, both the imperial minister and the minister of Austria had incessantly shown themselves adverse to all the propositions of the republic, and to all those which might lead to a definitive and stable pacification. They knew the difficulties made at Vienna to the acknowledgement of the Cisalpine minister; a circumstance calculated to bring in question points decided by the treaty of Campo Formio. They were informed that the Austrian cabinet (whatever might be the personal opinion of the emperor), yielding more than ever to the impulses of England, gave to the cabinet of Naples a confidence which led it into the most extravagant measures; directed, in a more secret manner, Piedmont, which, a short time before, it had devoted to dismemberment; and endeavoured to wrest from its neutrality the Prussian go-

vernment, which it wished to arm against France, after having endeavoured to arm France against the Prussian government.

What motives for abjuring a treaty not acknowledged, violated by Austria, and which ceased to be binding upon the republic! but the patience and the resolution of the directory were to show themselves superior even to a provocation more direct. At the moment in which the factious, who had usurped the power in the Grison league, testified some uneasiness at a French army being near, and at the projects which they supposed to be formed against their independence and neutrality, affecting, at the same time, a perfect security with respect to Austria, from whom they said they had received the most encouraging protestations, the directory thought proper to make known to the inhabitants, that their territories would be respected, as long as they were respected by Austria. Some months only had elapsed since that declaration was made, when a corps of Austrian troops invaded and established themselves in the country of the Grisons. Nothing that was hostile in that invasion, nothing of secret machination that was included in it, escaped the executive directory. It was evident that Austria was thus preparing the means of disturbing Helvetia, of making an irruption into the Cisalpine, and of giving at the decisive moment her aid to the king of Sardinia, in order to attempt, in concert with him, to cut off all retreat to the French, who were to be attacked by 100,000 Neapolitans, and whom they dared to suppose conquered.

The directory were not blind to all these perfidious combinations, but

but they avoided seeing in them a formal aggression; and it was not till the moment in which the premature attack of the king of the two Sicilies opened a new war, that the directory, having the full proof of the king of Sardinia being an accomplice, and wishing to turn aside the effect of it, seized his strong places, thus getting the start by some days of the Austrians, who were to have occupied them themselves; the anterior invasion of the Grison territories being but the prelude to such a step.

But at the same time that the republican armies repelled the aggression in Italy, and prevented the perfidy, the directory, though they had intelligence of the treaty between Vienna and Naples, though they saw an Austrian general at the head of the Neapolitan army, though they knew the movement of troops, which had taken place in the Tyrol and the north of Italy, persisted still in professing a desire to remain at peace with the emperor; and the sincerity of their wishes was sufficiently apparent by their conduct to Tuscany; for a long time had elapsed since they had found it impossible to make a distinction between the court of Florence and the court of Vienna.

The directory had known that the journey of M. Manfredine to Vienna related to the same object that had brought the prince of Montecchiario from Naples; and had usefully prepared the success of his mission, by contributing to give the emperor the desire of increasing his influence in Italy, of seeking a new aggrandisement, under the pretence of indemnity, of checking the establishment of the Cisalpine republic, and of opposing, above all, the ex-

istence of the Roman republic.—The directory knew also, that at the epoch in which the king of Naples was making dispositions to march his army to Rome, the grand duke was himself employed in preparations for war; accelerating and extending, in a manner very unusual to the country, and ordering, in addition to the complete armament of the troops, voluntary enrolments in every town and village; establishing a forced loan, demanding from the churches, monks, and nobles, their plate; and taking, in short, all the measures that denoted a secret participation in the greatest enterprises; yet, notwithstanding the art with which these traces of hostility were sought to be concealed, the directory obtained proofs that the grand duke relied so much on the defeat of the French, that he shut up all the passes by which they might have retreated through his states, and fortified them with a numerous artillery, which was to have completed the destruction of the remnant of the French army, whilst on another side a troop of Neapolitans, and some English ships, took possession of Leghorn; an event that would never have taken place, if that prince had only declared that he would not consent to it.

Thus the first movement of the French army ought to have been to march to Leghorn and Florence; and if the directory (who only knew since with certainty to what extent the grand duke, who is still arming secretly, had carried his culpability) suspended the effect of their resolution, it was because, looking upon the court of Tuscany as less immediately connected with the interests and enterprises of the court of Naples than with those of the court

public would have contented herself, when he was convinced that the directory would not listen to the insinuations by which the court of Vienna wished to render her, in the midst even of peace, an accomplice in the most strange spoliation.

The negotiators separated, and soon afterwards the negotiator who had been sent to Seltz, by his imperial majesty, to make profuse and vain protestations of peace, received a mission to Berlin and Petersburg, to connect himself with all the incitements of the British government to revive the war. The directory must have been animated with a profound love for peace, not to have yielded from that time to the evidence of the hostile dispositions of the house of Austria, and to have avoided answering the provocations received. They saw that at Rastadt, from the very opening of the congress, both the imperial minister and the minister of Austria had incessantly shown themselves adverse to all the propositions of the republic, and to all those which might lead to a definitive and stable pacification. They knew the difficulties made at Vienna to the acknowledgement of the Cisalpine minister; a circumstance calculated to bring in question points decided by the treaty of Campo Formio. They were informed that the Austrian cabinet (whatever might be the personal opinion of the emperor), yielding more than ever to the impulses of England, gave to the cabinet of Naples a confidence which led it into the most extravagant measures; directed, in a more secret manner, Piedmont, which, a short time before, it had devoted to dismemberment; and endeavoured to wrest from its neutrality the Prussian go-

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The directory were not blind to all these perfidious combinations, but

that the emperor, carried perhaps beyond his own resolutions, compromises at the same time the fate of the empire, deprives himself of the benefits of a peace begun, and gives up Germany anew to all the chances of a war, in which the emperor and the empire are no more than the auxiliaries of Russia. It is thus that, the determinations of the court of Vienna carrying with them those of the court of Tuscany, it is not permitted to the directory to separate one from the other. Forced then, in the terms of the declaration made at Rastadt, to consider the silence of the emperor as a hostile measure; instructed besides that the Austrian troops have already made aggressive movements in Bavaria towards Suabia, the directory, renouncing with regret the hope of maintaining peace in Germany, but still disposed to listen to suitable propositions for a new and complete reconciliation, inform you, citizens representatives, that they have already taken such measures as they have thought necessary for the defence of the state; and propose to you to declare war against the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and against the grand duke of Tuscany.

(Signed) Barras, president.  
Lagarde, sec. general.

*Decree of the Executive Directory explaining that of the 14th of January, relative to neutral Vessels.*

CONSIDERING that the article 4th of the decree, which concerns the roles d'equipage of neutral ships, has given rise to abusive interpretations relative to the roles d'equipage of the American

vessels; and as it is important to put an end to the impediments which have resulted therefrom to the American commerce; after having heard the foreign minister and the minister of justice, they declare, that by article 4th of the above decree it was not intended that the navigation of American ships, relative to the form of their roles d'equipage, should be subject to other conditions than those imposed on all neutral bottoms, by the 12th article of the regulation of 1744, and by article 9th of that of the 26th July, 1788. And this is ordered to be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

*Message from the French Directory to the Councils of Elders and Five Hundred; October 25th 1799.*

Citizens representatives,

THE executive directory hasten to announce to you, that the projects of the Anglo-Russians, landed on the territory of the Dutch republic, have failed, and that a capitulation demanded by them was signed at Alkmaar, on the 26th of last Vendemaire (October 18).

By the conditions imposed upon them, they are to re-embark as soon as possible, and to evacuate entirely, by the 9th Frimaire next (December 1), the Dutch territory, the coasts, isles, and internal navigation depending on them: the reinforcements which may arrive are not to be landed, and are to return immediately.

The batteries of the Helder are to be restored, and the damages repaired, and the parts which have been improved are to remain as they are; all the pieces of artillery which

which were there are to be given up; there is to be no injury, either by making inundations, cutting the dikes, or obstructing the navigation.

Finally, 8000 prisoners of war, French and Dutch, taken anterior to the expedition, and detained in England, are to be given up, independently of the cartel of exchange, which shall continue to be executed.

Such are to England the results of this grand expedition, which was in a short time to invade the Batavian republic, and menace even the territory of the French republic.

(Signed) Gohier, president.  
La Garde, sec.-gen.

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*Proclamation of General Buonaparte.*

*Nos. 10, eleven o'clock at night.*

ON my return to Paris, I found a division reigning amongst all the constituted authorities. There was no agreement but on this single point—that the constitution was half destroyed, and could by no means effect the salvation of our liberties. All the parties came to me, confided to me their designs, unveiled their secrets, and demanded my support. I refused to be a man of any party. The council of elders invited me, and I answered to their call. A plan of general restoration had been concerted by men, in whom the nation is accustomed to see the defenders of its freedom and equality, and of property. This plan demanded a calm and liberal examination, free from every influence and every fear. The council of elders resolved, in consequence, that the sittings of the legislative body should be removed to St. Cloud, and charged me with

the disposition of the force necessary to secure its independence. I loved it, my fellow-citizens, to the soldiers who are perishing in our armies, and to the national glory, acquired at the price of their blood, to accept of this command. The council being assembled at St. Cloud, the republican troops guaranteed their safety from without; but within, assassins had established the reign of terror. Several members of the council of five hundred, armed with poniards and fire-arms, circulated around them nothing but menaces of death. The plans which were about to be developed were laid aside, the majority was disorganized, the most intrepid orators were disconcerted, and the inutility of every wise proposition was made evident. I bore my indignation and my grief to the council of elders, I demanded of them to ensure the execution of their generous designs. I represented to them the maladies of their country, from which those designs originated. They joined themselves with me, by giving new testimonies of their uniform wishes. I then repaired to the council of five hundred without arms, and my head uncovered, such as I had been received and applauded by the elders. I wished to recall to the majority their wishes, and to assure them of their power. The poniards, which threatened the deputies, were instantly raised against their deliverer. Twenty assassins threw themselves upon me, and fought my breast. The grenadiers of the legislative body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, came up and placed themselves between me and my assassins. One of these brave grenadiers, named Thome, had his clothes struck through with a dagger.

ter. They succeeded in bearing me away. At this time the cry of "Outlaw!" was raised against the defender of the law. It was the ferocious cry of assassins against the force which was destined to restrain them. They pressed around the president, threatened him to his face, and, with arms in their hands, ordered him to decree me out of the protection of the law. Being informed of this circumstance, I gave orders to rescue him from their power, and six grenadiers of the legislative body brought him out of the hall. Immediately after the grenadiers of the legislative body entered at the *pas de charge* into the hall, and caused it to be evacuated. The factious were intimidated, and dispersed themselves. The majority, released from their blows, entered freely and peaceably into the hall of sitting, heard the propositions which were made to them for the public safety deliberated, and prepared the salutary resolution which is to become the law and provisional law of the republic. Frenchmen! you will recognize, without doubt, in this conduct, the zeal of a soldier of liberty, and of a citizen devoted to the republic. The ideas of preservation, protection, and freedom, immediately resumed their places on the dispersion of the faction who wished to oppress the councils, and who, in making themselves the most odious of men, never cease to be the most contemptible.

(Signed) Buonaparte.  
(Counterigned) Berthier.

*Paris, November 12.*

**I**N transmitting to you, citizens, the law enacted by the legislative body in its late sitting of the 10th of November, I announced to you, that the consuls of the French republic immediately took into their hands the reins of government.

The constitution of the 3d year, the produce of very imperfect experience, and of the influence of some transient circumstances, was on the point of perishing under its internal defects, and the passions of men. Too often violated by the highest authorities, solicited by every passion in its turn, and incessantly infringed by them all, it had ceased to command the respect of Frenchmen, and to prove salutary for the republic. It therefore became necessary to save the principles on which it rested, from perishing along with it.

A grand impulse on every mind could alone rally round the same object, the wishes and the hopes of citizens, harmonize all the powers, revive all the sources of the public strength, and excite an energy unanimous, vigorous, and truly republican, for its direction. That impulse has been given; and all the authorities, now of a proper temper, powerful from their concert, and the confidence reposed in them by the nation, are going to labour efficaciously in the execution of the grand work which the destinies of the republic impose upon them, to organize order in all the parts of the administration, restore internal tranquillity, and procure a solid and beneficial peace.

*Letter from the Minister for foreign Affairs, to the foreign Agents of the Republic.*

The oath, citizens, prescribed for you to take, is a proof that the bases on which the hopes of Frenchmen, and the happiness of future generations

which were there are to be given up; there is to be no injury, either by making inundations, cutting the dikes, or obstructing the navigation.

Finally, 8000 prisoners of war, French and Dutch, taken anterior to the expedition, and detained in England, are to be given up, independently of the cartel of exchange, which shall continue to be executed.

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A grand impulse on every mind could alone rally round the same object, the wishes and the hopes of citizens, harmonize all the powers, revive all the sources of the public strength, and excite an energy unanimous, vigorous, and truly republican, for its direction. That impulse has been given; and all the authorities, now of a proper temper, powerful from their concert, and the confidence reposed in them by the nation, are going to labour efficaciously in the execution of the grand work which the destinies of the republic impose upon them, to organize order in all the parts of the administration, restore internal tranquillity, and procure a solid and beneficial peace.

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The oath, citizens, prescribed for you to take, is a proof that the bases on which the hopes of Frenchmen, and the happiness of future generations

have taken from her during the war. 2d. That the relations between the Ottoman empire and the French republic be re-established on the same footing as before the war. 3d. That the French army evacuate Egypt, with arms and baggage, whenever the necessary means for such evacuation shall have been procured, and to withdraw from the ports which shall be agreed upon.

On board the *Tigre*, 8th Nivose, year 8, (29th December, 1799.)

(Signed) Poussielgue and Desaix.  
Sidney Smith.

(For a true copy.)

*To the preceding Note Sir Sidney Smith returned the following Answer.*

The under-signed has reflected on the note which he yesterday received from the French commissioners; and considering that the proposals made in it extend much farther than what had been agreed upon between his excellency the grand vizier and himself, he reserves his definitive answer till such time as he shall have had a conference with his excellency, after his arrival in the imperial camp, at Gaza, whither he will proceed immediately. Meanwhile, he thinks he cannot answer in a better manner the frankness which the commissioners have evinced, than by communicating to them the purport of the answer which he intends to lay before the grand vizier, for his consideration, previous to its being laid before them (the commissioners) in due form. It is also done with an intention of enabling them to make such modifications, or alterations, as

may be deemed necessary by them, the under-signed being inclined to lend a favourable ear to such proposals, for making definitive arrangements, in so far as they shall not be contrary to the engagements entered into between Great Britain and the Porte, on the 5th of February, 1799. The general-in-chief Kleber justly insists, that nothing be proposed to the French army which might be prejudicial to its honour, or to that of the French nation: the under-signed acknowledges that principle, and has a right to expect it likewise. But, as nothing can be more contrary to the principles of honour than the non-fulfilment of conditions entered upon by solemn obligation, he thinks it his duty to enable the French commissioners, by communicating the articles of a treaty contained in the subjoined plan of an answer, duly to consider the whole extent of its obligations.

On board the *Tigre*, off Cape Carmel, the 30th of December, 1799.

(Signed) Sidney Smith.

*Note delivered to the French Commissioners, in Answer to their Note of the 29th December, approved by the Grand Vizier.*

The Porte not having been the aggressive party in this war, and it having neither entertained views of aggrandisement, or of continuing the war, whenever she should have sufficient security for her existence, independence, and tranquillity, agreeably to the 8th article of the treaty with Great Britain, signed on the 5th of February, 1799; she has no objection to restoring things upon the same footing on which they

they were previously to the first attack by the French.

The French commissioners, sent by general Kleber, not having full powers from the French government to conclude a peace, they can, of course, neither stipulate any thing in her name, nor conclude a definitive treaty of peace. But to answer, meanwhile, to the first proposals made by the French army, the Porte hesitates not, respecting her former connections with France, to express her concern at her having been forced, by being attacked, to arm in her own defence. As the conquest of Egypt has hitherto been an obstacle to a general peace, the evacuation of that country must necessarily lead towards its being effected. The sublime Porte, on her part, will endeavour, by every means in her power, to contribute to a general peace, by sending a minister plenipotentiary to any congress that may be held on that subject. On that account, the whole world will be indebted to the moderation of general Kleber, and the army under his command.

Britain's guarantee of the Ottoman dominions, seems not to require a formal renewal, the treaty, of the 5th of February, being merely expressive of a former reciprocity of interest, which had regulated the behaviour of both powers towards each other for many years, which continues to exist, and which naturally tends to consolidate their mutual relations and security.

Though measures have been taken for surrounding the French army on all sides, yet its bravery, courage, and sense, remaining still unconquered, give them full right to believe, that they may yet be

VOL. XLI.

able to resist for some time. They are therefore by no means in a situation that should oblige them to capitulate; they are fully entitled to retain their arms and baggage. The means to enable them to evacuate Egypt shall be procured to them. The ports of their destination cannot be any other but French, and such shall only be chosen as are subject to quarantine, which the security of France and of all Europe requires.

On board the Tigre, off Cape Carmel, the 30th of December, 1799.

(Signed) Sidney Smith.

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*Imperial Autic Decree to the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 12th of July.*

THE preliminaries of peace between the Austrian and French plenipotentiaries were signed at Leoben, on the 18th of April, 1797; and, at the earnest solicitation of his imperial majesty, it was resolved, on that remarkable day, that all hostilities should be suspended between the emperor and the French republic, that a peace might be securely negotiated. But this desirable work accomplished so imperfectly the paternal views of his majesty the emperor, that, on the part of the French, (notwithstanding the empire's constant desire of peace); almost every day was marked with acts which removed to a greater distance the object so anxiously wished for. In contempt of the just remonstrances of the states of the empire, and of the deputation, they not only made the severest military exactions, and seized the fortrefs of Ehrenbreitstein, (contrary to a former convention), but incorporated

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with

with the new Helvetic republic, which they created, those territories and fiefs of the empire situated in Switzerland, and, overturning it by the vilest machinations, they carried throughout Helvetia the destructive torch of their revolution to the frontiers of Germany. The French government, always true to the spirit of the revolution, was constantly occupied with plans to destroy the political relation of the empire with Italy. Amidst the negotiations for peace, it strove to strengthen its formidable power by new abettors and alliances, and by a levy of 200,000 men. In short, the French government, in all its political relations with the empire, without examining the evils it hath caused, and in defiance of the truce and negotiations for peace, only fought to render its condition the worst possible, by the numerous evils it committed.

Even this state, however quiet, could only be considered as a state of war; yet, from a humane disposition for peace, representations were the only arms opposed to the domineering arrogance of the French directory, which had, however, no other effect (as their rash plans had hitherto succeeded) than the perpetration of fresh acts of injustice and violence. No other arguments are wanting to confirm these facts than the facts themselves, viz. the orders given to repair the fortifications of Ehrenbreitstein; the supplying that place with provisions, by extorting them from the neighbouring subjects of the empire; and the avowed will of the French government, seriously declared, to keep possession of that fortress, against the law of nations, and in contempt of solemn conventions;—

the occupation of Manheim, and the disarming of the garrison; the prevention of the exercise of their official functions, which was only provisionally granted to the magistrates of that city, by way of a revolutionary prelude to the bold menaces made by the French plenipotentiaries, in an official note of the 3d October, last year, to introduce the destructive principles of France into Germany:—the memorable, but not dissembling letter, of the French executive directory, addressed in the same revolutionary spirit to the French commander-in-chief, Jourdan, on the 15th of March, 1799; the rapid advancing of the French troops, by several directions, into the very heart of Germany, even without giving due notice of the truce with the empire being broken off, and with a visible violation of the laws of armistice:—the summons sent, in the most singular expressions, on the 1st of March, to the imperial fortrefs of Philipburgh, to surrender, and with violent and shocking threats against its commandant, for him to give up the fortrefs from terror:—the immoral written invitation to treason against the emperor and the empire, addressed to the civil magistrates, on the 14th of March:—the batteries raised close to the fortrefs, and the unjust attempt made to seize the fortrefs by offers of subordination:—the exciting of all Germans to rebellion against their lawful chief, contained in the horrid proclamation of Bernadotte, together with several other occurrences of the same pernicious tendency, remarked in the imperial decree of commission, of the 4th of April, of the present year:—all these are deeds of such a nature, as to combine all the attributes of an actual

actual state of warfare; and which can never be reconciled by smooth professions of pacific intentions, and by unnatural and contradictory discriminations of ideas.

The war therefore actually exists against Germany by facts—war! the sole terrible work of the ambitious, revolutionary, and all-confounding politics of the French government. And the late political relations of the German empire with Italy and Switzerland, would be irretrievably lost; the standard of revolution would already be hoisted in a great part of the German empire, as it has been in other subjugated states and provinces, and the brighter prosperity of Germanic freedom be persecuted by the ungrateful French system of liberty and equality, had not the prudence and heroism of the imperial generals, and the victorious armies, put a stop to the incursions of the daring enemy. Thus, while hostilities have been renewed, and the prospect of a successful negotiation of peace, so much desired by the empire, is vanished, the former state of warfare between the Germanic empire and France actually exists; and, according to the public declarations, forced from the empire by this state of war, it must still combat, at the highest price, for the inviolability of the dearest treaties, for religion, property, the maintenance of social order and constitution, the honour, dignity, liberty, existence, and preservation of the Germanic empire; and must still combat for an acceptable, just, becoming, and lasting peace, agreeably to the spirit of the former relations of the Germanic diet.

His imperial majesty, therefore, places his confidence, as chief, in

the electors, princes, and states, and deems himself entitled to expect from them, in the sacred name of their common country and constitution, and by virtue of the manifold assurances given, that no state of the empire will recede from the most conscientious execution of the duties which are imposed against the common enemy, by the very nature of the ancient Germanic confederation, the ancient positive statutes, and the conclusions of the empire, promulgated since the present war has been declared; especially that conclusion of the empire which relates to the augmentation of the armament to a quintuple; and, in conformity to which, his majesty the king of Sweden has lately declared himself, in his quality as a state of the empire, to the diet, with as much cordiality as generosity, to revive German patriotism in general. It is equally urgent and proper, and the particular wish of his imperial majesty, that the diet do direct its deliberations towards granting a sufficient number of Roman months to defray the expense of the war, and that it do accelerate, as much as possible, its approbation, to be transmittit to the chief of the empire.

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*Treaty of Alliance concluded between  
the Emperor and the King of the  
Two Sicilies.*

THE emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the king of the two Sicilies, having taken into consideration the rapidity with which events have succeeded to each other for some time, the urgent necessity of providing against the baneful consequences of new troubles which

might agitate Europe and Italy in particular, their imperial and Sicilian majesties, united besides by the strictest ties of consanguinity, have thought fit to concert with each other in this situation, measures relative to the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the common safety of their people and states. For this purpose their majesties have named as plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his majesty the emperor, baron Thugut, grand cross of the royal order of St. Stephen, minister of conferences of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, his commissary-general and minister plenipotentiary in Italy, Dalmatia, &c.; and his Sicilian majesty, D. Ottavio Mormile, duke of Campochiara and of Castelpagano, marquis of Repalimosano and d'Albidona, lord of Feudi Valleroberto, Coppone and Santangeloradaginesa, knight of Malta, noble Neapolitan, actual gentleman of the chamber and an officer in the service of his majesty the king of the two Sicilies: who, after having conferred with each other, have agreed to the following articles:

I. There shall be between the two sovereigns a close and indissoluble alliance, which shall have for its object the common defence of their people and their states, against all hostile aggression.

II. In consequence of this alliance, and to prevent being surprised by unforeseen events, the two high allies shall keep on foot, each on his part, until a continental peace, and the complete re-establishment of public tranquillity, a determinate number of troops, constantly provided with every thing necessary for entering upon a campaign, and always ready to march, at a moment's notice.

III. Conformable to the preceding article, the emperor promises to keep on foot, until a continental peace, and until the period when tranquillity shall be solidly re-established in Italy, a corps of at least 60,000 effective men, always disposable, in his new possessions in Italy and the Tyrol. The king of the two Sicilies, on his part, shall maintain until the same period on the frontiers of his kingdom next to the Austrian possessions in Italy, a corps of at least 30,000 effective men, always prepared to act, at the first order for that purpose.

IV. In consideration of the great difference between the land-forces, which the two powers bind themselves to employ, as necessity shall require, for the support of the common cause, his Sicilian majesty farther undertakes, until such time as the affairs of Italy shall have assumed a stable and tranquil state, to keep three or four frigates cruising in the Adriatic sea, for the purpose of clearing it of Barbary cruisers and other pirates, or to serve in any other operation interesting to the common advantage, and particularly for conveying and facilitating the passage of provisions and other articles, which his imperial majesty, in case of a new rupture, may draw by sea from his other states, for the supply of his army in Italy.

V. The moment that the one or the other of the two high contracting parties shall be attacked in his present possessions, upon the first advice which it shall give to its ally of the commencement of hostilities, the latter shall, without the least delay, cause its troops to advance, for the purpose of acting against the power which, by un-

justly: attacking one of the two contracting parties, should be considered as having become the enemy of the other.

VI. It is by active and vigorous diversions, that the two allies shall principally apply themselves to the reciprocal support which is the object of this defensive alliance. Should the events and the danger in which one of the two high contracting parties should find itself involved, require it, the other party shall not confine itself to the number of troops stipulated in the third article, but shall augment them; and in this case the emperor shall increase his corps to 80,000, and the king of the Two Sicilies to 40,000 effective men.

VII. The generals of the two armies shall correspond with each other, for the purpose of combining the respective operations in the manner most suited to the common good, and to the success of the armies of both allies.

VIII. As the two corps of the contracting parties ought mutually to aid each other, principally by the means of diversions, calculated to divide the forces of the enemy, each of the two high allies shall provide for the maintenance and support of his own troops; and should unforeseen circumstances oblige the respective troops to join, for certain operations, the two generals commanding shall amicably concert the mode of securing, for these troops, the means of subsistence.

IX. The two allies finding themselves at war with a power, in consequence of a hostile aggression, on its part, against one and the other of the two contracting parties, they shall not be at liberty to

lay down their arms, except with common consent; and neither of them shall enter into a negotiation, for a particular or separate peace, without having obtained the consent of its ally, express and in writing, and especially without having stipulated in favour of its ally, for the entire restitution of every part of its territory which the enemy may have seized during the war.

X. The present defensive convention shall be ratified by the two courts, within the term of six weeks, or sooner, if it can be done. The exchange of the ratifications shall be made at Vienna in the usual form. In faith of which, we, the plenipotentiaries of his imperial majesty, and his Sicilian majesty, have signed the present act, and thereunto put our seals with our arms.

Done at Vienna, 19th May, 1799.

(L. S.) Baron Thugut.

(L. S.) The duke of Campochiaro.

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*Conclusum adopted by the Diet at Ratibon, 7th of September, 1799, containing a Declaration of War against France.*

THE three colleges of the empire, after having deliberated on the gracious decree of the imperial committee, of the 13th June, have determined and decreed, That there shall be addressed to his imperial majesty, in the name of the empire, lively and sincere thanks for the paternal and constant solicitude, with which the committee has been occupied, for the welfare and preservation of Germany, and for the new proofs of

S 3

energetic



energetic protection which it has afforded the empire. It has been resolved, besides, in conformity with the considerations stated in the decree of the committee, to make the following declaration :

The empire, in the full conviction that it is placed anew in a state of war, in consequence of the hostilities exercised by France against Germany, during and since the negotiations of Rastadt, and which are every day pushed farther; that consequently all the resolutions taken by the diet, since the war has broken out anew, resume at this day all their force; and these decisions impose on each state of the empire the strict obligation of contributing with the greatest zeal to the defence of the country surrounded with dangers, of making the most vigorous efforts, of laying aside all private considerations, and sparing no sacrifice; that in execution of measures prescribed by these decisions of the diet, every member of the empire shall hasten with patriotic zeal to raise to a quintuple the contingent which it ought to furnish, to the end that, by an energetic co-operation, all the enterprises and efforts of the enemy may be arrested, and that the exertions of the empire, combined with those of its supreme chief, may lead to a peace, just, honourable, and lasting, which they have not yet been able to obtain, notwithstanding the ardour with which it has been sought on the part of the empire. For the attainment of this great end, the empire grants 100 Roman months for the expenses of the war, to be paid at three equal terms of six weeks each, from the date of the day when his imperial majesty's ratification shall be published.

*Note from the French Ministers at Rastadt to the Deputation of the Empire.*

THE undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic do make this formal declaration to the deputation of the empire, that if the diet of Ratisbon should consent to the entry of the Russian troops on the territory of the empire, or if even it does not effectually oppose it, the march of the Russian army through the German territory will be regarded as a violation of neutrality on the part of the empire; that the negotiation at Rastadt will be broken off; and that the republic and the empire will then be in the same relative situation in which these two powers were, previously to the signing of the preliminaries at Leoben, and the conclusion of the armistice.

To this declaration, dictated by the importance of the circumstances, the undersigned add with pleasure the express assurance of their government, for the tranquillity and satisfaction of the empire, both of the sincere desire it has that an incident so unforeseen as that which is the object of this note, and which might become so destructive of the tranquillity of the interior of Germany, may not take place to destroy the hopes, almost realized, of a perfect reconciliation, and of a perpetual peace between the two nations.

No one can be deceived as to the motives and the aim of the cabinet of Petersburg: the deputation of the empire particularly is too well acquainted with the affairs of Europe, not to perceive clearly that Russia, after having promoted the war six years, without taking  
a part

a part in it, now takes such open measures of aggression against France, for the purpose of interrupting the pacification of the continent, and with a view, not less evident, of covering the grand usurpation she has so long meditated.

The undersigned, therefore, do not doubt that the deputation will see, in this proceeding, on the part of the French government, a farther proof of its pacific sentiments, and an opportunity for the empire, in avoiding a personal danger, to acquire additional claims to the friendship of the republic.

(Signed) Bonnier.  
Jean Debry.  
Roberjot.

Rastadt, 13 Nivose (2d  
Jan. 1799), of the  
French republic.

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*Substance of the Emperor's Answer,  
relative to the March of the Russian  
Troops.*

1. HIS imperial majesty is surprised that the French ministers should have addressed themselves to the deputation for the pacification of the empire upon a subject with which it has no concern.

2. His imperial majesty testifies his satisfaction that the deputation has unanimously referred this affair, upon which it was not competent to decide, to those whom it concerns, and who ought to be acquainted with it.

3. His imperial majesty will, however, wait for the report which shall be made to him on this subject by the diet of Ratisbon.

*Note of the French Ministers to the  
Deputation of the Empire.*

THE undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, for the negotiations for peace with the German empire, declare to the deputation that they have orders not to receive nor to transmit any note, upon any of the points of the negotiation, until a categorical and satisfactory reply has been given to the note sent on the 13th Nivose last (2d January).

(Signed) Bonnier.  
Jean Debry.  
Roberjot.

Rastadt, 31st January.

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*Note of the French Ministers to the  
Minister of the King of Hungary  
and Bohemia.*

THE undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic express to the count de Lehrbach, minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, minister of Austria, their astonishment at not having received a reply respecting the march of the Russians; a circumstance which announces loudly that it is against the French republic they are directed.

The French government can no longer bear an uncertainty, which compromises the dignity and interests of the republic. The undersigned have been ordered to demand from his majesty the emperor, through the medium of the count de Lehrbach, his minister plenipotentiary, a positive assurance that the Russian troops are evacuating the territory of his majesty the emperor and king, and that orders

have been given in consequence. They desire, that in the space of fifteen days, reckoning from this day, the 12th Pluviose (31st of January), this assurance be given them; declaring that the farther progress of the Russians will be considered by the French government as aggressive; and that silence, or the want of the assurance demanded by the present note, being a manifest proof that the emperor has acceded to the enterprises of Russia, will be of necessity considered by the French government as an act of hostility.

The executive directory would receive, with the greatest pleasure, both from the empire and the emperor, such a proof of the evacuation of the Austrian territory by the Russians, which could alone announce a frank and firm disposition both to observe treaties concluded, and to hasten in common the conclusion of that which is negotiating at Rastadt.

(Signed) Bonnier.  
Jean Debry.  
Roberjot.

Rastadt, 12th Pluviose  
(January 31.)

*Note of the French Ministers, declaring their Determination to leave Rastadt.*

THE undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, for negotiating a peace with the German empire, having been officially informed, by the baron d'Albini, the directorial minister, of the result of the sitting held the day before yesterday by the deputation of the empire, of which a certified copy has been transmitted to them, cannot but see with great regret,

that arbitrary acts, equally contrary to the right of nations, and the express declaration of the letter of his majesty the emperor, of the date of the 13th of Brumaire, 6th year, together with the mournful prospect of the continuance of these vexatious proceedings, have compelled the deputation to suspend for the present the negotiations for peace.

The undersigned could the less expect such a conduct, as a totally different example had been given by the general of the French army, who, passing the Rhine on the 11th of Ventose, to resume his former position, in conformity to the orders of the French government, paid the most inviolable respect to the place where the congress was held, the freedom of its deliberation, the safety and inviolability of its members, and deprived calumny of every pretext.

The undersigned have seen with the greatest astonishment the deputation reduced to less than two-thirds of its members, by several of the states having recalled their envoys, so that it was impossible it should come to any resolutions agreeable to the terms of its instructions. They had supposed, that though the states of the empire had the undoubted right of changing their sub-delegates at the congress, it only appertained to the diet, considered as a body, to withdraw the powers of the states themselves.

In this situation of things and persons, the undersigned, to whom the executive directory, ever disposed to peace, has recommended not to leave the place of congress till the last extremity, eager to seize the hope offered them by the deputation of resuming the course of the negotiations, since they are only momentarily

mentarily suspended; persuaded that the excesses which have impeded them, will serve to convince the states of the empire of the lively interest they have taken to remove the scourge of war, and in general, all the obstacles which violence or ill faith may oppose to the peace; considering besides,

1. That the deputation has formally declared in its conclusion, and made it the principal motive of its resolution to quit Rastadt, that there was no longer either tranquillity or safety for the congress, whence it results that it was in an actual state of oppression:

2. That the existence of a congress between two free states ought to depend upon the will of the contracting parties, and can never be subordinate to the intervention of any foreign force:

They therefore remit to the deputation of the empire the following protestation and declaration:

The undersigned protest, 1st, Against the violation of the rights of nations committed, with respect to them, by the Austrian troops, and of which the object is positively announced in their note of the 30th Germinal.

2dly, Against the answer which the commander of the Austrian troops stationed at Gernsbach has returned to the directorial letter of the 1st of Floreal; an answer which the deputation, by making it the ground of its deliberation the day before yesterday, has considered as the expression of the general orders of the Austrian army, and which is conceived in these terms:

"To his excellency the baron d'Albini, intimate counsellor of his imperial majesty, and electoral minister of Mentz, Rastadt.

"I regret much to be under the necessity, in conformity to my duty, of stating, in answer to your letter remitted to me by counsellor baron Munich, that, in the present circumstances of the war, in which the safety as well of the military as of the country requires that patrols should be placed at Rastadt and in the environs, it is impossible to make any satisfactory declaration relative to the maintenance of the diplomatic body now here: since the recall of his excellency the imperial plenipotentiary, we can no longer, on our part, consider Rastadt as a place which the presence of a congress protects against hostile events; and that city, after this, must feel the necessity of conforming to the laws of war like any other place.

"I entreat your excellency, however, to be assured, that except in the case of necessity imposed by the events of war, our military will consider personal inviolability as sacred; and that, on my part, I will continually, to my utmost, testify to you the profound respect with which I am your excellency's most humble servant,

(Signed) Barbacfy, colonel."

They call, in the name of the French republic, insulted in its rights, the serious attention of the diet to an act, equally contrary to its own independence, and subversive of all the principles hitherto practised among civilized nations. They expect a just and full redress.

In fine, in consequence of what has been stated, the under-signed inform the deputation of the empire that in three days they will quit Rastadt; but, wishing to give to Germany a last and signal proof of the forbearance of the French government, and its wish for peace, they

they declare that they will repair to Strasburgh, where they will wait the recommencement of the negotiations, and attend to such propositions of peace as shall be made.

(Signed)

Bonnier.

Jean Debry.

Roberjot.

Rastadt, 6th of Floreal  
(April 25), 7th year of  
the French republic.

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*The Executive Directory of the French Republic, to all People and all Governments.*

THE news of an excessive outrage has already resounded in Europe; and the circumstances of a crime the most unheard-of, with which the pages of the history of civilized nations have been stained, are now collecting with horror from all parts. It was at the gates of Rastadt, on the territory of an independent and neutral prince, and in the sight of all the members of the congress, violently detained in that town, and forced to be no less impotent than indignant spectators of a crime which affected them in the deepest manner, and threatened them all, that in contempt of a satisfied character, in contempt of assurances given, in contempt of every thing which constitutes humanity, justice, and honour, the plenipotentiaries of the republic, victims ever to be regretted of the mission of peace with which they were intrusted, and of the unlimited devotion with which they fulfilled the instructions of government, and maintained the national dignity, were massacred in cold blood by a detachment of Austrian troops. But how much more detestable do all the

circumstances of this assassination render it!

Already, in the first days of the month Floreal, the communication of the French legation with the republic had been intercepted; one of its couriers had been carried off, and the spirited remonstrances of the congress had only produced an insolent declaration, which made its separation necessary.

On the 9th Floreal (23th of April), at seven o'clock in the evening, the colonel of the regiment of Szeklers caused a declaration to be made by a captain to baron Albin, the directorial minister, that the French legation might leave Rastadt in security. The same captain proceeded afterwards to the French ministers, and signified to them an order to depart from Rastadt in twenty-four hours. At eight o'clock they got into their carriages, and were stopped at the gates of the town. So sudden a departure no doubt had not been expected, and the assassination was not completely organized. Another hour was still wanting. At nine o'clock the prohibition against passing the gates was taken off with respect to the French legation only. The French ministers demanded an escort, but the Austrian commander refused to grant it, and answered in the following terms:—"You will be as secure on your journey, as in your apartments." But the legation had scarcely advanced fifty paces, when it was surrounded by a numerous detachment of the same corps, whose commander had just before promised every kind of security. The carriages are stopped; citizen Jean Debry, who was in the first, is forced to alight, and he is asked, "Are you not Jean Debry?"—

"Yes,"

"Yes," he answers, "I am Jean Debry, minister of France." He instantly falls to the ground pierced with wounds. The citizens Bonnier and Roberjot are stopped in the same manner, and interrogated.—They tell their names, and are killed. Roberjot is massacred in the arms of his wife. The crime being perpetrated, the papers of the legation are carried off, and conveyed to the Austrian commander. In considering these faithful details, who is there that cannot perceive the premeditation of this assassination, and its first author?

Such a sacrifice will doubtless only tend to the accumulation of infamy and execration, and should any other punishment be wanting, history reserves one for those who have been guilty of the crime. It would be in vain for the court of Vienna to attempt to shake off the dreadful responsibility that attaches to this accusation. All its previous conduct now comes forward in evidence against it. It will be recollected, that it commenced hostilities by an outrage of a similar nature, in causing two French ambassadors to be arrested on the territory of the confederacy, who were afterwards thrown into the dungeons of Mantua. It will be remembered that the prisons of Olmutz also received, and confined for three years, representatives of the people, and a minister who was delivered up by treachery. It will be remembered, that Austria was not acquainted with the assassinations committed at Rome on the French, and that it received and protected the authors of them. It will, finally, be recollected, that the first ambassador of the republic at Vienna experienced only outrages and affronts there.

These statements are sufficient to impress conviction that the assassination, recently perpetrated at Raasdatt, is but the consequence and the horrid completion of the series of atrocities with which Austria has astonished Europe, since Charles the Fifth first furnished the example of stepping beyond all social laws, by causing the ambassadors, whom Francis the First sent to Venice and to Constantinople, to be massacred.

The proofs existing in history, of the indignation which was manifested at that period by all the European powers, convince us that a crime still more execrable will also excite more horror and detestation.

And when the constant moderation and boundless generosity of the French republic shall be compared to the crimes of Austria; when it shall be considered, that even in the midst of the most violent storms of the revolution, the law of nations has not received the slightest injury in France; that the envoy of the Britannic government entered twice into the territory of France, and departed from it free and respected, although justly suspected to have come rather to excite troubles, than to negotiate peace; that the minister of Naples obtained permission to return to his master, and to continue his journey in a secure and uninterrupted manner, at the very moment when the French general had repulsed the Neapolitan troops, and when he was informed, that the ambassador of the republic had been refused passports to retire by land, and had been compelled to embark at Naples, with a certainty that such a measure was but to deliver him into the hands of the African states; that the cruel treatment to which the French have fallen victims

victims in the dominions of the grand seignior, however great and just the national resentment on that account may have been, has not given rise to any reprisals; when the congress at Rastadt, peaceable and respected as long as the French armies were near it, shall be compared with the congress thrown into confusion, and dissolved on the approach of the Austrians; when the voluntary departure of M. M. de Lehrbach and de Metternich, protected by French passports, shall be compared with the premeditated massacre of the ministers of the republic: these different contrasts, already so odious, will become still more dishonourable for Austria, by the comparison which must be made between its satellites, whose cowardly ferocity is a subject of astonishment even to the people of the north, who have been called upon to co-operate with them, and the agents of the government of England, who, though it is the most essential enemy of the French government, and the most determined to injure it, have recently given proofs, at Constantinople, that they understand the law of nations, and set a value on preventing the violation of it. Is it possible then, that any people, that any government who may not have abjured every principle of civilization and of honour, can hesitate for a moment to declare itself in favour of good faith against perfidy; in favour of continued moderation against unmasked ambition; in favour of abused confidence against atrocious and premeditated crimes?

It is therefore with the just hope of being attended to with effect, and of obtaining, for the illustrious victims who have been immolated

at Rastadt, a deep regret; for the French republic an honourable approbation, and an union of execration against Austria; that the executive directory now addresses this solemn appeal to the conscience and honour of every people and of every government, accepting, thus early, as a pledge of the generous determination which will be formed by them, the particular indignation which has been expressed with so much energy at Rastadt by all the members of the congress, and at Paris by the ambassadors and ministers of friendly or neutral powers.

The executive directory decrees, that the preceding manifesto shall be transmitted to all governments, by the minister of the foreign department; that it shall be printed in the bulletin of the laws, and solemnly read, published, and affixed in all the communes of the republic, and be inserted in the orders of all the armies.

(Signed) Barras, president.  
La Garde, sec.-gen.

May 7.

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*Imperial Aulic Decree to the German Diet, respecting the late Catastrophe near Rastadt.*

**H**IS imperial majesty received, on the 3d ult. the melancholy intelligence, in a report signed by the margrave of Baden himself, that the French ministers plenipotentiary, sent to the congress of peace with the empire, were stopped late in evening of the 28th of April, on their departure in the night from Rastadt (against which they had been advised by several different persons), at a small distance from the said city, by a troop of people dressed

dressed in the imperial military uniform; and that the ministers Bonnier and Roberjot, were murdered, by many cuts of sabres, but that the minister Jean Debry, who escaped from death only by a happy accident, had been much wounded, and all of whom were robbed of a great part of their effects.

His majesty is scarcely able to express, by word, the great shock his sentiments of justice and morality have received, and the whole force of impression of abhorrence, which has been excited in him, on the first account of this act of barbarity committed on the territory of the German empire, upon persons whose inviolability was under the special guarantee of the right of nations; nor can his majesty express the indelible impression which this disastrous catastrophe has left in his revolted mind, which always entertains the most inviolable respect for the dignity of man, for morality, and the sacred principles of the law of nations.

It is not by illiberal suspicions and rash conjectures, not by calumnious imputations and partial reports of audacious fictions, nor by the passionate fallies of a depraved heart, and the licentious fabrications of foreign and domestic editors of public journals—it is not by inimical representations, calculated for an increase of power, for exactions of money, or for other secret designs, nor by the furious speeches in conventions, and vindictive proclamations to the French nation and all other states—but only by a conscientious, fair, and impartial inquiry, instituted according to the prescription of the laws, and conducted with every juridical rigour, that the horrid act may be traced

in all its circumstances, its authors and accomplices be truly discovered, and the imputation of the offence be properly fixed, both in a subjective and objective view.

To this end the most eligible directions and orders have accordingly been given; and his imperial majesty doth at the same time most solemnly declare before the general diet of the empire, of the whole public of Germany and all Europe together, that nothing short of the most perfect satisfaction, regardless of all other considerations, shall gratify the just feelings of the chief of the empire, respecting him whom the impartial sentence of avenging justice may pronounce guilty.

But it is also the will of his majesty the emperor, that the manner in which this melancholy event happened, an event which his majesty considers in various respects as a national concern of Germany, be not only examined with the most conscientious impartiality, and that the most perfect satisfaction be given; but his imperial majesty farther cherishes the most lively wish, and feels himself partly and most urgently induced to it by the domestic and foreign opinions encroaching upon the legal inquiry whose decision is thereby prejudged; that even the possibility of a suspicion of any connivance be removed, so that in this respect no sort of blame, owing to a want of the most deliberate attention, shall be attributed either to the chief of the empire himself, or to the empire collectively taken.

In order to accomplish this design most effectually, the general diet is hereby charged, upon mature deliberation, to appoint deputies of their own, who are to be present at the inquiry which has been opened,  
and



and to advise every thing with a patriotic and noble frankness as to the steps, which are to be taken as soon as possible, with regard to whatever the importance of so unheard-of and detestable an event may, in its wisdom and prudence, seem to require: and thus farther to convince the whole impartial world, by giving its conjoint advice, that both the emperor and the empire are animated with the same uniform sentiments for the execution of the most rigorous justice, and the granting of the most perfect satisfaction, and by an equal and just abhorrence of so ruthless and infamous an act, as well as by an equal and dutiful respect to morality and the sacred principles of the law of nations.

His Roman and imperial majesty expects, therefore, the advice of the empire with all possible speed; and with all the fervency of his wishes, as chief of the empire, his majesty remains in other respects, &c.

(Signed) Francis, mod.  
Done at Vienna, June 6, 1799.

*Conditions of the Treaty of Union between the Country of the Grisons and the Helvetic Republic.*

Art. I. **T**HE people of Rhetia acknowledge and accept, without reserve, the Helvetic constitution.

II. They submit themselves to all the laws of the Helvetic republic, as well those now in being as those which shall be hereafter enacted.

III. All the debts of the ci-devant Grison state, contracted legally and according to the ancient constitu-

tion of the country, are acknowledged debts of the Helvetic republic.

•IV. On the contrary, they declare as national goods all the goods belonging to the ci-devant state of the Grisons, and generally all the funds, which, according to the law of the 3d of April, 1799, on the difference between goods of the state and goods of the communes, are in the class of national goods.

V. Rhetia shall constitute a canton of the Helvetic republic, under the denomination of the canton of Rhetia.

VI. From the day that the present treaty of union shall have received the sanction of the executive directory and legislative councils of the Helvetic republic, the people of Rhetia shall enter into the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges which the Helvetic constitution secures to every Helvetic citizen; and they, on their part, bind themselves, from the same day, to the same imposts, and generally to the faithful observance of the same duties of citizen, without the least exception, in like manner as all Helvetic citizens.

So concluded under the reserve of the sanction of the executive directory and legislative councils of the Helvetic republic, one and indivisible.

At Coire, 21st April, 1799.

In the name of the executive directory of the Helvetic republic. Commissioners of government,

Sghwaller.  
Herzog.

President of the provisional government, Spzegher.  
Secretary-general, Otto.

Note

*Note transmitted by the Sublime Porte to the Ambassador from the Republic of Holland.*

THE present government of France, entirely disregarding every law of nations, having adopted as a principle to attack all powers without distinction, whether friends or enemies, and every where to disseminate disturbance and confusion, in consequence of this principle secretly prepared the means to subjugate Egypt, the most valuable province of this sublime empire, and which is the gate of the two sacred and revered cities, Mecca and Medina. In vain was it officially declared, that if such a project were engaged in, it must inevitably produce a sanguinary war between every Mussulman nation and France; the republic still persisted in its base design, suddenly attacked, and Egypt was plunged into confusion and anarchy. The sublime Porte has, in consequence, found itself under the absolute necessity of repelling force by force, as it had previously and solemnly declared to the directory all these facts; and the measures taken by the sublime Porte to resist these unjust and shameful proceedings are of public notoriety. The republic of Holland is the ancient friend of the sublime Porte; no cloud until the present day had ever overcast this friendship on either side; and it is certain, that the Dutch, who maintain a very lucrative commerce with the Ottoman empire, have always endeavoured, during the time of their independence, to render themselves agreeable to the sublime Porte. But, since the entrance of the French into Holland, two parties have arisen, who have submit-

ted to the French—the one voluntarily, and the other by force. The former of these, under the phantom of a perfidious alliance, have seized on the maritime force, and all the revenues of the country, which they employ to ruin, and plunge it into the most disastrous condition. Holland is, therefore, now deprived of its independence, and reduced beneath the yoke of the five French directors, like the provinces of France: its inhabitants are, in fact, become their subjects.

The sublime Porte is, without doubt, animated with the desire of maintaining its ancient friendship with this republic: but it is evident, that the reason above alleged renders it improper that the ambassador of Holland should continue to reside near it. He is, therefore, hereby enjoined to quit this residence within a week, and informed, that the ancient amity and most perfect good understanding will be re-established between the sublime Porte and the republic of Holland, as soon as the latter shall be separated from the French, a separation which will promote its true interests, and restore it to its former dignity.

January 16, 1799.

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*The Ministry of the Sublime Porte to the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers of the French Army in Egypt.*

THE French directory, forgetful of the rights of nations, has deceived you, surprised your good faith, and in contempt of the laws of war, sent you to Egypt, a country subject to the dominion of the sublime Porte, by persuading you that the sublime Porte itself had con-

sented

sented to the invasion of its own territory.

Can you entertain any doubts but that the only object of the directors in sending you to a remote country was to banish you from France, and to plunge you into an abyss of dangers? If, completely ignorant of the truth, you have invaded the territory of Egypt, and are made the instruments to violate treaties of the most solemn kind, must you not attribute this to the perfidy of your directors? Egypt must however be freed from so iniquitous an invasion, and vast armies are now in march, and the sea is covered with formidable squadrons, for the attainment of that object.

Those among you, of whatever rank they may be, who wish to extricate themselves from the imminent peril to which they are exposed, are called upon to signify their intentions, without delay, to the commanders of the land and sea forces of the allied powers. They may be confident of a safe conduct to whatever place they may be desirous to proceed, and they shall receive passports to protect them on their voyage, from the squadrons and cruisers of the allied powers. Let them then hasten to take advantage of the benignant disposition of the sublime Porte, and let them consider it as a propitious occasion for extricating themselves from the horrible gulf into which they have been precipitated!

Done at Constantinople, the 11th of the Moon Ramazan, in the year of the Hegira, 1213, the 5th (16th) Feb. 1799.

From the royal printing-office, at Haslkeng, in the environs of Constantinople.

*Note sent to the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, Don Joseph de Boligni, on the 1st of October, 1799, ordering him to leave Constantinople.*

**T**HOUGH it is the maxim of every state not to suffer its enemies to remain within its territories, yet I (the grand seignior) confided in the treaties of amity which your sovereign had promised not to interrupt by any public action, I have, therefore, not only suffered you to remain within my dominions, but even to reside in the heart of my metropolis, in the capacity of a public representative: but you could not keep within bounds; you have not merely obeyed the commands of your king, but you have gone beyond them, by manifesting too much in favour of the enemies of my states and of good order. Though I was acquainted with your behaviour and your sentiments, yet I thought my moderation would serve you as an example; but, on the contrary, you have only been a spy of the French, and found fault with every thing that was done on our part against the general disturbers of public tranquillity. This was not all; you have not only given instructions to your agents to act as spies, but also to supply the enemy of the whole world with provisions from our dominions. I cannot, therefore, suffer you to remain any longer in my capital and in my dominions, for which reason I have ordered my Sublime Porte to acquaint you, by this present decree, to quit my capital within a fortnight, and to communicate it to your sovereign, that he may become acquainted with your behaviour.

*Protes*

*Protest of the King of Sardinia against the Conduct of the French in driving him from his Dominions, dated from the Road of Cagliari, 3d of March.*

**H**IS majesty declares that the honour of his person, the interest of his family and of his successors, his connections with friendly powers, impose it on him as a duty to protest loudly, and in the face of Europe, against the proceeding by which he has been compelled to quit his territories on the continent, and to abandon for a time the exercise of his power. He declares, upon the faith and word of a king, that not only he never infringed, even in the slightest degree, the treaties made with the French republic, but, on the contrary, that he observed them with such scrupulous exactness, with such demonstrations of amity and condescension, that he far exceeded the obligations contracted with the republic. It is notorious that all the care and solicitude of his majesty were continually directed to secure respect to every French citizen, particularly the troops stationed in his territory and passing through it; to repress and punish those who insulted them; to obviate even the well-grounded resentment of those who, outraged by military licentiousness, might have been led to violence. He protests likewise upon the faith and word of a king against any writing wherever published, insinuating that his majesty carried on any secret intelligence with the powers hostile to France. In proof of this he refers not only to the accounts transmitted to the French government, and to what has been advanced by its generals, but the impartial evidence

Vol. XLJ.

which the ministers and public representatives who were at Turin have given to their respective courts. It is easy for any one to decide, from the facts before the public, that the adherence of his majesty to whatever was imposed upon him, by the superior forces of the French republic, was only temporary, and could have no object but to save his subjects in Piedmont the evils which a just resistance would have occasioned; his majesty being surprised by an unexpected attack; which he could never have suspected from a power, his ally, and at a moment when, in consequence of an application from the agents of the republic, his forces were put upon the footing of the most profound peace. Impelled by all these motives, his majesty resolved, whenever it was in his power, to make known to all the powers of Europe the injustice of the proceedings of the French generals and agents, and the nullity of the reasons urged in their manifestoes; and at the same time to reclaim his reinstatement in the dominions of his ancestors.

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*Acknowledgement of the new Pope by Louis XVIII.*

*Letter from Louis XVIII. by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, &c.—To our dear and well-beloved Cousins, the Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, Deans, &c. of the Holy Roman Church; greeting;*

Dear and well-beloved cousins,

**W**E knew and lamented already the death of Pius VI. before we received your letter from Venice

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nice, of the 8th of October last. None more than ourselves could deplore the ill treatment which this aged and venerable pontiff has endured from the French rulers; and we have found some consolation from the sensible but silent interest which the French people have manifested at his fate, by going in crowds to receive his benediction with the greatest respect, and by having endeavoured to console him, in the captivity he endured, from his cruel oppressors. That conduct of our subjects gives us a fresh proof, that the many crimes committed in our kingdom are not the work of our people, but of a small number of criminals. It is moreover a proof that the divine Providence has preserved in the hearts of the French, the respect and love for their religion, in spite of all the efforts of impiety to destroy it; and this grace of Providence is a security to us and to our people for the approaching return of God's former bounty, who will doubtless direct your proceedings, in restoring a head to the church; for we hope the best choice from an assembly so distinguished for piety, wisdom, and pure doctrines. It is in this firm confidence that we acknowledge the holy father of your choice; and we hope from him, by whom all kings reign on earth, to be replaced on the throne of our ancestors. We shall cause his legitimate rights to be respected throughout our dominions, and shall thereby justify our title of Most Christian King, and the eldest son of the Christian church.

Meanwhile, dear and beloved cousins, we ardently pray to God to take you under his divine protection.

Given at the palace of Mittan,  
under our hand and seal, the  
24th of November, 1799,  
and the 5th of our reign.

Your good cousin,  
Louis,  
Count of St. Priest.

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*Edict of the Emperor of Russia, re-  
specting Hamburgh.*

**W**HEREAS we have remarked, for some time past, in the government of Hamburgh, a disposition for the principles of anarchy, and an attachment to the forms of the French government, which are destructive of all legitimate power: we order, that an embargo shall be laid upon all Hamburgh vessels in our ports, and which belong to Hamburgh subjects; and we also order, that a return shall be made to us of the number of the said vessels which ate in each of our ports.

Paul.

Given at St. Petersburg,  
March 21, 1799.

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*Proclamation of General Suvwaroff to  
the Inhabitants of Lucerne and St.  
Martin, in the West of Piedmont.*

**P**EOPLE, what part have you taken? Seduced peasants, you support the French, the disturbers and enemies of the public tranquillity, while tranquillity can alone secure your existence and happiness. The French have declared themselves the enemies of Jesus Christ: and the ancient attachment of your fathers to the precepts of Christianity has procured you the protection

of England. The French are now the enemies of that power, your benefactors, our ally at this very moment. Supported by our forces, and animated by our victories, as well as by the assistance which the God of the Christians deigns to grant his warriors, we are arrived at the foot of your mountains, and on the point of entering them, if you continue to persist in your blindness. Inhabitants of the vallies of Lucerne and St. Martin, the time of repentance is not yet past: hasten to join our banners; for they are blest by heaven, and victorious on earth. The fruits of the plain are at your disposal, if you become our friends; and the mighty protection of England shall be continued to you; the more so, as your conscience will never permit you to expose yourselves to the galling reproach of having been the satellites of your tyrants and seducers; in uniting with us you will become the defenders of true liberty and tranquillity.

(Signed) Suwarroff Rimniskoy.

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*Manifesto addressed to the Roman Nation, on the Approach of the combined Armies.*

**W**ORTHY descendents of Romulus, the dawn of peace at length opens upon your horizon. The happy days of Numa Pompilius, of Augustus, and of Trajan, are about to return. Impiety and fanaticism give place to true religion and honour. The mask of wantonness and libertinism is about to fall. The tree of discord is rooted out of your soil; the tri-coloured standard will no longer dishonour the capi-

tol. Remember that you are Romans, and your breasts will glow with indignation against a race which has constantly been your enemy, which persecuted Rome, both in its infancy and in its state of maturity, and which at all times was averse to its prosperity; which at this juncture has robbed it of its treasures, its monuments, its many rarities, and violated its religion; which has overthrown its good order, and deprived it of that dignity and consequence which all nations of the universe were wont to ascribe to it. Romans! where are the statues collected with so much labour and fatigue, from the most distant regions? Where are your famous pictures, and those celebrated manuscripts which you have preserved with so much care from the ravages of time? Where are your vessels of gold and silver, your precious jewels, and rich ornaments? All are become the prey of that French nation, which had promised and undertaken to guarantee your property. Where are the decorations and magnificent attributes of your churches? Where is the supreme pontiff, the sacred pledge, whose honourable custody was committed to your charge for the general interest of the Catholic church? All have been barbarously torn from you by those French commissioners and generals, who had solemnly contracted with you for the protection of your public worship.

Where is your liberty? that liberty which was deceitfully held out to you as the basis of your revolution, and the dearest wish of your hearts. The most oppressive tyranny, the most humiliating despotism, has fettered you, and still afflicts you. Some vile French-

men, without honesty, without birth, without education, have annihilated the Roman name, and with their impure and deceitful breath have profaned the lasting fame of your noble ancestors, Curtius, Horatius, Fabius, Brutus, and Cassius; they have plundered you of your inheritance, your authority, and your tranquillity. But, people of Rome! you shall be avenged; the imperial eagle has again directed its flight towards the Italian shores; it is guided by the valiant Suwarroff, the hero of Russia, the hero of Italy, the hero, whose name resounds from the Euxine to the Vistula and the Volga, on the banks of the Po, the Adige, and the Trebbia, and who is immortalized by the victories he has gained. The united forces of the two empires, and the greatest powers in Europe, are conducted by the greatest commander, the terror of whose name alarms the enemy. Victory accompanies his standard, and overthrows every bulwark; the humble Frenchman flies at his approach, and seeks to save himself in the Alps; but there is no retreat nor safety for him; pursued, beaten, discomfited, he abandons Italy, and is detested and abhorred by all its inhabitants, who sound the alarm to destroy and annihilate him.

People of Rome! you likewise ought to follow this laudable example; you have your vengeance to claim, and should participate in the common glory. In the name of general Suwarroff, I invite you to do it; he is persuaded that you will not hesitate to unite yourselves with the victorious armies of the two empires, and doubts not but, with that force and energy which has always distinguished your illus-

trious nation, you will yourselves expel from your city, and the Roman state, the small remainder of Frenchmen who still keep you under subjection, and oppress you; and that you will liberate your families from such unwelcome and dangerous guests.

Let no apprehensions deter you from this resolve. A total oblivion of what is past, and an absolute pardon for all who may return to their duty, are promised you by the allied princes, and guaranteed by the general. He cannot suppose you blind enough to be attached to your enemies, and the enemies of heaven—the foes of all the human race; or that you would wish to retard the general peace of Italy, by abusing the bounty of so many sovereigns. He loves you, and dreads the thought of being obliged, if you continue refractory, to consider you as the enemies of religion and the allied powers; in which case, he would be under the painful necessity of fighting and exterminating you with the common enemy. May God avert such a calamity from you, and inspire you, for the public good, to act in such a way as to merit his grace, the praises of Suwarroff, and the commendation of Europe.

George, count of Zouccato,  
Lieutenant-colonel in his imperial  
Russian majesty's service, vo-  
lunteer in the army of Italy,  
knight of the orders of St.  
George, St. Valodimir, and  
the Prussian order of merit.

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*Note sent to all the foreign Ministers  
resident at Petersburg, February.*

**H**IS majesty, the emperor, ha-  
ving deigned to comply with  
the

the wishes expressed by the bailiffs, grand crosses, and commanders of the grand priory of Russia, by accepting the title of Grand Master of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was solemnly agreed to by their act of the 13th of October, 1798, and the plurality of tongues having recognised his imperial majesty in that eminent quality, his minister has received orders to notify it to M. —, for the information of his court; and at the same time to make known, that St. Petersburg shall be the seat and chief residence of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Orders have been also issued to the ministers of Russia, not to receive any letters addressed to his imperial majesty, in which the title of Grand Master of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem shall be omitted.

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*Extract of an Order from St. Petersburg, to Major-general and Port-captain Burmanetigen, dated August, 1799.*

**W**HEREAS, in the city of Copenhagen, and throughout the whole kingdom of Denmark, clubs and societies have been formed, upon principles similar to those which have brought about the revolution in France, and overturned the lawful monarchical power of that country; and whereas these have been permitted by the Danish government: it is ordered by us, that all Danish ships of war, as well as merchantmen, and also all subjects of that kingdom, shall be strictly forbidden to enter into any of the ports of our dominions.

*Ukase of the Emperor Paul, communicated to the Senate of Hamburg, November 14.*

**T**HE city of Hamburg having satisfied our wishes, by delivering up to the British minister, resident at that place, the Irish rebel Napper Tandy and his companions, and by sending away those Frenchmen of suspicious character who were in that city, has consequently merited the return of our good will. We therefore forget the past, and direct, that every communication with the town of Hamburg be re-established on the former footing.

(Signed)

Paul.

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*Treaty of defensive Alliance between the Emperor of all the Russias, and her Most Faithful Majesty, signed at Saint Petersburg, the 28th (17th) of September, 1799.*

**D**ON Juan, by the grace of God prince of Portugal, and Algarves, &c. &c. be it known to all those who shall see the present act of confirmation, approbation, and ratification, that on the 28th (17th) of the month of September past, there has been concluded and signed, at St. Petersburg, a treaty of defensive alliance between me and the most puissant seignior Paul the First, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, my brother and most dear friend: the following persons being furnished with full powers for that purpose; on my part, Joseph de Horta, and on the part of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, the chevalier de Kotschubey, vice-chancellor, and the count de Rostopschin, privy counsellor, grand chamberlain and



grand cross of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem: the tenour is as follows:

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity:—

Her most faithful majesty, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, wishing to draw closer the bonds of friendship and good understanding, which already subsist between them, have judged that nothing would contribute more efficaciously to this salutary end, than the conclusion of a treaty of defensive alliance.

In consequence of which their said majesties have chosen and nominated as above; who, after the mutual communication of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. There shall be a sincere and constant friendship between her majesty the queen of Portugal, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, their heirs and successors; and, in consequence of this intimate union, the high contracting powers shall have nothing more zealously at heart, than to advance, by all possible means, their mutual interests, to ward off from each other every thing that might cause to either any wrong, damage, or prejudice, and to maintain each other reciprocally in the quiet possession of their estates, rights, commerce, and prerogatives whatever, guaranteeing to themselves, for this purpose, reciprocally, all their countries, estates, and possessions, such as they at present possess them, as well as those which they may acquire by treaties.

II. If, notwithstanding the efforts which they should employ with one common accord to attain this end, it should happen that one of them

should be attacked by sea or by land, the other shall lend to it at once, and as soon as demand shall be made, the succours stipulated by the subsequent articles of this treaty.

III. Her most faithful majesty, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declare, once for all, that, in contracting the present alliance, they by no means wish to offend thereby, nor to do any wrong to any person whatever, but that their sole and only intention is to provide, by these engagements, for their mutual advantage and security, as also for the re-establishment of peace, and the maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe.

IV. As the two high contracting parties profess the same desire to render their mutual succours as advantageous as possible, it is agreed, that her most faithful majesty, should she be attacked or disturbed by any other power, and in any manner whatsoever, in the possession of her estates and provinces, so that she may judge it necessary to call for the assistance of her ally, his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias shall send her, in the first instance, 6000 infantry; if, on the other hand, his imperial majesty of all the Russias should find himself attacked or disturbed in the possession of his estates and provinces by any other power and in any manner whatsoever, so that he may judge it necessary to require the assistance of his ally, her most faithful majesty shall send him, in the first instance, a squadron of six ships of war; viz. five ships of from 64 to 74 guns, and a frigate of from 32 to 40 guns. This squadron shall be duly equipped and armed for war, having on board a number of officers, sailors, soldiers, and gunners, fixed by the regulations

regulations of her most faithful majesty; which succours shall be respectively sent to the places which shall be appointed by the party requiring them, and shall remain at the free disposal of the said party during the continuance of hostilities.

V. But should the nature of the attack be such that the party attacked should not find it its interest to demand the effective succours as stipulated in the preceding article, then the two high contracting parties have agreed to convert the said succours into a subsidy in money; that is to say, should her most faithful majesty come to be attacked, and prefer assistance in money, his imperial majesty of all the Russias, upon demand previously made, shall pay her a sum of 250,000 roubles a year, during the whole term of hostilities, to assist her to support the expenses of war; and should his imperial majesty of all the Russias come to be attacked, and prefer succours in money, her most faithful majesty shall furnish him with a like sum every year, as long as hostilities shall continue.

VI. Should the party called upon, after having lent the succours stipulated by the fourth article of this treaty, be itself attacked, so as to be reduced to the necessity of recalling its troops for its own security, it shall be at liberty to do so, after having given two months previous notice to the party requiring aid. In like manner, should the party called upon be itself at war at the time of the requisition, so as to be obliged to retain near it, for its own defence and safety, the forces which it should send to its ally by virtue of this treaty; in such case, the party called upon shall be dispensed from furnishing such succours

during the whole time such necessity shall continue.

VII. The auxiliary troops of Russia shall be provided with field-artillery, military stores, and every thing necessary, in proportion to their number. They shall be recruited and paid annually by the court called upon. With respect to the rations and other ordinary proportions in provisions and forage, and also with respect to quarters, they shall be supplied by the court requiring aid, and all on the same footing on which it keeps and shall keep its own proper troops in the field and at quarters.

VIII. In case of the said Russian auxiliary troops should repair to the succour of her most faithful majesty, the court of Lisbon shall undertake to procure transports to carry them, or means to furnish the expenses of their conveyance; the same is to be understood of all recruits which his imperial majesty shall be obliged to send to these troops, as well as of the return of the same into Russia, when they shall be either sent back by her most faithful majesty, or recalled by his imperial majesty for his own defence, according to the sixth article of this treaty.—It is farther stipulated, that in case of the recall or sending back of the said troops, the two high contracting parties shall communicate with their friend and ally, the king of Great Britain, for the purpose that the troops should have also, on his part, a sufficient convoy of ships of war for their protection.

IX. The officers commanding, whether the squadron which her most faithful majesty should send to Russia, or the auxiliary troops of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, shall retain the command which shall

have been confided to them; but the general command shall belong to him whom the party requiring aid shall have appointed for that purpose, under the restriction however, that nothing of importance shall be undertaken which shall not have been previously regulated and determined in a council of war, in presence of the general and commanding officers of the party called upon for aid.

X. And to prevent all disputes about rank, the party calling for aid shall make known in time the chief to whom it shall give the general command, whether of the fleet or the land troops, in order that the party called upon may be able to regulate, in consequence, the rank of the officer it shall appoint to command the ships of war or the auxiliary troops.

XI. Farther, those auxiliary forces shall be allowed their own chaplains and the entire free exercise of their religion, and shall not be tried in any thing respecting military service, except by the laws and articles of war of their respective sovereigns. The general and also all the rest of the auxiliary forces shall be permitted to maintain a free correspondence with their country, either by letters or expresses.

XII. The auxiliary forces, on the one part and the other, shall continue together as much as possible, and, to avoid their being subjected to more fatigue than the others, and in order that there may be in all the expeditions and operations a perfect equality, the general-in-chief shall be bound to observe, upon all occasions, a just proportion according to the force of the fleet or army.

XIII. The squadron which her most faithful majesty is to furnish, in

virtue of this alliance, shall be received into all the ports of his imperial majesty, where it shall receive the most friendly treatment, and shall be provided with every thing of which it shall stand in need, on paying for it at the same price charged to the ships of his imperial majesty; and the said squadron shall be permitted to return, every year, to the ports of Portugal, as soon as the season shall not suffer it to continue at sea. But it is formally, and from the present moment, stipulated, that this squadron shall return every year to its destination, towards the beginning of the month of May, and not leave it again until the month of October, and this as often as the stipulation of the treaty shall require it. The auxiliary squadron of Portugal shall always be employed conjointly with the squadrons of his imperial majesty, or with those of their friend and ally, the king of Great Britain.

XIV. The party calling for assistance, or demanding the succours stipulated by this treaty, shall point out, at the same time, to the party applied to, the places to which it shall wish them to repair in the first instance; and the party requiring aid, shall be at liberty to avail itself of the succours during the whole time they shall remain with it, in such manner and places as it shall judge most proper for its service against the aggressor.

XV. The case of this treaty of alliance shall not be applicable to wars which may arise between his imperial majesty of all the Russias, and the powers and nations of Asia, with respect to which, her most faithful majesty shall be dispensed from lending the succours stipulated by the present treaty, except the

case of an attack made by any European power whatever against the rights and possessions of his imperial majesty of all the Russias; as also, on the other side, his imperial majesty of all the Russias shall not be bound to furnish the succours stipulated by this same treaty in any case whatever, except that of an attack made by some European power against the rights and possessions of her most faithful majesty.

XVI. It has been also agreed, that in regard of the great distance of places, the 6000 infantry whom his imperial majesty of all the Russias shall furnish, by virtue of this alliance, for the defence of her most faithful majesty, shall not be sent out of Europe.

XVII. If the succours stipulated in the fourth article of this treaty should not be sufficient, then the contracting parties reserve to themselves an opening for agreeing upon such farther succours as they ought to afford.

XVIII. The party requesting aid shall make neither peace nor truce with the common enemy, without comprising in it the party called upon, in order that the latter may not suffer any injury or hatred on account of the succours which it shall have lent to its ally.

XIX. The present defensive alliance shall not in any wise injure the treaties and alliances which the high contracting parties may have with other powers, as far as the said treaties shall not be contrary to this, or to the friendship and good understanding which they are resolved to preserve between them.

XX. If any other power should be willing to accede to the present alliance, their said majesties have agreed to concert between them-

selves, on the admission of such power.

XXI. The present treaty of defensive alliance shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, at St. Petersburg, within the space of five months, reckoning from the day of the date of signature, or sooner, if it can be done.—In faith of which the aforesaid ministers plenipotentiary of both parties have signed the present treaty, and thereunto put their seals and coats of arms.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 28th (17th) Sept. 1799.

(L.S.) Francis-Joseph de Horta Machado.

(L.S.) Le comte de Kotshubey.

(L.S.) Le comte de Rostopchin.

And the aforesaid treaty having been presented to me, and having been seen, weighed, and examined all the points and articles therein contained, I approve it, ratify it, and confirm it, in all and every of its clauses and stipulations, promising, on my faith and royal word, to observe and keep it, without ever infringing or permitting that it should be infringed in any manner. In testimony and assurance of which, I have caused the present act, signed with my hand, and the impression of the seal of my arms, to be dispatched and sent back by my minister, counsellor, and secretary of state for foreign affairs and of war, who has countersigned it.

Done at the palace of Quelus, the 31st of December, from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1799.

The Prince.

Underneath,

Luiz Pinto de Souza.

*Treaty*

*Treaty of Friendship and Amity between his Majesty and the Crown of Sweden, on one Side, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and the Russian Empire, on the other; negotiated and concluded at Gatschina, the 18th (29th), of October, 1799, and ratified at the Palace of Stockholm, on the 30th of November, and at Gatschina, on the 14th (25th), of December, in the same Year.*

In the name of the most holy and indivisible trinity.

THE treaty of Drotningholm being expired, and the treaty of peace of Wersle having thus become the only public act subsisting between the two countries, his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, animated by a similar desire to consolidate their union, have resolved to give a fresh sanction to the treaty of peace above-mentioned, by the present treaty of alliance. They have, for that purpose, chosen and appointed their plenipotentiaries, viz. his majesty the king of Sweden, the baron Curt de Steding, his ambassador extraordinary to the emperor of all the Russias, lieutenant-general of his armies, chamberlain of the queen-dowager, colonel of a regiment of infantry, knight and commander of his orders, grand cross of the order of the sword, knight of the French order of military merit, and M. John Christopher de Toll, lieutenant-general of his armies, adjutant-general, colonel of a regiment of cavalry, and commander and grand cross of the order of the sword; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the count Theodore Rostopshin, privy counsellor, first minister

of the department for foreign affairs, director-general of the posts of the empire, grand-chancellor and grand-cross of the sovereign order of Saint John, of Jerusalem, knight of the orders of Saint Andrew, Saint Alexander Nefsky, and Saint Ann, of the first class, and the count Nikita Panin, privy-counsellor, vice-chancellor *ad interim*, chamberlain, and knight of the orders of Saint Alexander Nefsky, Saint Ann, of the first class, and of the Prussian red eagle—who, after exchanging their respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. The principal object of his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in forming this alliance, being mutually to secure to each other a quiet and undisturbed possession of their respective states, they guarantee to each other, in the most solemn and binding manner it can be done, all their territories, states, and provinces in Europe, as they are at present in the possession of his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

II. Farther to extend the confidence which at present subsists between his majesty the king of Sweden and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, they will carry on the most intimate correspondence, to inform each other, speedily and faithfully, of all damage, disadvantage, danger, or external troubles, which might threaten the states of either of the contracting powers, timely to employ the most vigorous measures for preventing the consequences, or for repairing them.

III. If, contrary to all expectations, and notwithstanding the amicable sentiments of the two contracting

tracting powers, one of them should be attacked in his dominions, states, and provinces, in Europe, the other, as soon as it shall be required of him, will employ his good offices to terminate hostilities, and to procure proper satisfaction for his ally. Should these remonstrances prove fruitless, he will furnish to the party requiring it, at the time stated, and without the least difficulty, the troops stipulated hereafter. These troops shall assemble in such harbour or frontier town of the party of whom they are required, as shall be most contiguous to the theatre of war; their farther transport shall be at the expense of the party requiring them. To obviate any misunderstanding, with respect to the period in which such succour is to be furnished, their majesties are reciprocally of opinion, that the said succour should be left at the disposal of the requiring party, two, three, or at farthest four months after such requisition shall have been made. In this, the time will be faithfully and conscientiously regulated, which, from the distance of places, shall be necessary, and according as the season, shall be more or less favourable for the marching of troops, or the fitting out of ships of the line, or other auxiliary vessels.

IV. The succour stipulated in the preceding article, if that case of the treaty should happen, shall consist, on the part of his Swedish majesty, in 8000 men, infantry; 2000 cavalry, or dragoons, as it shall best suit the party of whom they are required, and in six sail of the line, from 60 to 70 guns, and two frigates, of 30 guns each; on the part of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, in 12,000 men, infantry, and 4,000 cavalry, or dragoons, as

it shall best suit the party of whom they are required, and in nine sail of the line, from 60 to 70 guns, and three frigates, of 30 guns each. The auxiliary troops shall be provided with ammunition, and with the necessary field-artillery; and the ships of the line, frigates, and other vessels, fitted out, armed, clothed, and provisioned, as is usual in time of war, and in the same state as the party of whom they are required would have put them for combating an attacking enemy. If that case of the treaty should happen, and either the party requiring them, or of whom they are required, should wish to have, or to furnish infantry instead of cavalry, and if that should be agreed upon, two men infantry shall be furnished for one man cavalry. If one or other of the high contracting parties mentioned should not deem such change suitable, it shall not take place, and the formation of the auxiliary corps shall remain as stipulated in the present article.

V. The auxiliary troops shall be paid by the party of whom they are required; but they are to be provided by the requiring party with the usual rations, and the necessary forage and quarters, on the same footing as their own master furnishes and provides them when in the field.

VI. The ships of the line, or armed vessels, sent by one of the high contracting parties to the assistance of the other, shall be fitted out, armed, and provisioned, for four months, which term shall commence from the moment of the sailing of the ships of the line, frigates, or auxiliary vessels, from the harbours and roads of the respective dominions of the two contracting

traffing powers. Should the result of the operations, or other circumstances, render it necessary for the requiring party to employ them after that period, he shall be at liberty to do so; but in that case he will be obliged to maintain them at his own expense, and to supply the men with the same quantity of provisions as they receive from their own sovereign when in the field; the party of whom they are required will then merely be obliged to pay the officers and men of the ships of the line, frigates or other vessels. Should the high contracting parties deem it more suitable to their interest and to the result of the operations, instead of the ships of the line, frigates, or other vessels, to use the vessels of the fleet of the Shears, the same number of men shall be furnished in such vessels, as would otherwise have been furnished in ships of the line, or frigates.

VII. Though every officer will retain the command of the auxiliary troops under him, yet the chief command shall unquestionably be in the hands of the officer intrusted with it by the party requiring those troops in the field, and during the combined operations by land or sea. Not any important expedition shall, however, be undertaken, nor any plan of consequence carried into execution, unless the commander of the auxiliary troops has previously been consulted upon, and given his consent to it.

VIII. To obviate every error or misunderstanding respecting the rank of officers, who have the respective commands, the sovereign requiring the succour will give timely notice of the officer whom he intends to intrust with it, to

enable the other party to fix the rank of the officer who is to command the auxiliary troops or vessels.

IX. The auxiliary troops shall have their own priests, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion. They shall be tried by their own officers, according to the laws and articles of war which are in force with them. Should any differences arise between the officers and troops of the party requiring succour, and the auxiliary troops, an equal number of commissioners shall be appointed by both parties, to investigate the case, and to pronounce judgement; and those who, by a majority of votes, are found guilty, shall be punished according to the articles of war of their own sovereign. If there should be an equal number of votes, the sentence of that party shall be valid, which declares for the mildest punishment. The correspondence, which the generals or officers of the auxiliary troops may wish to carry on with their own country, by the post or by expresses, shall not be impeded.

X. The auxiliary troops, ships of the line, or other ships of war, shall not be exposed by too great a distance, on their marches, in detachment, and actions, or in quarters. Care shall be taken, on the contrary, as much as possible, to unite them in a centre of sufficient force. And to prevent in all cases, that the auxiliary troops, ships of the line, or other ships of war, are not fatigued or exposed more than those of the party requiring succour, the commander-in-chief shall be obliged, on all occasions, to make a just and equitable distribution of the combined forces.

XI. Should the auxiliary troops have suffered considerable diminution,

tion, of 1000 men at least, exclusive of the sick and wounded, during the campaign, the party which furnished them will complete them by recruiting, at its own expense; these recruits shall be sent to the harbour or the frontiers of the requiring party, which is nearest to the theatre of war (within two months from the day on which the party of which succours have been required shall have been informed of such diminution), from whence they are afterwards to be transported to the army, at the expense of the party requiring them. A ship of the line, frigate, or other vessel, of the auxiliary fleet, which shall have been lost, is to be replaced by the party furnishing the succour by another ship of equal force, within two months, or sooner, if possible, from the day above-mentioned, provided such ship of the line, frigate, or vessel, can join the fleet of the party requiring it, without being evidently exposed to danger; it is to be well understood, however, that such recruiting and replacing of troops shall not take place, unless the troops or ships are able to join their respective corps previous to the end of the campaign.

For every fresh campaign, the recruits, the ships of the line, frigates, or other vessels, shall be furnished complete, regardless of the amount of their diminution. It is likewise agreed upon, that if, during the march, or when the auxiliary troops are returning from the dominions of the party by which they had been required, any of the officers, soldiers, and sailors, should be obliged to remain behind, on account of sickness or wounds, that party binds himself to provide for

them, and on their recovery to march them to the frontiers of the dominions of the party that furnished them, at his own expense.

XII. In case the succours stipulated in the 4th article, for the defence of the high contracting party which shall have been attacked, should be insufficient, the other, after a consultation, in which the mutual situation of the two high contracting powers shall be investigated, is to furnish more troops and ships of war, provided his own situation allows it. These additional troops, or ships, are to be furnished on the same conditions as above-mentioned.

XIII. Both parties shall be at liberty, while one of them is engaged in a war, to draw from the states of the other the necessary materials and articles for carrying on war, at the current price at the place where they are bought.

XIV. At the end of the war, the auxiliary troops shall be farther maintained, by the party that required them, upon the same footing as stipulated in article V. till they shall have returned to the states of their sovereign. Their return shall be effected at the expenses of the party that required them.

XV. Should the party, of which the succour has been required, be attacked on account of having furnished it, and the two high contracting powers thus be engaged in a common war, they shall not enter singly into negotiations for peace or for a cessation of hostilities, much less conclude a peace or an armistice, without the consent and full participation of both parties, or before the aggrieved party shall have been properly indemnified for the damages suffered. It is also well understood,



understood, that the requiring party cannot conclude an armistice or a peace, without conscientiously observing the interest of the other party.

XVI. To enable their subjects to enjoy those advantages which a well-established commerce offers to both nations, from the proximity of their states, the two high contracting parties have agreed to make this the basis of a particularly solid and permanent treaty, which shall be drawn up immediately. Till such treaty can be concluded, the two high contracting parties agree that their respective subjects shall enjoy all the advantages in their respective states which are enjoyed in them by the most favoured nations. The better to secure the liberty of commerce, the two high contracting parties will give orders to the commanders of their ships, whatever sea they may be in, to protect and assist every Swedish and Russian ship that may stand in need of it.

XVII. The two high contracting parties having also observed the necessity to regulate the frontiers of Finland, for the better security of tranquillity and good neighbourhood, they engage, as soon as possible, to occupy themselves with that important subject, and to commence negotiations respecting it at St. Petersburg, through the ministers of the two courts. Till that shall be effected, the two high contracting parties have agreed to let things remain, in that respect, as they were at the conclusion of the peace of Wercle.

XVIII. To render still stronger the harmony, and to suppress the disorders which might result from impunity, a cartel shall be concluded between both states. Until this shall

be effected, the two high contracting parties agree not to grant any protection to criminals and deserters who shall seek an asylum in their states, but to arrest and deliver up on the frontiers, to the officers appointed for that purpose, all such runaways, as soon as intelligence shall have been received. It is also agreed on, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, and previously to the cartel being established, to exchange all the deserters in both countries. From this regulation shall only be excepted prisoners of war, naturalized in either of the two countries, and the deserters who shall have married or settled, out of their country, previous to the ratification of the present treaty.

XIX. This alliance shall be in force during eight years, and the two high contracting powers reserve to themselves to declare and to agree upon the prolongation of it, at least six months before the expiration of that term.

XX. The ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible, at St. Petersburg. In the faith of this, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty of alliance, and sealed it with our arms.

Done at Gatschina, the 15.  
(29th) of October, 1799.

(Signed) Curt Steding.  
J. C. Toll.  
Count Rostopshin.  
Count Panin.

#### *Separate Article.*

His Swedish majesty shall be at liberty, annually, to buy 50,000 chetwerts of corn in the harbours of the Gulf of Finland, and of the Baltic.

Baltic, belonging to his Russian majesty; but it must be proved that it is for account of Swedish subjects particularly, by his majesty for that purpose; which corn may be exported to Sweden duty free.

Barren years shall, however, be excluded from this regulation. If this case should happen, his majesty of Sweden shall be at liberty, as soon as the exportation is again allowed, to export, besides the annual quantity stipulated above, the quantity which should have been exported during the prohibition.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of alliance signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In faith of which we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and thereunto put our seal with our arms.

Done at Gatchina, the 18th (29th) October, 1799.

(L. S.) Curt Steding.

(L. S.) Count Rostopschin.

(L. S.) J. C. Toll.

(L. S.) Count Panin.

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*Declaration made by the Emperor of Russia, to the Members of the German Empire.*

**H**IS imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russians, ever animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and wishing to put a stop to the ravages and disorders which have been spread by the impious government under which France groans, to the remotest countries; being fully determined to dispatch his sea and land forces for the support of the sufferers, and to restore

royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to re-establish the ancient forms of government in the united Netherlands and in the Swiss Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German empire, and to look for his reward in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe: Providence has blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops have triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order.

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addresses this declaration to all the members of the German empire, inviting them to unite their forces with his, to destroy their common enemy as speedily as possible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themselves and their posterity.

Should his imperial majesty of all the Russias perceive that they support his views, and rally around him, he will, instead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not sheath his sword before he has seen the downfall of the monster which threatens to crush all legal authorities. But should he, be left to himself, he will be forced to recall his forces to his states, and to give up a cause so badly supported by those who ought to have the greatest share in its triumph.

Gatchina, Sept. 15,  
(Old Style), 1799.

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*Declaration of War of the Emperor of all the Russias against Spain.*

**W**E, by the grace of God, Paul I. &c. &c. do hereby make known to all our faithful subjects,

jects, that we, and our allies, having resolved to overthrow the lawless government now ruling France, and we have, therefore, risen against it with all our forces. The Almighty has blessed our arms to this very day, and crowned all our enterprises with victory and success. Among the small number of European powers, apparently attached to the French government, but, in fact, powers that are only afraid of the vengeance of this government, the outcast of God, struggling with the last agonies of dissolution, Spain has, more than all the rest, shown her fear of, or attachment to France, not by giving her actual succours, but by armaments. In vain have we made use of all our resources to open to that power the real path to honour and glory, by combining with us; she has persisted obstinately in measures and wanderings destructive of herself; and thus have we at last found ourselves under the necessity of sending back her chargé d'affaires at our court, Odie. But having since that received information, that our own chargé d'affaires, too, counsellor Butzow, has been compelled to quit the king of Spain's dominions within a term unto him limited, we deem this an insult committed upon our imperial dignity, and do hereby declare war; giving orders at the same time to impose sequestration on all Spanish ships in our harbours, and to confiscate the same, and to send orders to the commanders of all our land and sea forces, to act with hostility every where against all the subjects of the king of Spain.

Done at Peterhof, July 26, 1799.

(Signed)

Paul.

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*Answer of the King of Spain to the  
Manifesto of the Emperor of Russia.*

*Madrid, Sept. 11.*

THE religious exactness with which I have endeavoured, and shall endeavour, to maintain the alliance which I have entered into with the French republic, and the bonds of friendship and of good intelligence which subsist between the two countries, and which are cemented by the evident analogy of their common political interests, have excited the jealousy of some powers, particularly since the formation of the new coalition, of which the object, instead of the chimerical and ostensible desire of re-establishing order, is only to disturb it by despotizing over those nations who will not submit to their ambitious views. Among them, Russia has thought proper to appear very prominent with respect to me. The emperor, not content with arrogating to himself titles which cannot in any sense belong to him, and with thus manifesting his views, has just published a decree declaratory of war against me, in consequence, as he says, of not having experienced from me the condescension which he expected. The publication of this decree may alone suffice to prove his want of justice. The translation of it is literally as follows: [Here the manifesto of the emperor is recited.]

I have seen, without surprise, this declaration of war, because the conduct observed towards my chargé d'affaires, and other proceedings not less extraordinary on the part of this sovereign, some time since, intimated me what I was to expect. But, passing, therefore, from my court and dominions, the Russian chargé d'affaires,

d'affaires, M. le conseiller Butzow, I have not been so much governed by motives of resentment as by the imperious considerations of my dignity.

In consequence of these principles, I am far from intending to examine at length the inconsistent and offensive contents of the Russian manifesto—offensive not only to me, but to other European powers; and well knowing the nature of the influence of England upon the reigning czar, I consider it below me to answer this manifesto, being accountable for my political connections to none but the Almighty, by whose aid I shall be able to repel every unjust aggression, which the presumption of a system of false combinations may direct against me and my subjects, for the protection and security of whom I have taken and am taking the most efficacious precautions; and in making known to them this declaration of war, I authorize them to act hostilely against Russia, its possessions, and its inhabitants.

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*The Minister Plenipotentiary of the  
Batavian Republic to the Minister  
for Foreign Affairs.*

*Paris, 21st July, 5th Year of  
Batavian Liberty (3d Thermidor).*

Citizen minister,

I HAVE received orders from my government to submit the following reflections to the French directory. The new efforts of despotism against the representative government, the sentiment of duty, and even of necessity, which results from thence for the allied republics, to strengthen the bands which ought to

VOL. XLI.

unite them for the safety of the common cause, have dictated this frank and amicable communication, this explanation of the salutary and protecting principles which should actuate all republicans, inflamed with the love of their country, and only directed by that sentiment they owe a people who have intrusted their dearest interests to them. Since the formation of the Batavian constitution, the legislative body, the directory, the tribunals, the departmental administrations, in short, every authority generally composed of men most remarkable for their patriotism and understanding, have strove to assure the stability of that constitution, and to procure their fellow-citizens all the happiness that had been promised to them. The immense majority of the Batavians, attached by sentiment to the laws which have been given them, impressed with a generous esteem for the magistrates honoured by their choice, will second by every means in their power, with the whole strength of their ability, the painful labours of their delegates. This union between the nation and its magistrates presents to the philosopher and the friends of humanity the consoling hope of being soon able to prove, by an eloquent example, the excellence of a well-tempered democracy, and of establishing by facts, that the practical execution of this system is as easy and as simple, as the conception of its theory is grand and sublime. But this example of a happy republic, without patricians, without privileges, exercising the rights of its sovereignty with dignity, must be too flattering to the people, too alarming to kings. England, dreading its power, has hitherto directed its artificial and

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criminal

criminal policy, in endeavouring to weaken and destroy it. The cabinet of Saint James has been with affright the fall of the stadtholder. Thus this cabinet has calculated the fatal consequences to its commerce, which must be produced by the alliance between the Batavian and the French republics. Its menaces, its arms, not having been able to prevent that alliance, it endeavours to defeat the benefits resulting from it. Force having become useless in the accomplishment of its plans, it has established itself as the banker of intrigue, and by dark manœuvres and machiavelian combinations has attempted to sow jealousies between the two nations, to destroy those sentiments of mutual benevolence which subsisted between them, to divide and to exasperate them against each other. It is thus, on the one hand, to alienate the Batavians, that the disguised emissaries of that cabinet report, with as much affectation as insolence, that the French government will have only tributary republics near it; slaves rather than allies: people vainly decorated with the title of sovereigns, geographically independent, but politically enchained; and that at a peace, Holland, parcelled out and abandoned to a foreign yoke, will leave to Europe only the remembrance of its name and its virtues. It is thus that in France the disguised apostles of tyranny essayed to surprise the confidence of the directory; to inspire it with fears as to the fidelity of the Batavians; to raise doubts as to their patriotism; to call in question their known attachment to the republican system, by describing as suppliers of England, as engrossers on the account of England, as partisans of England, those who

are the implacable enemies of the British government, and the eternal rivals of that haughty ruler of the main. Alas! who are the organs of these horrible blasphemies? Men rendered infamous by the most culpable excesses; men who, having shaken off the restraint of the laws, and renounced all morality, all idea of social organization, set up as the only patriots and privileged defenders of liberty, and, under pompous titles, endeavour to submit all to their fury and despotism. They are men, who, establishing themselves as the disposers of character, describe as a statholderian the citizen who obeys the laws; as a tyrant, the functionary faithful to his duties; and as an egotist and friend to England, the merchant, who by his indefatigable industry is able to pay the enormous contributions which circumstances have rendered necessary, and which have hitherto saved the republic. It is by sowing hatred, and exasperating republicans, that these promoters of civil discord daily bring down new misfortunes on their country, and insensibly prepare the ruin and overthrow of the state. Indifferent as to the means, they indiscriminately embrace all those they think likely to favour their designs; sometimes humble, sometimes insolent, but always perfidious, they flatter or destroy; informers by profession, infamous in character, they calumniate those they cannot corrupt; and, after having mysteriously fabricated pretended plots, and feigned treasons, they loudly invoke the vigilance of the French agents, in order to avert evils which never had any existence, except in their disordered imagination, and their fantastic projects. By what fatality is it

It they have preserved the appearance of good faith, when they have been spreading their snares? How have they been able so easily to affright us with vain fears? How have they been able to circulate such unfounded reports, such sinister predictions, such denunciations, as ridiculous as impudent, and render themselves the echoes of them to the French government? How is it we have not foreseen the disastrous effects which must necessarily be produced by the suspicions with which they have surrounded a rising administration? How is it that it has not been felt that the insinuations of a violent and unruly patriotism may destroy the confidence and esteem which the chief magistrates of two friendly and independent nations ought reciprocally to possess? How is it they have not felt, that to annihilate the credit of the Batavians, already so much impaired by the shocks inseparable from a great revolution, was serving the most ardent wishes of the British minister; and that, from the day on which its credit, the very principle of its existence, strength, and power, should be destroyed, the republic would present nothing to its allies but fetid marshes, and to Europe the dreadful spectacle of a nation cruelly disappointed in its hopes, and writhing in the convulsions of a horrible agony? Yes, it is to the infernal system of informers—to the odious proscription of whatever is good, honest, and upright, to that perfidious art of altering and corrupting every thing, that crafty England owes its successes, republics their losses, republicans their misfortunes, and Batavians that want of regard and deference, that offensive behaviour, which has

so often occasioned their deep regret, and been the subject of their complaints. The Batavian government is so intimately persuaded of having pointed out the source of all its evils, that it is convinced of the necessity of a prompt and efficacious remedy. It is time to prove to England and to Europe that the French republic is too generous, too magnanimous, to adopt a system of making republics tributary; on the contrary, it acknowledges that it wishes, in its full extent, the equality of the people; and, rich in its own resources, it only desires friends, powerful and faithful friends. The Batavian government, confiding in the purity of its intentions, neither has nor can have any secrets which it wishes to conceal from the French directory. It knows that by fate the two nations are inevitably united with each other; that they must triumph or perish together; destroy the same enemies, or be destroyed by them; that they must inspire respect for republics by a manly energy, and the example of their internal happiness; that they must suppress factions; and that in the bloody contest of republicanism against royalty, it is necessary that republicans should unite to prudence and prodigies of valour the courage to make every sacrifice. The Batavian nation will not be behind in this perilous struggle. During the storms which have preceded the establishment of its constitution, it has learnt to distinguish its real friends from its vile seducers. It will honour the one, and punish the disturbers of its repose, whatever disguise they may assume. Fatigued with the long commotions which have shaken its credit and annihilated its commerce, it feels that it

is only by internal peace that it can repair its losses; that new revolutionary tempests will wreck the vessel of the state; and that the general safety demands general order, calmness, and wisdom. For these considerations the Batavian directory, jealous of dissipating the clouds by which the enemies of the two nations have endeavoured to obscure the first days of a sworn alliance, calculated for the prosperity of the two republics; jealous also of destroying every pretence of calumny, of obviating all suspicion, of establishing those legitimate relations which ought to subsist between the two governments, is eager to make a profession of its faith, and to explain publicly the whole of its policy and system. This system, which will ever actuate the Batavian government, is the result of its inviolable attachment to the democratic constitution and republican principles; to the faithful accomplishment of the engagements of the Batavian republic towards the French republic; to the firm resolution of rigorously repressing Orangism and public disturbers; of restraining and chastising the factious; to its deep-rooted hatred against the government of England; to the direction of its resources, in order to second the measures which the French government may adopt against the enemy; to place upon the most respectable footing, and to the full extent of its means, the forces of the Batavian republic by sea and land; to offer its forces in aid of the common cause; to concert with the French republicans as to their destination and employment; and to leave to France, in the combination of its military plans, that ascendancy which it naturally derives from its situation.

Doubtless, the directory, convinced of the sincerity of the Batavian government, by the rigorous execution of its solemn promises, will hasten to second its intentions. Doubtless it will shew, that the independence of its ally is dear and sacred to it; that it will make it respected by respecting it itself; that it will instruct its agents in Holland, that there can be no durable influence but that which is founded on esteem and public opinion; that it is upon these principles they should regulate their conduct in their relations with different authorities; and that it is the more necessary to conform to these principles, inasmuch as the Batavian nation, long characterised by its noble frankness, by its hatred of pride and haughtiness, by its extreme sensibility to the slightest marks of benevolence, only distinguishes and appreciates men according to their virtues, their talents, the amenity of their deportment; their modesty with regard to social relations, and their inflexible severity against the enemies of public order. It will, doubtless, instruct them, that Batavia is not a conquest; that its ancient history attests the undaunted firmness it has ever opposed to tyranny; that its inhabitants, long previous to the arrival of the French, combated against the stadtholder; and that the reception they gave them has proved, to the whole world, they were received rather as brethren than conquerors, rather as friends than oppressors . . . . .; but what chiefly cannot escape the sagacity of the directory is, the necessity of restoring and protecting the commerce of the Batavians in its ancient splendour. The directory will then convince its agents, what they have

have not sufficiently been impressed with, that commerce is to Holland what agriculture is with respect to France; and that, as without agriculture, the colossal size of the republic would soon be a skeleton, without vigour and without life; so also the Batavian republic, without commerce, would disappear: that England alone desires to behold such a catastrophe; that its policy and its jealousy, its luxury and its taxes, its avarice and its prodigality, its ambition and its pride, its factitious existence and its vanity, its expenses and its paper credit; that all these circumstances impose upon it the execrable duty of aspiring to an exclusive commerce, an exclusive navigation, a monopoly of the universe; that it is this monopoly which includes the secret of the resources, and the means of England; that to the dominion it exercises over the seas, the misfortunes which, in the course of the present war, have been heaped upon all neutral nations, are to be attributed; that it is to the violation of this neutrality it is indebted for the gold with which it pays its taxes; and that, proud of such advantages, it will constantly oppose the efforts of an active and industrious republic, which, independent of its influence, too well understands its own interests, ever to become the instrument of its domination and caprice.

Such is the fertile system from which glory and happiness must result. Such is the system which becomes two generous nations, which alone is worthy their honour and their loyalty. England wishes to disunite, in order to subject them. England can only be conquered by their union. May the most perfect

confidence succeed the efforts of malevolence; may they rival each other only in good offices, and in mutual sacrifices for their common good; may our energy redouble with our dangers; may the French and Batavians compose but one family under different titles; and may they soon appreciate according to its just value the friendship of a nation, as jealous of its rights as its independence, and as respectable by its manners and its industry, as distinguished by its courage!

- Inviting you, citizen minister, immediately to lay this note before the directory, permit me to applaud myself for being, upon this occasion, the solemn interpreter of a government which manifests the purest intentions and most liberal ideas. You know with what constancy, I may say with what tenacity, since my arrival in this capital, I have discussed with you plans equally salutary to both nations, and calculated more closely to cement that union which ought to exist between them.

May the fraternal conduct which I have this day adopted in its name, unite every mind and every heart! May the destinies of our two republics dissipate every storm! May a glorious and speedy peace, hastened by a redoubled increase of our efforts and energy, procure to the French and to the Batavians all that prosperity which they have a right to hope for from an alliance founded upon sentiment and reason!

Receive, citizen minister, the homage of my high consideration.

(Signed) R. J. Schimmelpen desck.  
As an attested copy,

(Signed) J. M. Smits.

C. G. Hultman.



*A Proclamation by the Prince of Orange.*

**WE**, William, by the grace of God, prince of Orange and Nassau, hereditary stadtholder, &c. &c. To all those to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Dear countrymen,

The long-wished for moment when you are at last to be delivered from so many calamities, under which you have suffered for more than four years past, is, we hope, arrived, and we now enjoy the satisfaction again to address you under that pleasing prospect. It would be superfluous to enumerate the different hardships under which you have groaned, ever since the violence you have suffered in consequence of the French invasion, and the events which have followed it. If cruel experience has made you feel them but too severely, and if our ardent wishes could be sooner fulfilled, you would have been relieved, long ago, from that intolerable burden. We have been but too long obliged to confine ourselves to the deploring your fate in silence, without having it in our power to alter it. At last that time is come. His majesty the king of Great Britain, moved by his affection and friendship towards the republic of the united provinces, and pitying your misfortunes, has taken the generous resolution, as soon as the general circumstances of Europe have allowed it, to employ, in concert with his allies, vigorous measures for your deliverance. The military force which is now sent for that purpose is to be followed by still more numerous troops.

The object of this expedition is

made known to you in the name of his Britannic majesty, by the commander-in-chief of the first body of troops which is to open this glorious career. Those troops do not come to you as enemies, but as friends and deliverers, in order to rescue you from the odious oppression under which you are held by the French government, and by the French troops, and to restore you to the enjoyment of your religion and liberty, those invaluable blessings for which, with the Divine assistance, your and our own ancestors fought and conquered. Hesitate not, therefore, brave inhabitants of the United Provinces, to meet and to assist your deliverers. Receive them among you as friends and protectors of the happiness and welfare of your country. Let every difference of political sentiments and opinions vanish before this great object. Do not suffer the spirit of party, nor even the sense of the wrongs you have suffered, to induce you to commit any acts of revenge or persecution. Let your hands and your hearts be united in order to repel the common enemy, and to re-establish the liberty and independence of our common country. Let your deliverance be as much as possible your own work. You see already, and you will experience it still more in future, that you may depend upon being vigorously and powerfully assisted. As soon as the first efforts which are making towards your delivery shall have acquired some consistency, our dearly beloved son, the hereditary prince of Orange, who is in possession of our entire confidence, and is deserving of yours, and who is perfectly well acquainted with our intentions, will join you, put himself at your head, and,

and, following the steps of our illustrious ancestors, spare neither his property nor his life, in order to assist with you, and for your sake, in bringing this great undertaking to a successful issue. We ourselves also will then, as soon as circumstances shall allow it, proceed to join you. And as we have always considered our own happiness and welfare as inseparably connected with that of our dear country, we will then, after having seen your laws and privileges restored, and yourselves re-established in the possession of those benefits which belong to a free people under a lawful government, make our greatest and most heart-felt satisfaction consist (under the divine blessing) in the advancement of the public good, and of that prosperity and welfare which formerly made our once happy country an object of admiration to the surrounding nations.

Done in the palace of Hampton-Court, the 28th of July, 1799.

(Signed) W. Prince of Orange.

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*Proclamation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, to the Dutch.*

**L**IEUTENANT-general Abercrombie, to whom his majesty the king of Great Britain, the ancient ally of the United Provinces, has intrusted the command of a body of troops, destined to recover the freedom of the said United Provinces, has, by his majesty's orders, issued the following proclamation, containing the intentions of his Britannic majesty, and of the kings and sovereign princes, his allies, in this great undertaking.

It is not as enemies, but as friends and deliverers, that the English troops enter the territory of the United Provinces. This undertaking has no other object in view, but to deliver the inhabitants of this country, heretofore free and happy, from the oppression under which they groan, to protect their religious worship against the persecuting intolerance of incredulity and atheism, to rescue their administration from the violence which they experience from anarchy and rapaciousness, and to re-establish them in the possession of their ancient liberty and independence, so closely connected with the privileges of that constitution, by means of which, their ancestors fought and conquered, under the standard of the princes of Orange; privileges, whose influence has proved to the United Provinces a perennial source of prosperity, under the auspices of the amity and the alliance of Great Britain.

His majesty entertains no doubt, but that, eager to re-assert those privileges, the inhabitants of the United Provinces will re-kindle in their bosoms, and, with equal success, the courage and the self-devotion of their ancestors. The hand of Providence has already appeared in the deliverance of a large portion of Europe from those miseries into which it hath permitted that they should for a time be involved, by the arms and principles of the French republic.

The military forces which his Britannic majesty has assembled, under the command of lieutenant-general Abercrombie, joined to those which his high allies have destined for the same object, are sufficient fully to protect those who

shall stand forward in the cause of their country.

The allied sovereigns are desirous that the deliverance of the Batavian republic should be principally brought about by its own citizens, in all the deliberations and in all the exertions that shall be connected with this interesting object. His majesty recommends to them, in the most pressing manner, to act together with concert and unanimity, to forget and to forgive the past, and to form an unshaken determination, to protect and defend, against all excesses of revenge, the lives and property of their fellow-citizens, even of those whose errors and whose faults have perhaps contributed to aggravate the sufferings of their country; but who now, reclaimed by the irresistible conviction of experience, are ready to make common cause with us in this arduous task.

It is consistently with these principles, and agreeable to this spirit, that the British army shall conduct themselves in the midst of a people whom the English nation has been so long accustomed to regard as friends and allies. But if, hereafter, and from the present moment, there should be found Batavians, who, at the approach of the deliverance of their country, should still remain devoted to its oppressors, and shew themselves unworthy of the invaluable enjoyment of the tranquillity and security of a legitimate government, as well as of religious and civil liberty, such only shall be looked upon, and treated by his Britannic majesty, as the obstinate and irreconcilable enemies, not only of his said Britannic majesty and his high allies, but also of the happiness of their country, as

well as the general interests and security of Europe.

R. Abercrombie, lieut.-gen.  
Fred. Maitland, sec. of the  
commander-in-chief.

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*Message of the President of the United States.*

Gentlemen of the senate,  
**I** TRANSMIT you a document, which seems to be intended to be a compliance with the condition mentioned at the conclusion of my message to congress, of the 21st of June last.

Always disposed and ready to embrace every plausible appearance of probability of preserving or restoring tranquillity, I nominate William Vans Murray, our minister, resident at the Hague, to be minister-plenipotentiary to the French republic.

If the senate shall advise and consent to his appointment, effectual care shall be taken in his instructions, that he shall not go to France without direct and unequivocal assurances from the French government, signified by their minister of exterior relations, that he shall be received in character; shall enjoy the privileges attached to that character by the law of nations; and that a minister of equal rank, title, and powers, shall be appointed to treat with him, to discuss and conclude all controversies between the two republics, by a new treaty.

John Adams.

United States, Feb. 18, 1799.

(Copy.)

(Copy.)

*Liberty. (L.S.) Equality.—Exterior Relations, 3d Division.*

*Paris, 7th Vendemaire, 7th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

*The Minister of Exterior Relations to Citizen Pichon, Secretary of Legation of the French Republic to the Batavian Republic.*

I have received successively, citizen, your letters of the 22d and 27th Fructidor; they afford me more and more reason to be pleased with the manner you have adopted to detail to me your conversations with Mr. Murray. Those conversations, at first merely friendly, have acquired consistency by the sanction I have given to them by my letter of the 14th Fructidor. I do not regret, that you have trusted to Mr. Murray's honour a copy of my letter. It was intended for you only, and contained nothing but what is conformable to the intentions of government. I am thoroughly convinced, that, should explanations take place with confidence, between the two administrations, irritations would cease, a cloud of misrepresentations would disappear, and the ties of friendship would be more strongly united, as each party would discover the hand that sought to disunite them.

But I will not conceal from you, that your letters of the 2d and 3d Vendemaire, just received, surprise me much. What Mr. Murray is still dubious of, has been explicitly declared, even before the president's message to congress, of the

3d Messidor last, was known in France. I had written it to Mr. Gerry, namely, on the 24th Messidor and 4th Thermidor. I did not repeat it to him before he set out. A whole paragraph of my letter to you of the 11th Fructidor, of which Mr. Murray has a copy, is devoted to developpe still more the fixed determination of the French government, according to these bases. You were right to assert, that whatever plenipotentiary the government of the United States should send to France, to put an end to existing differences between the two countries, would be undoubtedly received with the respect due to the representative of a free, powerful, and independent nation.

I cannot, citizen, conceive that the American government need any farther declaration from us to induce them, in order to renew the negotiations, to adopt such measures as would be suggested to them by their desire to bring the differences to a peaceable end.

If misunderstandings on both sides have prevented former explanations from reaching that end, it is presumable, that those misunderstandings being done away, nothing henceforth will bring obstacles to the reciprocal dispositions. The president's instructions to his envoys at Paris, which I have only known by the copy given you by Mr. Murray, and received by me the 21st Messidor, announcing (if they contain the whole of the American government's instructions) dispositions which could only be added to those which the directory has always entertained; and notwithstanding the irritating and hostile measures they have adopted, the  
directory

directory has manifested its perseverance in the sentiments which are set forth both in my correspondence with Mr. Gerry, and in my letter to you of the 11th Fructidor, and which I have herein before repeated in the most explicit manner. Carry, therefore, citizen, to Mr. Murray those positive expressions, in order to convince him of our sincerity, and prevail on him to transmit them to his government.

I presume, citizen, that this letter will find you at the Hague; if not, I ask, that it may be sent back to you at Paris.

Health and fraternity,

(Signed) Ch. Man. Talleyrand.

Gentlemen of the senate,

The proposition of a fresh negotiation with France, in consequence of advances made by the French government, having excited so general an attention, and so much conversation, as to have given occasion to many manifestations of the public opinion, by which it appears to me, that a new modification of the embassy will give more general satisfaction to the nation, and perhaps better answer the purposes we have in view.

It is upon this supposition, and with this expectation, I now nominate Oliver Ellsworth, esq. chief-justice of the United States, Patrick Henry, esq. late governor of Virginia, and William Vans Murray, our minister resident at the Hague, to be envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the French republic, with full powers to discuss and settle, by a treaty, all controversies between the United States and France.

It is not intended, that the two former of these gentlemen shall

embark for Europe until they shall have received from the executive directory direct and unequivocal assurances, signified by their secretary of foreign relations, that they shall enjoy all the prerogatives attached to that character by the law of nations, and that a minister or ministers of equal power shall be appointed and commissioned to treat with them.

John Adams.

February 25, 1799.

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*Speech of the President of the United States of America to both Houses, assembled in the Representatives' Chamber, at Philadelphia, on the 3d of December, 1799,*

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,

IT is with peculiar satisfaction that I meet the sixth congress of the United States of America: coming from all parts of the union at this critical and interesting period, the members must be fully possessed of the sentiments and wishes of our constituents.

The flattering prospects of abundance from the labours of the people, by land and by sea; the prosperity of our extended commerce, notwithstanding interruptions occasioned by the belligerent state of a great part of the world; the return of health, industry, and trade, to those cities which have lately been afflicted with disease; and the various and inestimable advantages, civil and religious, which, secured under our happy frame of government, are continued to us unimpaired, demand of the whole American people sincere thanks to the benevolent Deity for the

the merciful dispensations of his providence.

But while these numerous blessings are recollected, it is a painful duty to advert to the ungrateful return which has been made for them by some of the people in certain counties of Pennsylvania, where, seduced by the arts and misrepresentations of designing men, they have openly resisted the law directing the valuation of houses and lands. Such defiance was given to the civil authority as rendered hopeless all farther attempts, by judicial process, to enforce the execution of the law, and it became necessary to direct a military force to be employed, consisting of some companies of regular troops, volunteers, and militia, by whose zeal and activity, in co-operation with the judicial power, order, and submission were restored, and many of the offenders arrested. Of these, some have been convicted of misdemeanours, and others charged with various crimes remain to be tried.

To give due effect to the civil administration of government, and to ensure a just execution of the laws, a revision and amendment of the judiciary system is indispensably necessary. In this extensive country it cannot but happen, that numerous questions respecting the interpretation of the laws, and the rights and duties of officers and citizens, must arise. On the one hand, the laws should be executed; on the other, individuals should be guarded from oppression: neither of these objects is sufficiently assured under the present organization of the judicial department; I therefore earnestly recommend the subject to your serious consideration.

Persevering in the pacific and humane policy which had been invariably professed and sincerely pursued

by the executive authority of the United States, when indications were made on the part of the French republic, of a disposition to accommodate the existing differences between the two countries, I felt it to be my duty to prepare for meeting their advances by a nomination of ministers, upon certain conditions, which the honour of our country dictated, and which its moderation had given it a right to prescribe. The assurances which were required of the French government previous to the departure of our envoys, have been given through their minister of foreign relations, and I have directed them to proceed on their mission to Paris: they have full power to conclude a treaty, subject to the constitutional advice and consent of the senate. The characters of these gentlemen are sure pledges to their country, that nothing incompatible with its honour or interest, nothing inconsistent with our obligations of good faith or friendship to any other nation, will be stipulated.

It appearing probable, from the information I received, that our commercial intercourse with some ports in the island of St. Domingo might safely be renewed, I took such steps as seemed to me expedient to ascertain that point. The result being satisfactory, I then, in conformity with the act of Congress on the subject, directed the restraints and prohibitions of that intercourse to be discontinued on terms which were made known by proclamation. Since the renewal of this intercourse, our citizens trading to those ports, with their property, have been duly respected, and privateering from those ports has ceased.

In examining the claims of British subjects by the commissioners at Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, under the sixth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with Great Britain, a difference of opinion on points deemed essential in the interpretation of that article, has arisen between the commissioners appointed by the United States and the other members of that board, from which the former have thought it their duty to withdraw. It is sincerely to be regretted, that the execution of an article produced by a mutual spirit of amity and justice, should have been thus unavoidably interrupted: it is, however, confidently expected that the same spirit of amity and the same sense of justice in which it originated, will lead to satisfactory explanations. In consequence of the obstacles to the progress of the commission in Philadelphia, his Britannic majesty has directed the commissioners appointed by him under the seventh article of the treaty relating to British captures of American vessels, to withdraw from the board sitting in London, but with the express declaration of his determination to fulfil with punctuality and good faith the engagement which his majesty has contracted by his treaty with the United States, and that they will be instructed to resume their functions whenever the obstacles which impede the progress of the commission at Philadelphia shall be removed. It being in like manner my sincere determination, so far as the same depends on me, that with equal punctuality and good faith, the engagements contracted by the United States in their treaties with his Britannic majesty shall be fulfilled I shall immediately instruct our minister at London to endeavour to obtain the explanations necessary to a just performance of those engagements on the part of the United

States. With such dispositions on both sides, I cannot entertain a doubt that all difficulties will soon be removed, and that the two boards will then proceed, and bring the business committed to them, respectively, to a satisfactory conclusion.

The act of congress, relative to the seat of government of the United States, requiring, that on the first Monday of December next, it should be transferred from Philadelphia to the district chosen for its permanent seat, it is proper for me to inform you, that the commissioners appointed to provide suitable buildings for the accommodation of congress and the president, and for the public offices of the government, have made a report of the state of the buildings designed for these purposes in the city of Washington; from which they conclude, that the removal of the seat of government to that place, at the time required, will be practicable, and the accommodations satisfactory: their report will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the house  
of representatives,

I shall direct the estimates of the appropriations necessary for the service of the ensuing year, together with an account of the revenue and expenditure, to be laid before you. During a period in which a great portion of the civilized world has been involved in a war unusually calamitous and destructive, it was not to be expected that the United States could be exempted from extraordinary burdens. Although the period is not arrived, when the measures adopted to secure our country against foreign attack can be renounced, yet it is alike necessary to the honour of the government, and the satisfaction of the community,

that

that an exact economy should be maintained.

I invite you, gentlemen, to investigate the different branches of the public expenditure. The examination will lead to beneficial retrenchments, or produce a conviction of the wisdom of the measure to which the expenditure relates.

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,

At a period like the present, when momentous changes are occurring, and every hour is preparing new and great events in the political world; when a spirit of war is prevalent in almost every nation with whose affairs the interests of the United States have any connection, unsafe and precarious would be our situation, were we to neglect the means of maintaining our just rights. The result of the mission to France is uncertain; but however it may terminate, a steady perseverance in a system of national defence, commensurate with our resources and the situation of our country, is an obvious dictate of wisdom: for, remotely as we are placed from the belligerent nations, and desirous as we are, by doing justice to all, to avoid offence to any, nothing short of the power of repelling aggressions will secure to our country a rational prospect of escaping the calamities of war, or national degradation.

As to myself, it is my anxious desire so to execute the trust reposed in me, as to render the people of the United States prosperous and happy. I rely with entire confidence on your co-operation in objects equally your care, and that our

mutual labours will serve to increase and confirm union among our fellow-citizens, and an unhaken attachment to our government.

John Adams.

United States, Dec. 3, 1799.

*Treaty of Campo Formio.*

*Secret Articles and additional Convention of the Treaty of Campo Formio, of the 20th of Vendémiaire, 6th Year (October 17, 1797).\**  
*Published at Rastadt, April 18, 1799.*

Article 1. HIS majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the boundaries of the French republic shall extend to the undermentioned line; and engages to use his influence, that the French republic shall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain the same line as its boundary: namely, the left bank of the Rhine from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branches off of the Nette, above Andernach; including the head of the bridge at Mannheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from where it falls into the Rhine, to its source near Brugh. From thence the line passes by Shenscherade and Borley to Kerpen, and thence to Luderdorf, Blantenheim, Marmagen, Coll, and Gemund, with all the circles and territory of these places, along both the banks of the Olf; to where it falls into the Roer, and along both banks of the Roer, including Heimbach, Nideggen, Duren, and Juliers, with their circles and territory; as also the places on the banks, with their circles, to

\* For which, see our Register, for 1797, p. 342.

Linnig





Linnig included. Hence the line extends by Höffern and Kylesda-len, Papeiernod, Lutersforst, Rodenbergh, Haverloo, Anderscheid, Kaldekuchen, Vampach, Herrigen, and Großberg, including the town of Venloo and its territory. And if, notwithstanding the mediation of his imperial majesty, the German empire shall refuse to consent to the above-mentioned boundary-line of the republic, his imperial majesty hereby formally engages to furnish to the empire no more than his contingent, which shall not be employed in any fortified place, or it shall be considered as a rupture of the peace and friendship which is restored between his majesty and the republic.

2. His imperial majesty will employ his good offices in the negotiation of the peace of the empire to obtain—1st. That the navigation of the Rhine from Hunningen to the territory of Holland, shall be free both to the French republic and the states of the empire, on the right bank. 2d. That the possessors of territory near the mouth of the Moselle shall never, and on no pretence, attempt to interrupt the free navigation and passage of ships and other vessels from the Moselle into the Rhine. 3d. The French republic shall have the free navigation of the Meuse, and the tolls and other imposts from Venloo to Holland shall be abolished.

3. His imperial majesty renounces for himself and his successors the sovereignty and possession of the county of Falkenstein and its dependencies.

4. The countries which his imperial majesty takes possession of, in consequence of the 6th article of the public definitive treaty this day

signed, shall be considered as an indemnification for the territory given up by the 7th article of the public treaty, and the foregoing article. This renunciation shall only be in force when the troops of his imperial majesty shall have taken possession of the countries ceded by the said articles.

5. The French republic will employ its influence that his imperial majesty shall receive the archbishopric of Salzburg, and that part of the circle of Bavaria which lies between the archbishopric of Salzburg, the river Inn, Salza and Tyrol, including the town of Wasserburg on the right bank of the Inn, with an *arrondissement* of 3000 toises.

6. His imperial majesty, at the conclusion of the peace with the empire, will give up to the French republic the sovereignty and possession of the Frickthal, and all the territory belonging to the house of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurgach and Basse, provided his majesty, at the conclusion of the said peace, receives a proportionate indemnification. The French republic, in consequence of particular arrangements to be made, shall unite the above-mentioned territory with the Helvetic republic, without farther interference on the part of his imperial majesty or the empire.

7. The two contracting powers agree, that when, in the ensuing peace with the German empire, the French republic shall make an acquisition in Germany, his imperial majesty shall receive an equivalent: and if his imperial majesty shall make such an acquisition, the French republic shall in like manner receive an equivalent.

8. The

8. The prince of Nassau Dietz, late stadtholder of Holland, shall receive a territorial indemnification; but neither in the vicinity of the Austrian possessions, nor in the vicinity of the Batavian republic.

9. The French republic makes no difficulty to restore to the king of Prussia his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. No new acquisition shall, however, be proposed for the king of Prussia. This the two contracting powers mutually guarantee.

10. Should the king of Prussia be willing to cede to the French and Batavian republic some small parts of his territory on the left bank of the Meuse, as Sevenaer, and other possessions towards the Yessel, his imperial majesty will use his influence that such cessions shall be accepted and rendered valid by the empire.

11. His imperial majesty will not object to the manner in which the imperial fiefs have been disposed of by the French republic, in favour of the Ligurian republic. His imperial majesty will use his influence, together with the French republic, that the German empire will renounce all feudal sovereignty over the countries which make a part of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics; as also the imperial fiefs, such as Laniguana, and those which lie between Tuscany and the states of Parma, the Ligurian and Luccheie republics, and the late territory of Modena, which fiefs make a part of the Cisalpine republic.

12. His imperial majesty and the French republic will in concert employ their influence, in the course of concluding the peace of the empire, that such princes and states of the empire who, in consequence of the stipulations of the present treat-

ty of peace, or in consequence of the treaty to be concluded with the empire, shall suffer any loss in territory or rights, particularly the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the elector palatine of Bavaria, the duke of Wurtemberg and Teck, the margrave of Baden, the duke of Deux Ponts, the landgraves of Hesse Cassel and Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau-Saarbrück, Salm, Koburg, Lowenstein, Westheim, and Wied-Runkel, and the count de Leyn, shall receive proportionable indemnifications in Germany, which shall be settled by mutual agreement with the French republic.

13. The troops of his imperial majesty, twenty days after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaties, shall evacuate the towns and fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philippsburg, Mannheim Königstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, as also the whole territory appertaining to the German empire, to the boundaries of the hereditary states.

14. The present secret articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted word for word in the public treaty of peace this day signed, and shall in like manner be ratified at the same time by the two contracting powers, which ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Rastadt.

Done and signed at Campo Formio, the 17th of October, 1797; 28th of Vendemiaire, in the 6th year of the French republic one and indivisible.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Marquis de G illo,  
Louis count Cobenzel.  
Count Meerfeldt, maj. gen.  
Count Degelmann.

CHAR

## CHARACTERS.

*Egyptian Mode of taking Repasts;  
from Sonnini's Travels in Egypt.*

THEY are seated, with their legs crossed, around a table with one foot, in form of a large circular tea-board, on which dishes are placed, without either table-cloth, plates, knives, or forks. They make with the right hand, the circle of the dishes, from whence they take successively, and according to their taste, little morsels with their fingers. The left hand, destined for ablutions, is unclean, and must not touch provisions. They sometimes transfer what they have taken from one dish to another, to form a mixture of it; of this they make a large ball, which they convey to a widely extended mouth. The poultry and the boiled meats are divided into pieces, and torn with the hands and nails. The roast meats are served up in little pieces, cut before they are put to the spit, and no where can you eat better roasted meat than in the countries of Turkey. The table does not afford an opportunity for conversation. They only seat themselves to eat very rapidly; they make quick dispatch, and swallow with precipitation. They are not men whom the pleasure of society assembles together; they are brutes whom want and voraciousness collect around their pasture. The

grease distils from each side of their mouths. The stomach sends forth frequent fumes, which they lengthen out and render as noisy as they can. He whose hunger is soonest appeased rises from table first. It is not regarded as a want of politeness to remain alone at the board, if your appetite is not perfectly satisfied.

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*Manners and Address of the Emperor Joseph II.; from Wrasall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, &c.*

IN external address, Joseph the Second is not deficient. His manners are easy, his conversation lively, voluble, and entertaining; running rapidly from one subject to another, and displaying frequently a vast variety of knowledge. Perhaps he manifests too great a consciousness of possessing extensive information; and he may be reproached likewise with frequently anticipating the answers of the persons with whom he converses. A mixture of vanity and of impetuosity conduce to this defect. While he talks, especially if eager, he always plays with the money in his pocket. He writes with ease, perspicuity, and propriety. I have seen many of his notes, evidently composed without premeditation.

tation, addressed to persons who enjoyed his confidence, both men and women. They demonstrate feeling, enlargement of mind, and, as I have thought, goodness of heart. Yet I know, from indisputable authority, that he is a profound dissembler, rarely or never speaking his real sentiments upon any point of moment. On the other hand, he certainly permits those whom he loves or esteems, to deal fairly with him, to tell him not only plain but painful truths; and even to reprehend him on occasion with severity.

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*Account of the Gaol of Philadelphia and of the Laws of Pennsylvania, with respect to the Punishment of Crimes; from Weld's Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during 1795, 1796, and 1797.*

THE gaol is a spacious building of common stone, one hundred feet in front. It is fitted up with solitary cells, on the new plan, and the apartments are all arched, to prevent the communication of fire. Behind the building are extensive yards, which are secured by lofty walls. This gaol is better regulated, perhaps, than any other on the face of the globe. By the new penal laws of Pennsylvania, lately enacted, no crime is punishable with death, excepting murder of the first degree, by which is meant, murder that is perpetrated by wilful premeditated intention, or in attempts to commit rape, robbery, or the like. Every other offence, according to its enormity, is punished by solitary imprisonment

of a determined duration. Objections may be made to this mode of punishment, as not being sufficiently severe on the individual to atone for an atrocious crime; nor capable, because not inflicted in public, of deterring evil-minded persons, in the community, from the commission of offences which incur the rigour of the law; but, on a close examination, it will be found to be very severe; and, as far as an opinion can be formed from the trial that has been hitherto made by the state of Pennsylvania, it seems better calculated to restrain the excesses of the people than any other. If any public punishment could strike terror into the lawless part of the multitude, it is as likely that the infliction of death would do it as any whatsoever; but death is divested of many of his terrors, after being often presented to our view; so that we find in countries, for instance in England, where it occurs often as a punishment, the salutary effects that might be expected from it are, in a great measure, lost. The unfortunate wretch, who is doomed to forfeit his life in expiation of the crimes he has committed in numberless instances, looks forward with apparent unconcern to the moment in which he is to be launched into eternity; his companions around him only condole him, because his career of iniquity has so suddenly been impeded by the course of justice: or, if he is not too much hardened in the paths of vice, but falls a prey to remorse and sees all the horrors of his impending fate, they endeavour to rally his broken spirits by the consoling remembrance, that the pangs he has to endure are but the pangs of a moment, which they illustrate by

the speedy exit of one whose death he was, perhaps, himself witness to but a few weeks before. A month does not pass over, in England, without repeated executions; and there is scarcely a vagabond to be met with, in the country, who has not seen a fellow creature suspended from the gallows. We all know what little good effect such spectacles produce. But, immured in darkness and solitude, the prisoner suffers pangs worse than death a hundred times in a day; he is left to his own bitter reflections; there is no one thing to divert his attention, and he endeavours, in vain, to escape from the horrors which continually haunt his imagination. In such a situation the most hardened offender is soon reduced to a state of repentance.

But punishment by imprisonment, according to the laws of Pennsylvania, is imposed, not only as an expiation of past offences, and an example to the guilty part of society, but for another purpose, regarded by few penal codes in the world, the reform of the criminal. The regulations of the gaol are calculated to promote this effect as soon as possible, so that the building, indeed, deserves the name of a penitentiary house more than that of a gaol. As soon as a criminal is committed to the prison he is made to wash; his hair is shorn, and if not decently clothed, he is furnished with clean apparel; then he is thrown into a solitary cell, about nine feet long and four wide, where he remains debarred from the sight of every living being, excepting his gaoler, whose duty it is to attend to the bare necessities of his nature, but who is forbidden, on any account, to speak to him,

without there is absolute occasion. If a prisoner is at all refractory, or if the offence for which he is imprisoned is of a very atrocious nature, he is then confined in a cell secluded even from the light of heaven. This is the worst that can be inflicted upon him.

The gaol is inspected twice every week by twelve persons appointed for that purpose, who are chosen annually from amongst the citizens of Philadelphia. Nor is it a difficult matter to procure these men, who readily and voluntarily take it upon them to go through the troublesome functions of the office without any fee or emolument whatever. They divide themselves into committees; each of these takes it in turn, for a stated period, to visit every part of the prison; and a report is made to the inspectors at large, who meet together at times regularly appointed. From the report of the committee an opinion is formed by the inspectors, who, with the consent of the judges, regulate the treatment of each individual prisoner during his confinement. This is varied according to his crime, and according to his subsequent repentance. Solitary confinement in a dark cell is looked upon as the severest usage; next, solitary confinement in a cell with the admission of light; next, confinement in a cell where the prisoner is allowed to do some sort of work; lastly, labour in company with others. The prisoners are obliged to bathe twice every week. proper conveniences for that purpose being provided within the walls of the prison, and also to change their linen, with which they are regularly provided. Those in solitary confinement are kept

upon bread and water; but those who labour are allowed broth, porridge, puddings, and the like: meat is dispensed only in small quantities, twice in the week. Their drink is water; on no pretence is any other beverage suffered to be brought into the prison. This diet is found, by experience, to afford the prisoners strength sufficient to perform the labour that is imposed upon them; whereas a more generous one would only serve to render their minds less humble and submissive. Those who labour, are employed in the particular trade to which they have been accustomed, provided it can be carried on in the prison; if not acquainted with any, something is soon found that they can do. One room is set apart for shoemakers, another for tailors; a third for carpenters, and so on; and in the yards are stone-cutters, smiths; nailors, &c.

Excepting the cells, which are at a remote part of the building, the prison has the appearance of a large manufactory. Good order and decency prevail throughout, and the eye of a spectator is never assailed by the sight of such ghastly and squalid figures as are continually to be met with in our prisons; so far, also, is a visitor from being insulted, that he is scarcely noticed as he passes through the different wards. The prisoners are forbidden to speak to each other without there is necessity; they are also forbidden to laugh and to sing, or to make the smallest disturbance. An overseer attends continually to see that every one performs his work diligently; and in case of the smallest resistance to any of the regulations, the offender is imme-

diately cast into a solitary cell, to subsist on bread and water till he returns to a proper sense of his behaviour; but the dread all those have of this treatment, who have once experienced it, is such, that it is seldom found necessary to repeat it. The women are kept totally apart from the men, and are employed in a manner suitable to their sex. The labourers all eat together in one large apartment; and regularly, every Sunday, there is divine service, at which all attend. It is the duty of the chaplain to converse at times with the prisoners, and endeavour to reform their minds and principles. The inspectors, when they visit the prison, also do the same; so that when a prisoner is liberated, he goes out, as it were, a new man; he has been habituated to employment, and has received good instructions. The greatest care is also taken to find him employment the moment he quits the place of his confinement. According to the regulations, no person is allowed to visit the prison without permission of the inspectors. The greatest care is also taken to preserve the health of the prisoners, and for those who are sick, there are proper apartments and good advice provided. The longest period of confinement is for a rape, which is not to be less than ten years, but not to exceed twenty-one. For high treason, the length of confinement is not to be less than six nor more than twelve years. There are prisons in every county throughout Pennsylvania, but none as yet are established on the same plan as that which has been described. Criminals are frequently sent from other parts of the state to receive

punishment

punishment in the prison of Philadelphia.

So well is this gaol conducted, that instead of being an expense, it now annually produces a considerable revenue to the state.

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*Character of Jezzar, the celebrated Pasha, of Acré; extracted from M. W. G. Brown's Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from 1792 to 1798.*

THE long reign of Achmet Pasha el Jezzar, (the butcher), accompanied with immense influence and great wealth, might naturally lead to conceive, that, blending his interests with those of his subjects, he would have exerted his authority in promoting their happiness. On the contrary the large plain near Acré is left almost a marsh, and marks of idle magnificence have been substituted for the useful cares of Agriculture. A striking contrast arises between his conduct and that of the Sheeh Daher, his predecessor, who raised Acré from a village to a large town, and doubled the population of the district.

Jezzar was the first governor in the empire who laid a tax on articles of consumption, as wine, grain, and the like. Even meat and fish are materials of impost. He has erected granaries, a laudable design, but deficient in the execution; for the grain being ill preserved, and the oldest served out first, it is not only disagreeable as food, but unprolific when distributed for seed to the peasants. These imposts form the peculiar revenue of the Pasha; the other resources arising as usual from the

tax on land, which amounts to about a twentieth of the rent, the capitation-tax on Christians, and the customs; which last in this government are arbitrary, and neither regulated by the rules of the Porte, nor the capitulations entered into by Europeans. Nevertheless, the chief source of the riches of Jezzar is the Pashalik of Damascus, which, by means of the usual largesses at the Porte, he contrived to add to his former government, a precedent very unusual in the Ottoman empire. His military force was once computed at twelve thousand; but, at the time of my visiting Acré, did not exceed four or five thousand.

Till the year 1791 the French had factories at Acré, Seidé, and Beirút. At that period they were all expelled from the territory of Jezzar by a sudden mandate, which allowed them only three days to abandon their respective habitations, under pain of death.

Passing over the common, but just rule of supposing, that in a quarrel of this magnitude neither party was perfectly free from error, it may be fit to inquire what motives induced this ignominious expulsion, when a simple dismissal, to be signified by various other means, would have answered the same purpose.

To this it can only be answered, that the character of Jezzar is insatiable, and even capricious, on all occasions. Sometimes a warm friend, and then suddenly a bitter enemy, equally, to all appearance, without any adequate reason. As to the conduct of the French, themselves and the other nations in the Levant accord so ill, that I have never obtained a very accurate  
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statement of it. It seems to have originated in the behaviour of a drogouman of the nation, who having in some way offended the Pasha, was, by his order, summarily strangled or hanged. The French remonstrated, and threatened him with an application to the Porte, which he did not greatly fear, and he punished, as he termed it, their insolence, (in asserting their undoubted right, according to the capitulations between them and the Porte), in this concise manner. Many complaints were made, subsequent to this period, by the ministers of the republic at the Porte, but to no purpose: that court, in fact, was otherwise engaged, and it may be doubted whether it could have punished the Pasha. The events that followed suspended the prosecution of those claims, which, as the merchants thus suddenly banished had lost much, it appeared they had a right to prefer: but at length Aubert du Bayet sent a young officer of the name of Bailli to the Pasha, to demand redress in a tone perhaps rather too high.

This gentleman, on arriving at Acré, April, 1797, wrote a letter in French to the Pasha, which he had the bizarre idea of finding some Levantine drogouman to translate, verbatim, in the presence of that personage. The terms, it seems, in which this letter was conceived were so bold, that none could be found to present it, and the Pasha, under one pretence or other, refused to see the agent. On this Bailli retired to Yaffé. The answer Jezzâr sent to the claim of the republic was, that private merchants were at liberty to settle under his government on the footing of any other nation, but that

he would acknowledge no consul, nor consent to offer them any indemnification for the losses of the late factory.

The celebrated Asad Pasha, mentioned by Niebuhr and Volney, left an only daughter, of whom, on her marriage with Mohammed Pasha Adm, sprang the present Pasha Abdallah. Mohammed Pasha Adm was preceded by Osmân, and succeeded by two of his own brothers successively, the last of whom, named Derwish, was expelled by the intrigues of Jezzâr, who gained his office, and married the daughter of Mohammed Pasha Adm. This marriage of ambition, not of affection, terminated in a divorce a year after. Among other instances of his bad treatment of this lady, it is recorded, that Jezzâr, meeting her one day in the house, where she happened to have cabcab, or Arabian pattens on her feet, pulled a pistol from his cincture, and fired it at her, saying, "Art thou the wife of an Arabian peasant? dost thou forget that thou art the wife of a Pasha?"

Jezzâr retained his ill-won pashalik of Damascus only a few years; his government was a continual scene of oppression and cruelty, and he is supposed to have extorted from the people not less than twenty-five thousand purses, or about a million and two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and to have put to death near four hundred individuals, most of them innocent. His own misconduct and suspicious designs, when leading the caravan to Mecca, conspired with the machinations of his enemies at the Porte to deprive him of his office: but living monuments of his cruelty remain, in the noseless faces



and earless heads of many of the Damascenes. Thus driven from Damascus, he returned to his former pashalik of Acré and Seidé, where he remains. This government, which he held along with that of Damascus, he has retained upwards of twenty-seven years.

Jezzâr was succeeded by the present Pasha Abdallah, whose administration, though eminent, as before observed, for equity, is yet liable to the charge of mismanagement of the public revenue, and of an indecorous timidity. Under the energetic sway of Jezzâr, the sacred caravan had met with no obstructions on its route; but that of the present year, not only found the reservoirs for water destroyed or damaged, so that many camels perished for want of that indispensable article, but even the pilgrims were insulted by the Arabs, probably incited by the arts and malicious revenge of Jezzâr. By dint of bribes, however, at the Porte, Abdallah prevented his expected deprivation.

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*Of the Manners of the Inhabitants of  
Dar-Fir. From the same.*

THE troops of the country are not famed for skill, courage, or perseverance. In their campaigns much reliance is placed on the Arabs who accompany them, and who are properly tributaries rather than subjects of the sultaun. One energy of barbarism they indeed possess, in common with other savages, that of being able to endure hunger and thirst; but in this particular they have no advantage over their neighbours. On the journey, a man whom I

had observed travelling on foot with the caravan, but unconnected with any person, asked me for bread—"How long have you been without it?" said I—"Two days," was the reply—"And how long without water?"—"I drank water last night."—This was at sun-set, after we had been marching all day in the heat of the sun, and we had yet six hours to reach the well. In their persons the Fûrians are not remarkable for cleanliness. Though observing, as Mohammedans, all the superstitious formalities of prayer, their hair is rarely combed, or their bodies completely washed. The hair of the pubes and axillæ it is usual to exterminate; but they know not the use of soap; so that with them polishing the skin with tinguents holds the place of perfect ablutions and real purity. A kind of farinacious paste is however prepared, which being applied with butter to the skin, and rubbed continually till it become dry, not only improves its appearance, but removes from it accidental sordes, and still more the effect of continued transpiration, which, as there are no baths in the country, is a consideration of some importance. The female slaves are dexterous in the application of it, and to undergo this application is one of the refinements of African sensuality. Their intervals of labour and rest are fixed by no established rule, but governed by inclination or personal convenience. Their fatigues are often renewed under the oppressive influence of the meridian sun, and in some districts their nightly slumbers are interrupted by the dread of robbers, in others by the musquitoes and other inconveniences of the climate.

The

The disposition of the people of Fûr has appeared to me more cheerful than that of the Egyptians; and that gravity and reserve which the precepts of Mohammedism inspire, and the practice of the greater part of its professors, countenances and even require, seem by no means as yet to sit easy on them. A government perfectly despotic, and at this time not ill administered, as far as relates to the manners of the people, yet forms no adequate restraint to their violent passions.\* Prone to inebriation, but unprovided with materials or ingenuity to prepare any other fermented liquor than bûza, with this alone their convivial excesses are committed. But though the sultaun hath just published an ordinance (March, 1795) forbidding the use of that liquor under pain of death, the plurality, though less publicly than before, still indulge themselves in it. A company often sits from sun-rise to sun-set drinking and conversing, till a single man sometimes carries off near two gallons of that liquor. The bûza has however a diuretic and diaphoretic tendency, which precludes any danger from these excesses.

In this country, dancing is practised by the men as well as the women, and they often dance promiscuously. Each tribe seems to have its appropriate dance: that of Fûr is called *Secondari*, that of *Bukkara Bendala*. Some are grave, others lascivious, but consisting rather of violent efforts than of graceful motions. Such is their fondness for this amusement, that the slaves dance in fetters to the

music of a little drum; and, what I have rarely seen in Africa or the east, the time is marked by means of a long stick held by two, while others beat the cadence with short batons.

They use the games of *Tab-u-duk* and *Dris-wa-talaîtè*, described by Niebuhr, which however appear not indigenous, but to have been borrowed of the Arabs.

The vices of thieving, lying, and cheating in bargains, with all others nearly or remotely allied to them, as often happen among a people under the same circumstances, are here almost universal. No property, whether considerable or trifling, is safe out of the sight of the owner, nor indeed scarcely in it unless he be stronger than the thief. In buying and selling, the parent glories in deceiving the son, and the son the parent; and God and the prophet are hourly invoked, to give colour to the most palpable frauds and falsehoods.

The privilege of polygamy, which, as is well known, belongs to their religion, the people of Soudân push to the extreme. At this circumstance the Mussulmans of Egypt, with whom I have conversed on the subject, affect to be much scandalized; for whereas, by their law they are allowed four free women, and as many slaves as they can conveniently maintain, the Fûrians take both free women and slaves without any limitation. The sultan has more than a hundred free women, and many of the meleks have from twenty to thirty. Teraub, a late king, contented

\* The inhabitants of a village called Bernoo, having quarrelled with those of another hamlet, and some having been killed on both sides, all the property of both villages was forfeited to the king, the inhabitants being abandoned to poverty.

himself with about five hundred females as a light travelling equipage in his wars in Kordofan, and left as many more in his palace. This may seem ridiculous, but when it is recollected that they had corn to grind, water to fetch, food to dress, and all menial offices to perform for several hundred individuals, and that these females (excepting those who are reputed *Serrari*, concubines of the monarch) travel on foot, and even carry utensils, &c. on their heads, employment for this immense retinue may be imagined, without attributing to the sultan more libidinous propensities than belong to others of the same rank and station.

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*Some Account of Bondou, and its Inhabitants, the Foulahs. From Park's Travels in the Interior of Africa.*

**B**ONDOUN is bounded on the east by Bambook; on the south-east, and south, by Tenda, and the Simbani Wilderness; on the south-west, by Woolli; on the west, by Foota Torra; and on the north, by Kajaaga.

The country, like that of Woolli, is very generally covered with woods, but the land is more elevated, and towards the Falemé river, rises into considerable hills. In native fertility the soil is not surpassed, I believe, by any part of Africa.

From the central situation of Bondou, between the Gambia and Senegal rivers, it is become a place of great resort; both for the *Slates*, who generally pass through it, in going from the coast to the interior countries; and for occa-

sional traders, who frequently come hither from the inland countries, to purchase salt.

These different branches of commerce are conducted principally by Mandingoes and Serawollies, who have settled in the country. These merchants likewise carry on a considerable trade with Godumah, and other Moorish countries, bartering corn and blue cotton clothes for salt; which they again barter in Dentila and other districts for Iron, shea-butter, and small quantities of gold-dust. They likewise sell a variety of sweet smelling gums packed up in small bags, containing each about a pound. These gums, being thrown on hot embers, produce a very pleasant odour, and are used by the Mandingoes for perfuming their huts and clothes.

The customs, or duties on travellers, are very heavy; in almost every town an ass load pays a bar of European merchandise; and at Fatteconda, the residence of the king, one Indian bast, or a musket, and six bottles of gunpowder, are exacted as the common tribute. By means of these duties, the king of Bondou is well supplied with arms and ammunition; a circumstance which makes him formidable to the neighbouring states.

The inhabitants differ in their complexions and national manners from the Mandingoes and Serawollies, with whom they are frequently at war. Some years ago the king of Bondou crossed the Falemé river with a numerous army, and after a short and bloody campaign totally defeated the forces of Sambo, king of Bambook; who was obliged to sue for peace, and surrender to him all the towns along the eastern bank of the Falemé.

The

The Foulahs in general are of a tawny complexion, with small features, and soft silky hair; next to the Mandingoes they are undoubtedly the most considerable of all the nations in this part of Africa. Their original country is said to be Fouladoo (which signifies the country of the Foulahs); but they possess at present many other kingdoms at a great distance from each other; their complexion however, is not exactly the same in the different districts; in Bondou, and the other kingdoms which are situated in the vicinity of the Moorish territories, they are of a more yellow complexion than in the southern states.

The Foulahs of Bondou are naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, but the uncharitable maxims of the Koran have made them less hospitable to strangers, and more reserved in their behaviour than the Mandingoes. They evidently consider all the negro natives as their inferiors; and when talking of different nations, always rank themselves among the white people.

Their government differs from that of the Mandingoes chiefly in this, that they are more immediately under the influence of the Mahomedan laws; for all the chief men (the king excepted) and a large majority of the inhabitants of Bondou, are Mussulmen, and the authority and laws of the prophet, are every where looked upon as sacred and decisive. In the exercise of their faith, however, they are not very intolerant towards such of their countrymen as still retain their ancient superstitions. Religious persecution is not known among them, nor is it necessary; for the system of Mahomet is made to extend itself

by means abundantly more efficacious. By establishing small schools in the different towns, where many of the Pagan as well as Mahomedan children are taught to read the Koran, and instructed in the tenets of the prophet, the Mahomedan priests fix a bias on the minds, and form the character of their young disciples, which no accidents of life can ever afterwards remove or alter. Many of these little schools I visited in my progress through the country, and observed with pleasure the great docility and submissive deportment of the children, and heartily wished they had better instructors, and a purer religion.

With the Mahomedan faith is also introduced the Arabic language, with which most of the Foulahs have a slight acquaintance. Their native tongue abounds very much in liquids, but there is something unpleasant in the manner of pronouncing it. A stranger on hearing the common conversation of two Foulahs, would imagine that they were scolding each other. Their numerals are these:—

One	—	Go.
Two	—	Deeddec.
Three	—	Tettec.
Four	—	Nee.
Five	—	Jouee.
Six	—	Jego.
Seven	—	Jedeeddec.
Eight	—	Je Tettec.
Nine	—	Je Nee
Ten	—	Sappo.

The industry of the Foulahs, in the occupations of pasturage and agriculture, is every where remarkable. Even on the banks of the Gambia, the greater part of the corn is raised by them; and their herds and flocks are more numerous and

and in better condition than those of the Mandingoes; but in Bondou they are opulent in a high degree, and enjoy all the necessaries of life in the greatest profusion. They display great skill in the management of their cattle, making them extremely gentle by kindness and familiarity. On the approach of night, they are collected from the woods, and secured in folds, called *korrees*, which are constructed in the neighbourhood of the different villages. In the middle of each *korree* is erected a small hut, wherein one of two of the herdsmen keep watch during the night to prevent the cattle from being stolen, and to keep up the fires which are kindled round the *korree* to frighten away the wild beasts.

The cattle are milked in the mornings and evenings: the milk is excellent; but the quantity obtained from any one cow is by no means so great as in Europe. The Foulahs use the milk chiefly as an article of diet, and that, not until it is quite sour. The cream which it affords is very thick, and is converted into butter by stirring it violently in a large calabash. This butter, when melted over a gentle fire, and freed from impurities, is preserved in small earthen pots, and forms a part in most of their dishes; it serves likewise to anoint their heads, and is bestowed very liberally on their faces and arms.

But although milk is plentiful, it is somewhat remarkable that the Foulahs, and indeed all the inhabitants of this part of Africa, are totally unacquainted with the art of making cheese. A firm attachment to the customs of their ancestors, makes them view with an eye of prejudice every thing that looks

like innovation. The heat of the climate, and the great scarcity of salt, are held forth as unanswerable objections; and the whole process appears to them too long and troublesome, to be attended with any solid advantage.

Besides the cattle, which constitute the chief wealth of the Foulahs, they possess some excellent horses, the breed of which seems to be a mixture of the Arabian with the original African.

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*Account of the Mainottes, the Descendants of the ancient Lacedaemonians; from Major Taylor's Travels from England to India.*

THE Mainottes possess a character different from any people in modern Europe. Of the Greek church, they are like the enemy of the Christians and the Turks. Pirates by sea, robbers by land; opposed to corsairs of all denominations, they seem to regard themselves as privileged plunderers on the deep. Restrained by no laws, human or divine, they are neither just to themselves, to their neighbours, or their friends. Custom, which becomes second nature, sanctions, and even the religion of the Mainottes approves the worst of crimes. The dexterity of the Spartans is here refined into system and maturity. In most countries religion is at least a feeble check to irregularities, and has a tendency to guard the property of others: in this the calogers, or monks, from their cells and caves, are the spies and sentinels to give warning of the approach of vessels. On their appearance they piously turn out to encourage the banditti, and to partake of their plunder.—

They

They demand the tenths of the church, and by this means religion becomes a cloak to their infamy and knavery. The vices of the Mainottes are many, their virtues few. Were they deprived of courage, and the independence of their nature, there could no where be met so despicable a race. Unworthy to associate with any nation, they form no alliances, but depend on themselves, the strength of their country, and their own insignificance.

They are dextrous in handling the oar, and in using the sail; their vessels being alike adapted for both purposes. The best sailing Turkish or Venetian galleys fall very short, either of the skill of their seamen, or the swiftness of their cruisers; and the circumstance of their drawing little water, and being able, when pursued, to run into shallow creeks, gives them a decided advantage.

The Brazzo de Maina, as their country is termed, contains about 40,000 souls—the tops of its mountains are frequently covered with snow, whilst the bottom affords good pasture for their numerous herds of cattle and goats—their grapes are delicious, and make wine not inferior to that of Lèpanthe, esteemed the best in Greece. Game they have in abundance, particularly quails: these, when salted, afford them an agreeable and wholesome food, but the plenty of wild hogs, bears, and deer, is altogether incredible.

The finest water in the world is distilled from their mountains, and running streams intersect the country more than any other of the same extent. What luxury is here for the gratification of so abandoned a people! it is said, that the moun-

tain of Tenara yields rock crystal, minerals of various kinds, and even some precious stones. In the midst of this mountain is an extraordinary crater, very wide, and of an immense depth. This opening was by the ancient Greeks consecrated to Neptune, and is now supposed by the ignorant Mainottes to be the gateway of the devil, by which he visits the earth. By the Lacedæmonians it was esteemed one of the gates of hell, in the same manner as the lake Peneus was supposed to be another, and the source of the Styx. Hercules was reputed to have entered the Tenarcan crater, when he conquered and carried off the triple-headed Cerberus, when defending the infernal mansion of his master Pluto.

The Mainottes still remain in a considerable degree independent of the Turks, and are divided into two races: the inhabitants of the southern district are denominated by the Turks *Cacovougis*, or “the Rascals of the Mountain,” while those who possess the low country to the northward, are less savage and ferocious. They maintain a republican government, at the head of which are their *papao* or priests of the higher order, to whom are joined one or two of their most opulent families. There is no doubt but their entire subjugation could be easily effected, were it seriously undertaken; but as I have already observed, they are too insignificant; and besides, they are now bridled with *citidals* and garrisoned with *Janizaries*, which makes them cautious of plundering the Turks as they formerly used to do.

In former times, and indeed not much above a century ago, the piracies of the Mainottes were shocking to humanity. When a Turkish vessel

vessel was captured by them, they repaired to Malta and sold the crew: when a similar misfortune happened to a Christian, the Turks became the purchasers; and it was no uncommon matter for a Mahometan to bargain with a Mainotte to seize and carry into slavery some particular Christian whose fortune or situation might excite his envy—so little scrupulous were they in this respect, that the wife or child of their neighbour was equally obnoxious to their arts. So much terror and dread did this unnatural traffic occasion amongst themselves, that when any of their famous corsairs were preparing for sea, the handsome women and children were carefully secured, lest they should be stolen and sold into other countries. On this subject a pleasant story is related of two famous corsairs of the year 1669: Theodora and Anapliottis, friends and neighbours, connected by similarity of profession and disposition, were married to handsome women. It happened, in the division of a Venetian prize, that a quarrel ensued between these vendors of their fellow creatures—each in his turn vowed revenge. Theodora succeeded in seizing on the wife of Anapliottis, and carried her for sale on board a Maltese cruiser, then at anchor in the road of Maina. The commander of the Maltese refused to give the price demanded; urged his having on the same day purchased a more beautiful woman for a less sum: and, to convince him of the truth, he ordered her to be produced. Theodora was astonished to behold his wife, who in like manner had been carried away by the stratagem of Anapliottis. The mind of Theodora was enraged, and the idea of extricating his own was,

for the moment, lost in the savage gratification and revenge of disposing of the wife of the other, at the inferior price offered by the purchaser. The bargain being finished, and both wives in the possession of the Maltese, Theodora repaired to the house of Anapliottis—the meeting was of a different nature from what might be expected: he found Anapliottis busily employed in fitting out a vessel to attack the Maltese, and regain the fair captive. In place of anger and reproach, they prudently agreed to join their forces, and to recover their wives by any means that might best suit their purpose; but the purchaser was too judicious to oppose; and quietly gave up what with safety to himself he could not retain. The husbands returned in triumph to their respective houses; all parties were reconciled; and mutual forgiveness closed this extraordinary transaction.

*Memoirs and Anecdotes of eminent Persons, who have died in the course of this Year.*

*Biographical Anecdotes of the late Tippoo Sultann; together with an Account of his Revenues, Establishment of his Troops, &c. Taken from the Information of one of Tippoo's Officers, written in the Year 1790, and translated from the Persian, by Captain James Achilles Kirkpatrick. With his Character, by the Editor of the Asiatic Annual Register, for this Year.*

**T**IPPOO Sultaun is about 43 years of age: his constitution is much impaired; he is subject

to two disorders, the frequent return of which obliges him to take medicine daily.

He is from five feet eight to nine inches high; is now rather inclined to fat, although, a few years since, he was very thin: his face is round, with large full eyes; and there is much animation and fire in his countenance: he wears whiskers, but no beard: he is very active, and sometimes takes long walks.

He has eleven children, of whom only two are in marriage; the elder, a girl of seven years; the younger, a boy of four years.

The eldest of his natural children, is a girl of seventeen years; the second, a son of fifteen years—He is a great favourite, and accompanies his father upon all occasions—his name is Gullaum Heyder. Another son, Abdul Khalick, is ten years old.

His disposition is naturally cruel: his temper is passionate and revengeful; and he is prone to be abusive; and his words are false and hypocritical, as suit his purposes.

His policy, thus far differing widely from his father, has been ruinous to his revenues, as well as hurtful to his government. He professes himself Naib to one of the *twelve prophets*, who, the Mahomedans believe, are yet to come; and he persecutes all other casts; forcing numbers to become Mussulmen. He is jealous of, and prejudiced against, his father's favourites; most of whom he has removed from their offices, giving to some lesser appointments. When compared to his father, his understanding and judgement are supposed to be inferior: he is esteemed as good a soldier, but a less skilful general; and he is wanting in that great re-

source, which his father so eminently displayed in all cases of danger. His father discriminated merit, rewarded it liberally, and punished guilt with the utmost rigour of a despot: he gives little encouragement or reward; and he punishes more from the influence of passion and prejudice than from any attention to justice. His father was assiduous in gaining the attachment of his army: he is rather negligent of it; and being very parsimonious, he is led to impose upon his troops, whenever opportunities offer: he sometimes retains their pay for several months, and has his own servants to lend his money at an enormous interest, which is stopped when the pay is issued.

On Tippoo's return to Seringapatam, after the conclusion of the war with the English, he took an inventory of his property of every kind, which, in treasure and various other articles, on valuation, stood at twenty crores of pagodas: in the treasury, Bahaudry pagodas (four rupees each), five crores: the remaining fifteen crores were in jewels, valuable clothes, &c. &c.; and

Elephants . . . . .	700
Camels . . . . .	6,000
Horses . . . . .	11,000
Bullocks and cows . . .	400,000
Buffaloes . . . . .	100,000
Sheep . . . . .	600,000
Firelocks . . . . .	300,000
Matchlocks . . . . .	300,000
Swords and creffes . . .	200,000
Guns in Seringapatam, of different calibres, a few of which are Malabar . .	1,000
Guns in other forts . . .	1,000

The treasure, and other valuable property, is now kept entirely at Seringapatam.



Seringapatam. Formerly some part of it was kept in Biddinore, and it is said, that at the time of general Matthew's taking it, there was a treasure of twenty-five lacks of pagodas, besides four crores of pagodas value, in gold, silver, &c.

The full collections amounted to five crores and ninety-two lacks of Cunterary pagodas (of three rupees each); the expence of sebandy, &c. one and a half crore; deficiencies in the collections, from various causes, which lay over, sixty lacks; for building and repairing forts, making docks, and building ships, one crore and eighty-two lacks; paid into the treasury, two crores. Total, five crores and ninety-two lacks.

Since Tippoo assumed the government, the revenues have diminished greatly, in consequence of his having adopted a different policy from his father. He removed from the hamauldaries, all the Brahmans, and others of the Hindû cast, who were well versed in country business, and put Mussulmen in their places. He forbade the sale of arrack and gunja throughout his dominions, which had produced a very considerable revenue to the circar. He removed, from the Biddinore and Soanda countries, about 70,000 Christian inhabitants, who were the cultivators of the ground, by which the revenues of these countries sustained a great loss. The Biddinore country alone yielded to Hyder a net revenue of eighteen lacks of pagodas: it has since fallen to ten lacks. From these and other causes, arising from bad management, Tippoo's revenues have been greatly diminished; inasmuch that his net revenue did not exceed, after the foregoing deductions, the first year, one and a half crore, instead

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of two, as in his father's time; and every succeeding year only one crore. He has not thrown any money into the standing treasury since his government, and he has drawn from it fifty lacks of pagodas.

Since the conclusion of the late war, he has thrown into Seringapatam, provisions for 100,000 men, for twelve months; and into his other forts, provisions in proportion to their strength and importance: and as a precaution to prevent treachery, he has appointed, to some of his principal forts, six killedars; to others, three; to others, two; such as are not intended for defence have only one. Although all these are commonly called killedars, yet, properly speaking, there is but one killedar; the others go under the denomination of munshoor (or counsellors). The first is buckshy, or commander of the sepoys; the second, buckshy of the peons; the third, buckshy of the commatties and artificers; the fourth darogah, in charge of the works; the fifth, darogah, for superintending the making of bricks and chunam.—When Tippoo writes, he addresses the killedar and munshuraun; when they write to him, it is, in like manner, from the killedar and munshuraun: they have all their respective orders from the circar; and each is at liberty to detect the other, if any thing is done contrary to order.

#### *The Establishment of his Forces.*

<i>Cavalry.</i>	
His own stable, horse for service	7000
Hired horse	12,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>19,000</b>
	<i>Artillery</i>

## Artillery.

Golandauze	2000
Lalcars for the guns	8000

Total 10,000

European Artillery, two companies	30
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## Infantry.

Affadoulla, or Chelys from the Carnatic	2,500
Ditto, from Chittledurg	500
Ahmuddy, or Christians from Biddinore	1,500
Mahomedy, Chelys, from Coerg	1,500
Dismounted troopers	8,000
Sepoys	55,000

Total 69,000

Fighting Peons	40,000
Rocket-men	5,000

Total 45,000

Commatties	10,000
Peons for carrying dooleys, &c. and working at the roads with the Commatties	60,000

Total 70,000

Two Rissallas of Topasses, one of them having a company of Europeans attached to it of 100 strong	900
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## Lally's Party.

European Cavalry, one troop	50
Ditto Infantry, intermixed with country-born	180
Topasses	150
Sepoys	250

Total 630

With the party, 1 six pounder.

Tippoo has made great alterations in the establishment of his troops. His father was partial to his cavalry, and kept up a much larger body than he does: he is partial to his infantry, and has made great augmentation to them: 5000 of his own stable horse are formed and trained regularly, and 2000 are as Mogul horse; and there are not above 3000 of the hired horse that can be called good cavalry, the rest are more of the plundering kind. He has adopted Persian terms for the words of command, which were heretofore given partly in English and partly in French; he has also altered the terms for the formation of the troops. In the cavalry, a troop (25 strong) is called a *yew*; the subidar, a *yewidar*; a jemidar, *surkele*: a regiment (four yews) is called a *tub*; the commandant, *tubdar*: a *mou-koub* is composed of four tubs; the commander, *moukoubdar*: the troopers are called *ostur*. In the infantry, a company (125 strong) is called a *jowk*; the subidar, *jowkidar*; a jemidar, *surkele*: a battalion of four jowks is called a *rissalla*; the sepoy is called *jish*. A sentinel is called *ezuddar*; the rounds, *kirwaun*; the parole, *nishane*; a guard, *munkulla*: each tub has two galloper-guns, three pounders, and each rissalla has two six pounders. A *koufhoua*, or legion, is composed of one tub of cavalry, four rissallas of infantry, and two eighteen pounders. The gallopers are drawn by mules, and all the draught cattle belong to the circar. Each *koufhoua* has an elephant attached to it, which is harnessed like a horse, to assist the guns through difficulties. The cavalry and infantry are clothed alike; in a striped blue and white stuff, of country

try manufacture. The artillery have also a cotton stuff, white ground, with large round blue spots.

*The Manner of his passing his Time in Camp.*

He rises sometimes at 7 o'clock, but more commonly at eight or nine in the morning; on halting days, washes and takes medicines; the barber then begins to shave him, during which the head aukbar neoise, or news-writer, comes in with the letters that have arrived by the tappauls, and relates the news of the different countries, as he has received it. The officer commanding his guard then comes in, and makes his report; after which the adjutants of corps come, and make a report of their respective corps. About twelve o'clock he goes to dinner, which is over in about an hour: he then holds his durbar, and transacts all business, civil and military, until five o'clock: he then gives out the parole, which he takes from the planets, or signs of the zodiac, writing it himself in a book, which is deposited with his own guard, where the adjutant-general (for each cutcherry has an adjutant-general) comes and takes it; after which he lays down and sleeps about an hour, rises, and makes his second meal: the mounchie, or secretaries, are then called in; they read the letters that have been received during the day, and he gives his orders for answering them:—all this done, and the letters prepared for dispatch, about

two or three in the morning he goes to rest. On marching days, where there is no immediate exigency, the army seldom moves before eight o'clock, after Tippoo has taken his breakfast: he goes in his palankeen, on the march; and if any thing particular occurs, he immediately mounts his horse. The order of march is varied according to circumstances; during his late war against the Mahrattas, as they were greatly superior to him in cavalry, his infantry marched in four columns,

thus || || with the cavalry and bag-

gage in the centre: he encamps in a square; his infantry and guns occupying the four faces—the cavalry, within the square; each face has an open street in its centre, with a buz-zar. A koushoun forms the picquet of the front face, and is advanced from twelve to fifteen hundred paces; a risalla is advanced from it, about five hundred paces; and on the march all these picquets from the advance and rear guards, and flanking guards to the columns. The infantry are disencumbered of their baggage on the march, bullocks being allowed by the circar for carrying it.

The army marches, in common, about four cofs Sultany\*; in expedition, the whole army marches about six or seven cofs Sultany; but a body of horse only, in order to make a push, have gone, in little more than a day and a night, a very considerable distance. During

\* The Sultany cofs has been established by Tippoo; and the principal roads through his dominions have three trees, of particular kinds, planted on one side, to make the cofs. The Carnatic cofs is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles; the Cunteary, or old Mysore cofs, is about three miles; the Sultany cofs is about four miles.

the late war in the Carnatic, Hyder marched with a body of horse, from Oombly, near Trichinopoly, to Chillimbrum, in 27 hours; he moved off at three o'clock in the morning, and at seven the next morning, he reached Chillimbrum, a distance of about seven gow, or twenty-eight coss, equal to seventy miles; the third day his infantry and guns came up. At the commencement of Tippoo's late war against the Mahrattas, he lay with his army at Perour, in the Riadurg country; marching at three o'clock in the morning; he arrived, at seven o'clock the next morning, at Kirchungood, near to Adoni, and attacked a body of 4000 Mahratta plunderers.

He keeps in his pay 300 hircar-  
rahs, at three pagodas a month each: such as prove themselves most active and clever, are employed for intelligence. Besides these, he stations news-writers in such principal places as he thinks necessary; and these are instructed to write in the style of soucars, and the intelligence required is made applicable to the coins, &c. treated of; so that if a letter is intercepted, no discovery is made: should there be any thing that cannot be so introduced, it is given verbally, to the bearer of the letter. Tippoo seldom rewards with presents; and when he does, they are very trifling, perhaps not more than five rupees.

These anecdotes place the character of Tippoo Sultaun in its true light: His abilities have undoubtedly been over-rated. He was neither so wise a statesman, nor so able

a general, as he has been represented. Though he possessed a considerable share of prudence, and was not wanting either in promptitude or judgement, yet was he greatly deficient in that comprehension and vigour of mind, which are essential ingredients in the composition of all true greatness. Selfish, cunning, and rapacious, in government as well as in war, he acted upon narrow principles.

His Revenue Regulations,\* which are certainly framed with great ability, and which seem well calculated to enrich both the prince and people, were frustrated in their operation by his shifting and shallow policy. As a warrior, he was brave, cautious; and intrepid: but his courage was tinged with ferocity; and his firmness proceeded from obstinacy rather than from a just confidence in his own powers; and he never displayed any depth of foresight; or spirit of enterprize. As a politician, he shewed little discernment, and less sagacity: though his understanding was full of artifice, he seldom employed it successfully; and the schemes which he laid to over-reach his enemies, generally proved abortive. Cruel in his disposition, and impetuous in his temper, he was often guilty of enormous acts of tyranny; though, for the most part; his prudence taught him to rule over his own subjects with a degree of justice, that rendered them less oppressed than those of any other Mohamedan prince in India. Tippoo was ambitious to surpass his father in every thing; and he had the vanity to imagine

\* See the Mysorean Revenue Regulations, translated by Burrish Crisp, esq from the Persian original, under the seal of Tippoo Sultaun, in the possession of col. John Murray.—See also, a Dissertation on the Revenues of Mysore, at once luminous and concise, in historical and political view of the Deccan, by James Grant, esq. Printed for J. Debrett, 1797.

that he was infinitely superior to that extraordinary man. But, in truth, he surpassed him in nothing but the low arts of private treachery and public intrigue. Hyder was not only endowed with great genius, but with many exalted virtues: he was a consummate statesman, an enterprising warrior, a generous conqueror, a faithful ally, a strict observer of the laws of war, a benevolent sovereign, a Mohamedan free from superstition, a steady friend, and an indulgent parent.—Tippoo's talents were not much above mediocrity; the qualities of his heart were greatly below it; in state affairs, he was narrow-minded and prejudiced: in the conduct of his army, he never shewed any masterly generalship; the few victories which he gained, were sullied with the most atrocious cruelties: in his alliances, he was faithful, out of hatred to his enemies, not from any principle of honour or integrity: in war, he disregarded almost all the rules that are observed by civilized nations: in the administration of his government, he was lenient only because it suited his own interest; in his religion he was a fierce and gloomy bigot; he was unsusceptible of friendship, and destitute of parental tenderness.—Hyder, without the benefits of education, raised himself, by the dint of his own abilities, from a private station, to the throne of a powerful kingdom. Tippoo, though instructed from his earliest youth in the art of politics, and left by his father at the head of the best disciplined army that any Indian prince had ever commanded, lost that kingdom to his posterity, and sacrificed his army, by the grossest mismanagement. Hyder had the address to render the assistance of the French

subservient to his own purposes. Tippoo allowed himself to be duped by their intrigues, and to be made the mere instrument of their ambitious projects.

Nor did Tippoo differ less from his father in private, than in public life. The father possessed the utmost frankness of manners, enlivened with humour and cheerfulness: the son was proud, distant, sullen, and austere. The father despised the pageantry of the eastern courts: the son maintained the pomp and haughtiness of the most voluptuous despotism. The father was liberal and sincere: the son was parsimonious and treacherous. In fine, Hyder possessed all those qualities which seem requisite for the splendid actions he performed, and who, if he had been an European instead of an Asiatic prince, would have been considered as one of the first politicians, as well as one of the greatest heroes, of any age or nation; whereas Tippoo can only be ranked among the despots of India, as a crafty but impolitic prince, whose passions domineered over his judgment, who was ever ready to gratify his revenge at the expense of his interest, and who sell a sacrifice to his own hypocrisy.

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*Memoirs of the Life of Charles Berns Wadstrom, by Helen Maria Williams.*

**I** Undertake with pleasure the task you have enjoined me of giving you a sketch of the life of our friend, Charles Berns Wadstrom. It is something to recount the virtues of those from whom we are separated by death; while thus employed, imagination, a few short moments, renews for us their existence, and the

the heart cherishes an illusion which it loves.

The tribute of regret for the loss of this estimable citizen, and of respect for his memory, ought not to be confined to the bosom of friendship. The man who devotes his life to the public service, has a claim to public regret; and perhaps no individual ever made more zealous efforts to promote the happiness of his fellow creatures, to the entire sacrifice of all selfish views; perhaps there never existed a truer patriot in the most enlarged definition of the term; perhaps no man ever deserved more of humanity than the person whose death we lament.

Charles Berns Wadström was born at Stockholm, in the year 1746. Having finished his academical studies, he was employed in the quality of engineer in the service of his Swedish majesty. From the knowledge he had acquired in mechanics, and mineralogy, the states of Sweden in 1767, and 1768, confided to his care the direction of a part of the works which they were then erecting in order to render navigable the famous cataract of Trolhætta; and in 1769, he was employed by the government in the working of the copper mines at Alvédaberg.—He was afterwards engaged in the direction of various establishments, and I have heard him mention his having had frequent personal intercourse with the late king of Sweden on those subjects. But these were employments insufficient to satisfy a mind glowing, like that of Wadström, for a wider sphere of usefulness and benevolence. The various schemes by which, through a long life devoted to the cause of philanthropy, he purposed to promote this great aim of his existence, were indeed sometimes romantic,

and perhaps sometimes delusive. His heart seemed more enlarged than his understanding—his feelings were always in the right, but his judgement sometimes erred; and he had a kind of trusting simplicity in his nature, which made him often the dupe of his own credulity. But let us not blame too severely this misplaced reliance on others; there is no danger of the example becoming contagious: let us rather amidst that egotism to which the present modes of society give rise, that wakeful suspicion which puts every heart in a posture of defence, that careful vigilance with which the old inculcate, and the young acquire, the lessons of selfish prudence, let us turn for relief to *one mind*, whose weaknesses were only modifications of virtue, the failings of unguarded humanity, the excessive confidence of too liberal a spirit, the uncircumscribed benevolence of too warm a heart.

No project could be more sublime than that which occupied the greater part of the life of Wadström; which was the emancipation and civilization of that numerous portion of the human race inhabiting the vast continent of Africa. With the view of obtaining authentic information respecting the situation of the natives of Africa, and of studying their dispositions, characters, and manners, he undertook voyage to that continent, where he remained two years. I have, indeed, sometimes heard this "circumnavigation of philanthropy" ascribed to other motives than those of pure benevolence. As Ponce de Leon and his companions roved amidst the Lucayo islands, not merely animated by the general spirit of discovery, but in the visionary search of a fountain of such wonder-

ful virtue as to renew the youth, and recall the vigour of every person who bathed in its waters; so Wadström's view in his expedition to Africa has been represented not to have been the emancipation of the slaves, but the discovery of the New Jerusalem, which it seems, in illuminated charts of Swedenborg, lies somewhere concealed, amidst those hitherto unexplored regions. But it is certain that Wadström, though perhaps courteous to some errors of that travelled apostle, never carried his complaisance so far as to undertake a voyage to Africa in his service. That voyage was a crusade of humanity; the liberty of the Africans was the favourite project of Wadström's mind, and he lived to enjoy the most noble recompense of his labours in their cause. Too long condemned to bear the scorn of those commercial speculators in blood, who smile at the folly of sympathy, and deride the energies of benevolence, condemned to suffer the torment of meditating on calamities which he was unable to relieve, with what exulting triumph did he contemplate the fetters of the slave torn off in the French colonies, and the destinies of that portion of our species which seemed only born to suffer, for ever linked with those of that glorious republic whose liberty is durable as its power! —With what transport did he of late, behold France, after having broken the fetters of the Africans in distant regions, preparing to teach them on their native soil, the noble lessons of enlightened freedom! he knew that the yearly caravan which travels from Egypt to Abyssinia with splendid toys, and bears back in exchange, over the far-stretched desert, its load of slaves, had, the past autumn, conveyed to these dif-

tant regions a new and astonishing history of Europeans; that for the first time, that name had been pronounced in Africa without horror, and unconnected with images of despair. For the first time Europeans had been called not the destroyers, but the deliverers of mankind; and tidings had been proclaimed, not of free-men fettered, but of slaves made free, of nations emancipated by that hero, whose sublime genius, borrowing no force from age, and no succour from experience, has marked its illustrious career by no gradations, but soared at once to the pinnacle of glory—that hero who has ever victory in his van, and liberty in his rear! Yes, our philanthropic enthusiast must have discerned with transport, that liberty, irresistible in its progress as the majestic waters of the Nile, when they overflow their banks and rush over the land, and, benevolent in its effects, as that fructifying stream which spreads only blessings in its course; liberty would soon diffuse over the African continent the benign influence of civilization; and no one felt more strongly than Wadström what a wide meaning of happiness that word contains! No one deplored more sincerely than himself, that humanity has been so long insulted by partial civilization; and that even in those parts of the globe where slavery does not exist, particular portions of society have made a monopoly of knowledge, as if a certain degree of education were not the right of all.

Wadström, in having powerfully contributed to the abolition of the slave-trade, may be considered not merely as the benefactor of the Africans, but has a claim to the honours of more extensive benevolence; since the system of slavery is perhaps

no less fatal to the Europeans than to the Africans. Where slavery prevails, all the passions rage with ungovernable violence; every generous sentiment is obliterated; corruption degrades, licentiousness debases, power hardens the mind, and the dignity of human nature, violated in the person of the slave, is avenged by the consequent depravity of the master. Even women in those regions, they, who should feel pity an irresistible instinct, they who seem born to sooth with sympathizing tears every misery, and to plead with mild accents for every sufferer, even they, where slavery prevails, display the monstrous contrast of weakness and ferocity; of voluptuous indolence, and active cruelty; of a frame enervated by all the refinements of luxury, and a heart steeled by familiarity with crimes. And their children, on whose ductile minds those lessons of mercy should be impressed, to which the uncorrupted heart beats responsive; who should be taught to hiss the glowing tale of the oppressor punished, and the good made happy, imbibe, from example, all the caprices of cruelty, and before they can discern the distinctions of vice and virtue, are cursed with the inheritance of guilt.

If then we are grateful to the memory of Wadstrom for his efforts to confer happiness on the Africans, we ought also to remember with gratitude that he has rescued the colonists from misery; for surely miserable amidst all that fortune can bestow, is he, who is condemned to look back on the record of life without finding the sweet memorial of one generous action, one wrong redressed, one tear shed without witness, for the unhappy!

On his return from Africa, Wad-

strom visited England, where those persons who were acquainted with his philanthropic principles, solicited him strongly to remain some time. The great question, of the abolition of the slave-trade, was at that period brought forward in the British parliament, and Wadstrom obtained permission from the king of Sweden to remain in England during the important discussion. He was repeatedly examined at the bar of the house of commons on this subject, and produced the journal he had kept of the transactions of every day, during his stay in Africa. His evidence was considered as highly curious, useful, and interesting, and was often referred to in the debates which took place on that occasion. The opinions he delivered respecting the abolition of the slave trade, and the establishment of philanthropic colonies, gave rise to the foundation of Sierra Leone, and Boulama, which may justly be considered as monuments erected in favour of humanity and liberty, by generous and enlightened friends of mankind.

Wadstrom published, seven years since, in London, an octavo volume, containing much interesting information respecting his African expedition, and many important observations on colonization. Buonaparte, when departing for Egypt, wished to obtain a copy of this work, and inquired of Wadstrom where it could be purchased. On account of the difficulty of communication between France and England, Wadstrom had of late been unable to supply himself with any copies of this work, and had but one copy left in his possession, which he immediately presented to the general.

But while Wadstrom, the friend of human kind, continued to exert



all the energies of his mind in the great cause of humanity, a mortal malady was undermining his constitution, and leading him by gradual steps to the grave. The fatigues of body, the anxieties of mind he had suffered, together with the great transitions of climate, had brought on a pulmonary consumption, of which, after a long struggle with the natural vigour of his frame: he died on the fifteenth of Germinal, 7th year.

Wadstrom felt what the English poet calls

“ The ruling passion strong in death; ”

the triumphs of the French republic were to him a continual source of enjoyment, because he believed the liberty, and consequently the happiness of the world depended on its success. A friend, who visited him in his last hours, endeavoured to cheer his mind with those consolations which he thought most congenial to his religious opinions: Wadstrom heard him in silence; his head sunk on his breast, and his eyes were almost closed; but when his friend, changing the theme, related to him the triumphs of the French armies on the opening of the campaign, Wadstrom raised himself on his bed, his countenance became irradiated, and a gleam of pleasure lighted up his eyes; he desired to hear again the tale of Massena's victories; and when his friend added that news of farther victories was expected in three days, he exclaimed, with a feeling of regret, “ Alas ! that I have not three days to live ! ”

Swift, after having written that celebrated satire on human nature, entitled “ *Gulliver's Travels*, ” exclaimed, while meditating on the rare virtues of his friend Arbuthnot, “ Oh, were there ten Arbuthnots

in the world, I would burn my book ! ” — It is difficult to contemplate the character of Wadstrom without a similar sentiment; without feeling that, were there many Wadstroms in the world, we should learn to think better of mankind.

Helen Maria Williams.  
Paris, 20th Germinal, 7th year.

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*Life of Saussure, the Naturalist.*

**H**ORACE Benedict de Saussure was born at Geneva, in the year 1740. His father, an enlightened agriculturist, to whom we are indebted for some essays on rural economy, resided at Couches, on the banks of the Arve, about half a league from Geneva.

A country life, joined to an active education, tended no doubt to develop in Saussure that physical strength which is so essential to the naturalist, who wishes to extend his knowledge by travelling. He walked every day to the town in order to go to school; and as he lived at the foot of the Saleve, that mountain which he has since rendered so famous, climbing the rugged road was nothing but sport to him. Born, as it were, in the midst of the phenomena of nature, he had every opportunity for study, and thus avoided all the inconveniences in the situation of those philosophers who form theories without leaving their closets, or those cultivators who, though always familiar with nature, are incapable of admiring her beauties.

Botany was his first study. A diversified soil, fertile in a variety of plants, invites the inhabitant of the banks of the Lemman-lake to cultivate that delightful science. This taste brought about an acquaintance

quaintance between Saussure and Haller. He visited that great naturalist in 1764, during his retreat at Bex, and in his travels he expresses his admiration of that astonishing man, who excelled in all the branches of natural science. Saussure was farther excited to study the vegetable kingdom in consequence of his connection with C. Bonnet, who married his aunt, and who soon discovered the dawning talents of his nephew. Bonnet was then engaged in examining the leaves of plants; Saussure also turned his attention to these vegetable organs, and published the result of his labours under the title of *Observations sur l'Ecorce des Feuilles*—Observations on the skin of leaves.

This little book, which appeared about the year 1760, contained a number of new observations relative to the epidermis of leaves, and the milary glands with which it is covered.

At this time, the professorship of philosophy at Geneva became vacant, and Saussure, who was then only twenty-one, obtained the chair. Experience, in this instance, proved that if early rewards generally extinguish the ardour of men who labour only for themselves, they serve on the contrary to animate the zeal of those who make truth the object of their pursuit. In Geneva the two professors of philosophy taught alternately physics and logic, and Saussure acquitted himself in this double task with equal success. He even gave to the teaching of logic, what may be called a practical or experimental turn. His course, which commenced with the study of the senses, in order to arrive at the general laws of the under-

standing, at once announced an able observer of nature.

Experimental philosophy was the branch of which he was fondest; it conducted him to the study of chymistry and mineralogy. It was then that he recommenced his journeys among the mountains, not in quest of herbs, but to examine the substances of which the elevated ridges of our globe are composed. Geology, a science which then scarcely existed, gave a charm to his frequent wanderings among the Alps. There the talents of this great naturalist were fully developed. During the fifteen or twenty years of his professorship, he was alternately employed in fulfilling the duties which his situation imposed, and in traversing the different mountains in the neighbourhood of Geneva. He even extended his excursions on one side to the Rhine, and on the other to Piedmont. About this time, too, he travelled to Auvergne, for the purpose of examining some extinguished volcanos; and soon after he undertook a tour to Paris, Holland, and England. Afterwards he went to Italy, and crossed over to Sicily. These journeys were not commenced for the purpose of hastening forward to a particular place; his object was constantly the study of nature. He always carried with him the instruments necessary for his observations, and never set out without having formed for himself a regular plan of experiments. He often remarks in his works, that this method was highly useful to him in the progress of his studies.

In 1779, he published the first volume of his "Travels in the Alps." It contains a detailed description of the environs of Geneva,

\* He had resumed the study of this subject about eighteen months before his death.

and an account of an excursion as far as Chamouni, a village at the foot of Mont-Blanc. All naturalists have read with pleasure the description he has given, in this volume, of his *Magnetometre*. The more he examined the mountains, the more he felt the importance of mineralogy: to enable him to study this branch of science with still greater advantage, he learnt the German language. The new mineralogical knowledge which he acquired, may be easily seen by comparing the latter volume of his travels with the first.

In the midst of his numerous excursions in the Alps, and even during the time of the troubled politics of Geneva, in 1782, he found opportunities to make his fine hygrometrical experiments, the result of which he published in 1783, under the title of "*Essays on Hygrometry*." This work, the best that ever came from his pen, sent his reputation as a naturalist. We are indebted to him for the invention of the hygrometro. — Deluc had already invented his whalebone hygrometre, and a contest arose between him and Saussure, which degenerated into a very obstinate dispute.

In 1786, Saussure gave up his professorship, the duties of which he had discharged for about 25 years. He resigned in favour of his disciple, Pictet, who, with great honour to himself, fulfilled the difficult task of succeeding this great naturalist.

From Saussure's situation as a professor, the state of public instruction naturally became an object of his attention. He proposed a plan of reform in the education of Geneva,

the chief design of which was to obtain regulations for teaching the natural sciences and mathematics to the youth of that city at an early age. He was even desirous that their physical education, if I may use that expression, should not be neglected; and therefore proposed the establishment of gymnastic exercises. This plan, as might be expected, occasioned much discussion in a town where every one feels the importance of education. It found many supporters and many opposers.

The mediocrity of pecuniary resources was, however, a great obstacle to any innovation of importance. It was besides feared, that in changing the forms of instruction the substance might be lost, and that what was known to be good might be sacrificed in pursuit of something better. The people of Geneva were much attached to their system of education; and for this predilection they cannot be blamed, since it has not only diffused knowledge very generally among them, but has produced many distinguished mathematicians\* and naturalists. †

But public education did not alone occupy the attention of Saussure. He employed himself in educating his two sons and his daughter, who soon proved themselves worthy of such an instructor. His daughter joins to all the accomplishments of her sex, an extensive knowledge in natural science; and his eldest son has already distinguished himself by his chemical and philosophical experiments.

The second volume of the travels of Saussure was published in 1786: it contains a description of

\* Abauzit, Cramer, Lhuillier, J. Trembly, &c.

† Jalabert, A. Trembly, Bonnet, Lefage, Deluc, Senebier, Prevot, Pictet, Saussure himself, &c.

the Alps which surround Mount Blanc. The author examines them alternately as a mineralogist, a geologist, and a philosopher. In this volume he has given some interesting experiments in electricity, and a description of his electrometre, which is the most perfect yet known. We are indebted to him for several other metrical instruments, such as his cyanometre, designed for measuring the intensity of the blue colour of the sky, which varies according to the elevation of the observer; his diaphanometre for measuring the transparency of the air; and his anemometre, with which, by the means of a kind of balance, he weighed the force of the wind.

Some years after the publication of this volume, Saussure was received as a foreign associate in the academy of sciences at Paris; but our author not only honoured his country, he loved to serve it. He was the founder of the society of arts, to which Geneva is indebted for that high degree of prosperity her manufactures have reached within these thirty years. He presided over this society until his death, and one of his last wishes was for the preservation of this establishment.

He also testified his zeal for his country in the council of two hundred, of which he became a member after the dissolution of the national assembly. After having undergone much fatigue in this assembly, his health began to be deranged, and, in 1794, a paralytic stroke deprived him of the use of almost the whole of one side of his body; distressing, however, as his situation then was, his mind lost nothing of its activity, and since that accident

he prepared for the press the two last volumes of his travels, which appeared in 1796. They contain an account of his excursions in the mountains of Piedmont, Switzerland, and, in particular, his ascension to the summit of Mont Blanc. These two last volumes, far from exhibiting any symptom of his understanding having suffered from his disorder, present an enormous mass of new facts and important philosophical observations.

He performed a last service to science by publishing the *Agenda*, which terminates his fourth volume. In that work this great man, surviving himself, conducts the young naturalist by the hand through mountains, and teaches him how to observe them with advantage. This *Agenda* is a proof of the genius of our author, and of the mental vigour which he preserved during the decline of his health. During his sickness, he also published, "*Observations on the Fusibility of Stones by the Blow Pipe*," and directed some experiments for ascertaining the height of the bed of the Arve.\*

Having gone to Plombiers to use the baths of that place for the benefit of his health, he made observations on the mountains which he saw at a distance, and caused specimens of the strata which he pointed out to be brought to him. He had announced that he would terminate his travels by giving his ideas relative to the primitive state of the earth. But the more he meditated upon that subject, the more difficult he found it to form an opinion on those great revolutions which have happened to the globe. In general he was a *Neptunian*, that is to say,

\* These papers were inserted in the "Journal de Physique."

he attributed the changes the earth has undergone to the operation of water. He also admitted the possibility, that elastic fluids, in disengaging themselves from subterraneous cavities, might have raised mountains.

His health gradually declined; but he still preserved the hope of re-establishing it. The French government had named him professor of experimental philosophy in the central school of Paris, and he did not despair of being able to fulfil the duties of that honourable situation. His strength, however, was daily exhausted, and a general torpor succeeded to the vigour which he had always enjoyed. His slow and embarrassed pronunciation did not correspond to the vivacity of his mind, and formed a strange contrast with the graceful animation by which he was formerly distinguished. It was a painful spectacle to see a great man thus fallen, at the age when meditation bears its richest fruits, and when he would have enjoyed the glory of his labours.

All the remedies which medicine, enlightened by philosophy, could afford, were resorted to for his recovery, but in vain—every endeavour was fruitless. Strength and life forsook him by slow and painful steps. Towards the end of the sixth year, his decay became more sensible, and on the 3d Pluviose, of the 7th year, in the 59th year of his age, he terminated his brilliant career, mourned by a family who loved him, by a country that honoured him, and by Europe, whose knowledge he had extended.

*Memoirs of the celebrated Astronomer, Le Monnier; from the German of F. Von Zach, Editor of the Allgemeine Geograph. Ephemeriden, Director of the Observatory at Seeburg, near Gotha, \* &c.*

**PETER** Charles Le Monnier, the oldest astronomer in Europe, but who had long ceased to exist for the science of astronomy, died on the 2d of April, 1799, aged eighty-four years, at Lizieux in the ci-devant province of Normandy. He was born at Paris on the 20th of November, 1715. From his earliest years, he devoted himself to astronomy: when a youth of sixteen, he made his first observation, viz. of the opposition of Saturn. At the age of twenty, he was nominated a member of the royal academy of sciences at Paris. In the year 1735, he accompanied Maupertuis in the celebrated expedition to Lapland to measure a degree of latitude. In 1748, he went to Scotland to lord Maccliefield, to observe the annular eclipse of the sun, which was most visible in that country; and he was the first astronomer who had the pleasure to measure the diameter of the moon on the disk of the sun.

Lewis XV. it is well known, was extremely fond of astronomy, and greatly honoured its professors; he loved and esteemed Le Monnier. I have seen the king himself (says Lalande) come out of his cabinet, and look around for Le Monnier; and when his younger brother was presented to him, on his appointment to the office of first physician,

\* Of this observatory Lalande justly remarks, in the oration pronounced by him at the opening again of the Collège de France, p. 9. "*L'Observatoire de Gotha est le plus beau qu'il y ait en Allemagne. Le Duc y a dépensé plus de 200 mille francs: aucun prince, aucun roi, n'a donné dans ce siècle, ni suivi cet exemple.*"

his majesty was pleased to wish him the merit and reputation of his brother, the astronomer. All the remarkable celestial phenomena were always observed by the king, in company with Le Monnier. Thus he observed with him, at his chateau of St. Hubert, the two celebrated transits of Venus through the disk of the sun in the years 1761 and 1769; as appears from the memoirs of the royal Parisian academy of sciences. It well deserves to be here recorded in what manner the king behaved during these important observations, and how little he disturbed his astronomers (the celebrated La Condamine being likewise permitted to observe the transit in his presence) in this occupation; the proper time for which, if permitted to pass by, could not be re-called. Le Monnier relates in his dissertation, that, "his majesty perceiving that we judged the last contacts to be of the greatest importance, a profound silence at that moment reigned around us." At the transit of Venus in 1769, the king allowed the marquis De Chaubert, an intelligent and expert naval officer, who was just returned from a literary voyage to the Levant, to assist at the observation. In a court like that of Lewis XV. so scrupulously observant of etiquette, these will be allowed to have been most distinguished marks of honour, and of royal favour and condescension.

In the year 1750, Le Monnier was ordered to draw a meridian at the royal chateau of Bellevue, where the king frequently made observations: the monarch, on this occasion, rewarded him with a present of 15,000 livres; but Le Monnier applied this sum of money

likewise in a manner that redounded to the honour of his munificent sovereign and of his country, by procuring new and accurate instruments, with which he afterwards made his best and most remarkable observations. In 1742, the king gave him in Paris, *Rue de la Poste*, a beautiful free dwelling, where, till the breaking out of the revolution, he resided, and pursued his astronomical labours; and where his instruments in part yet remain: some of them the present French government has, at the instance of Lalande, purchased for the national observatory. In 1751, the king presented him with a block of marble, eight feet in height, six feet in breadth, and fifteen inches in thickness, to be used for fixing his mural quadrant of five feet: this marble wall, together with the instruments appended to it, turns on a large brass ball and socket, by which the quadrant may be directed from south to north; thus serving to rectify the large mural quadrant of eight feet, which is immoveably made fast to a wall, towards the south.

With these quadrants Le Monnier observed, for the long period of forty years, the moon, with unwearied perseverance, at all hours of the night. It is requisite to be a diligent astronomer, to be able to conceive, to what numberless inconveniences the philosopher is exposed during an uninterrupted series of lunar observations. As the moon during a revolution may pass through the meridian at all hours of the day or night; the astronomer who, day after day, prosecutes such observations, must be prepared at all, even the most inconvenient, hours, and sacrifice to

to them his sleep and all his enjoyments. How secluded from all the pleasures of social intercourse, and how fatiguing such a mode of life is; those astronomers, indeed, know not who then only set their pendulum-clocks in motion, when some of the eclipses of the sun, moon, or of the satellites of Jupiter, are to be viewed. At this time, and in the present state of the science, these are just the most insignificant observations; and an able astronomer, well supplied with accurate instruments, may every day, if he take into his view the whole of his profession, make more important and more necessary observations.

Le Monnier was Lalande's preceptor, and worthy of such a scholar: and he promoted his studies by his advice and by every other means in his power. Le Monnier's penetrating mind, indeed prefigured in young Lalande, then only sixteen years old, what in the sequel has been so splendidly confirmed. In his twentieth year, he became, on the recommendation of his preceptor, a member of the royal academy: and in 1752, he was proposed by him as the fittest person to be sent to Berlin, to make with La Caille's, who had been sent to the Cape of Good Hope, correspondent observations for the purpose of determining the parallax of the moon; then but imperfectly known. Le Monnier lent his pupil for this expedition his mural quadrant of five feet. His zeal for astronomy knew no bounds. For this reason, Lalande, in his *Notice des Travaux du C. Le Monnier*, says of himself: "*Je suis moi-même le principal résultat de son zèle pour l'astronomie.*"

Le Monnier was naturally of a very irritable temper; as ardently as he loved his friends, as easily could he be offended; and his hatred was then implacable. Lalande, as he himself expresses it, had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of his beloved preceptor; and he never after could regain his favour. But Lalande's gratitude and respect for him always continued undiminished, and were, on every occasion, with unremitting constancy, publicly declared: patiently he endured from him undeserved ill-treatment; so much did he love and esteem his instructor and master to the day of his death. "I have not ceased to exclaim (writes Lalande), as Diogenes exclaimed to his master Antisthenes: you cannot find a stick strong enough to drive me away from you!"

What a noble trait in the character of Lalande! If the readers of his correspondence in the *General Geographical Ephemerides* have not already perceived that nobleness of soul and unaffected candour form the outline of his character, they would be completely convinced of it, if I were permitted to print many other interesting passages in his letters. Such characteristic traits of celebrated men deserve to be recorded and made public; not their trifling and innoxious weaknesses held up to view with all the glaring colours of witticism. In 1797, Lalande wrote an eulogium on Le Monnier, for the *Conn. des Temps*, in the language of a grateful pupil, penetrated with sentiments of profound veneration and esteem for his beloved master: but Le Monnier refused to read it. When I had the pleasure of enjoy-

ing the familiar conversation of Lalande in 1798, often has he related to me many particulars of the harsh and implacable treatment and resentment of Le Monnier, whom he never ceased to revere; and as he told me the affecting story of their variance, tears would voluntarily start into the eyes of the worthy old man.

This is not the place to give a circumstantial account of this intricate quarrel; we shall only farther remark, that Lalande was the warm friend and admirer of the no less eminent astronomer La Caille, whom Le Monnier mortally hated. An intimate friendship likewise subsisted between Le Monnier and D'Alembert, but Lalande had no friendly intercourse with the latter.

The celebrated geometrician and professor of mathematics at Utrecht, Hennert, may likewise be reckoned among the scholars of Le Monnier. I here subjoin an extract from a letter which Mr. H. wrote me from Utrecht, the 26th of May, 1797: "Le Monnier is a penetrating and philosophical astronomer: I learned much from him in Paris; though I lodged with the late De l'Isle, where I frequently made observations in company with Messier. Le Monnier was the friend of D'Alembert; and consequently an opposer of Lalande."

Le Monnier left behind him some valuable manuscripts, and a number of good observations, with respect to which he had always been very whimsical, and of which, in his latter years, he never would publish any thing. He had by him a series of lunar observations, and a multitude of observations of the stars, for a catalogue of the stars, which he had announced so early as the year

1741; among which was twice to be found the new planet Uranus. (See Lalande's *Astronomie*, Tables, p. 188). The more he was requested to communicate his observations, the more obstinate he became; he even threatened to destroy them. At the breaking out of the revolution, Lalande was greatly alarmed for the safety of these papers; he wished to preserve them from destruction, and made an attempt to get them into his possession; but all his endeavours were in vain. He was only able to learn, that Le Monnier had hidden them under the roof his house. Le Monnier, having been first seized with a fit of the apoplexy so early as the 10th of November, 1791; Lalande apprehended, lest, if no one except himself should know where he had hidden his papers, the infirm old man might perhaps have himself forgot it. He hopes, however, that his son-in-law, La Grange, may have some information concerning them. Le Monnier left behind him three married daughters, the second of whom was, on the 31st of May, 1792, led to the altar of Hymen by the celebrated La Grange.

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*Memoirs of the late Pope, Pius VI. from the first Volume of Historical and Philosophical Memoirs of Pius VI. and his Pontificate.*

IT is, above all, in the conduct of Pius VI. in regard to the Jesuits, that the principal traits of his character are perceptible. He never cordially acquiesced in their proscription. He was sensible that the Roman pontiff had lost in them the principal support of his power; but,



but, at the same time, that their intriguing ambition might render them formidable. During the greater part of his reign they sometimes excited his regret, and sometimes his fears. He never dared either to protect or to persecute them openly. They were odious to the crowned heads, whose good-will it was so much his interest to conciliate. They increased the irresolution to which he was naturally inclined; and often obliged him to act with duplicity, the usual attendant upon weakness. This situation, which would have been embarrassing even to a mind far more energetic than his, gave birth to such a strange inconsistency of conduct, that those who for more than twenty years had observed him narrowly, could not, at the moment of his fall, flatter themselves that they were thoroughly acquainted with his character.

Heaven forbid, however, that we should wish to paint him in too odious colours. It would be unjust, even were he still in possession of his elevated rank. It would be base, after the catastrophe which has precipitated him from it. No; Pius VI. was neither wicked nor weak; but he had several glaring defects, which could not escape the least discerning eye; and caprices which formed a striking contrast with the majestic gravity of the part he had to play. Nobody denied him several brilliant qualities, considerable capacity, an agreeable turn of mind, manners at once noble and prepossessing, an easy and florid style of elocution, as much information as could be expected in a priest imbued with the principles of his profession, and a taste for the arts tolerably correct.

Impatient, irascible, obstinate, and susceptible of prejudices, he was, however, neither obstinately rancorous, nor premeditatedly malevolent. Few instances can be quoted of his sensibility; many may be adduced of his good-nature. In less difficult circumstances, and with means proportioned to his views, he would perhaps have passed for a prudent sovereign. But his ruling passion was an excessive love of fame, which was the principal source of his faults and of his misfortunes. It was that love of fame, which, when not joined to a strong mind, often degenerates into puerile vanity. He would have wished to signalize his pontificate in every manner, and to associate his name with the most splendid enterprises. His vanity, which was apparent in every thing, drew upon him frequent mortifications. Descended from a family scarcely noble, he plumed himself, from the very beginning of his reign, upon his illustrious race. To the modest coat of arms of his ancestors, he added all the vain embellishments of blazonry; and composed an escutcheon which afforded ample room for ridicule. It is well known, that the Italian people are more apt, perhaps, than any other, to lay hold of any thing ridiculous with merciless avidity. To two winds, of which the arms of his family consisted, he added an eagle, *fleurs-de-lys*, and stars. These pompous armorial bearings were cruelly criticised in the following distich:

Redde aquilam imperio, Francorum lilia  
regi,  
Sidera redde polo; cætera, Brasche, tua.

Restore your eagle to the empire; his  
lilies to the King of France; and the stars  
to heaven: the rest, Braschi, is your own.

His

His arms, and his name, were repeated a thousand times over in Rome, and in the rest of the ecclesiastical state. They are to be seen, not only upon the monuments which he erected, and upon such as he repaired, but even upon those in which he made the smallest change; and unless Rome be utterly destroyed, the name of *Pius Sextus*, thanks to his provident vanity! will descend to the latest posterity. While changing the Roman government, the French commissaries expunged it from all the profane monuments; but it still exists upon all the sacred edifices in which Pius VI. had the most remote concern. It was calculated in 1786, that this rage for availing himself of the slightest pretence for immortalising his name had already cost the treasury two hundred thousand crowns. It was this incurable vanity, rather than his piety or taste for the arts, which suggested to him the idea of constructing a sacristy by the side of St. Peter's church. He there displayed a magnificence which may dazzle at first sight, but which cannot conceal its numerous defects from the eye of the connoisseur. Good taste may indeed apply to him the famous sentence pronounced by Apelles upon the Venus of a painter of his time: you have made her fine, because you could not make her beautiful. In like manner the sacristy of St. Peter's, which cost more than sixteen hundred thousand Roman crowns, is overloaded with all the most gaudy decorations, which architecture, sculpture, gilding, and painting, can afford; but it only appears so

much the meaner when compared with the superb edifice by the side of which it stands. It is the design of Carlo Marchionni, an architect of inferior talents, and recalls to mind the defective school of Boromini; the style being altogether low and ignoble. Its dimensions are contrary to the rules of art; and it is full of nothing but breaks, niches, and projections. The columns and the altars are, in a manner concealed in obscure corners; and the whole is surcharged with ornaments of the most tasteless kind.

In order to erect this monument to his glory, much rather than to that of the God whose vicar he called himself, it was necessary to pull down the temple of Venus, for which Michael Angelo had so much veneration, that he would have considered the mere idea of touching it as sacrilege.

It may be easily conceived, that Pius VI. was not sparing of inscriptions in the sacristy of St. Peter's. Over the principal entrance were inscribed these words:

*Quod at templi Vaticani ornamentum publica vota flagitabant, Pius VI. pontifex maximus, fecit perfecitque anno, &c.\**

How great must have been his mortification, when under this inscription he found the following insolent lines:

Publica! mentiris. Non publica vota  
fuere,  
Sed tumidi ingenii vota fuere tui.

Thou liest! the public voice was not consulted; thou followest the dictates of thy vanity alone.

\* What the public voice demanded for the decoration of the church of the Vatican, Pius VI. sovereign pontiff, began and completed in the year, &c.

That motive actuated him in all his enterprizes: before his elevation to the pontificate, he had possessed the abbey of Subiaco, at the distance of twenty miles from Rome. There also he displayed, in the most expensive manner, his taste for magnificence. An abbey in which he had resided, a church in which he celebrated the holy mysteries, could not be suffered to remain in obscurity. He spent considerable sums in embellishing Subiaco; and this is not one of the smallest reproaches that may be brought against his prodigality.

A protector of the arts; more out of ostentation than taste, he connected his name with the famous museum, which constituted one of the most beautiful and most useful ornaments of the Vatican; and the kind of glory, thence resulting to his pontificate, is not altogether usurped. That glory had tempted him when he was as yet only treasurer of the apostolical chamber. The famous statue of Apollo Belvédère was, in a manner, exiled, with several others, in one of the court-yards of the Vatican. Braschi suggested to Clement XIV. the idea of forming on that spot a collection of ancient monuments; and, as treasurer, presided over the first rudiments of this establishment. When seated upon the pontifical throne, he added body and confidence to his brilliant project. He built round the court-yard of the Apollo vast apartments, which he ornamented with statues, busts, terræ, and bas-reliefs; and gave to the rich collection a title which associated his name with that of his predecessor. He called it the *Museum Pium-Clementinum*. That museum gradually became one of

the most valuable in Europe; Pius VI. neglecting nothing to enrich it. He claimed the right of pre-emption whenever any antique was discovered; and, by thus eluding the greedy interference of the antiquaries; protected monuments of art at the first hand; and at a moderate price. There it was, that his vanity provided abundantly for its own gratification. Beneath each piece of sculpture which he had acquired, these words were engraved in letters of gold: *Munificentia Pii VI. P. M.* Most of these monuments of art stood in a bad light and could not be seen to advantage without the assistance of a torch; the wavering gleams of which added to their beauty, by giving them life (if it may so be said); the only thing in which some of them were defective. It was thus that connoisseurs went to admire the Ganymede, the Apollo Musagetes, the Torso, the Laocoon, and, above all, the famous Apollo Belvédère, which is alone worth a whole museum.

Engravings and explanations of the principal works of art, thus collected, began to be published in 1783, under the auspices of Pius VI. who was much flattered by the compliment. Lewis Myris undertook the task; and the learned Visconti, who, in the first moment of the revolution, was elevated to the consulate of Rome, added to the plates a luminous commentary, which at once proves his taste, his sagacity, and his erudition. They were both, it must be confessed, powerfully seconded by the pope. The first six volumes of this work, in folio, had already appeared in 1792; and the seventh was ready when the political convulsions in Italy

Italy began. All lovers of antiquity must regret the suspension of this undertaking; which does double honour to the pontificate of Pius VI.

Wherever there was any thing more splendid than useful to be done, the zeal of that pontiff, and particularly his name, were sure to appear. Wishing to embellish the entrance of the Quirinal palace, where he resided during the summer season, he raised, at great expense, 1783, the obelisk which was lying upon the ground near the *Scala Santa*, and placed it between those two equestrian statues, that have given to the eminence on which the palace stands the name of *Monte Cavallo*.

Though the erection of this obelisk was in itself a thing little meritorious, adulation made it serve as a pretence for lavishing upon the holy father, in pompous inscriptions, the most ridiculously bombastic praise. But the Roman people, who were suffering a privation of the most necessary articles of life, while the treasury was exhausting itself in embellishing their city, did not partake of the enthusiasm felt by the authors of those inscriptions. A wag, who preferred food to obelisks, gave on this occasion a lesson to his holiness, by applying to him a well-known passage of the gospel. He wrote these words at the bottom of the obelisk:

*Signore, di a questa pietra che divenga pane.*

Lord, command that these stones be made bread.

Pius VI. took pattern from him, whose vicar he was, and abstained from the miracle.

This rage for putting his name

VOL. XLi.

every where, and for suffering his munificence to be celebrated upon the most trifling occasions, exposed him to more than one farcical of a similar kind. It is well known that there was no other bread made at Rome but little round loaves, weighing a few ounces, which were called *pagnotta*, and which cost two *baiocchi*, or about two French sous a piece. The price never varied; but according as corn was more or less dear, the size of the *pagnotta* was diminished or increased. At a moment of scarcity, when the administrators of provisions had been obliged to make an extraordinary reduction in the weight of the *pagnotta*, one of those innocent malcontents, who exhale all their gall in raillery, thought proper to put an exceedingly small *pagnotta* into the hand of Pasquin, and to write under the statue those pompous words, so often repeated in Rome:—*Munificentia Pii Sexti*.

Bells had a double title to his predilection. They were connected with that worship, by the pomp of which he was so much flattered and the greater their size, the farther off did they announce the holy personage by whose orders they were set in motion. Malignity reproached him, in this particular, with more than one grave puerility. There was, in St. Peter's church, at Rome, a bell which only weighed 21,244 lb. He ordered it to be re-cast in the year 1783, with the addition of 400 quintals of metal. Three years afterwards he had another cast of 280 quintals, and christened it with great solemnity. Barbarous verses were afterwards engraved upon it, which attracted the admiration of the devout, and offended men of taste. It was loaded with valuable pearls,

pearls; and decorated with eight dolphins, a crown and a thousand other ornaments; but the founder's art had failed him: the bell had no found. The wags made themselves merry at the expense of the bell, the founder, and the godfather. They voted that this abortion should be deposited either in the *Museum Pio-Clementinum*, or in the arsenal, after the example of the Abderitan sages, who were of an opinion somewhat similar in regard to a well, which was very skilfully constructed, and which wanted nothing but water.

In general Pius VI. was not fortunate in the enterprises suggested by his vanity. The sovereigns of Rome, from the time of the emperors down to the present day, have prided themselves upon enlarging, fortifying, and embellishing the port of Ancona. The ruins of the beautiful monument erected there by the senate in honour of Trajan, still attests the beneficence of that emperor. In modern times Clement XII. is the pope who has paid the most attention to the embellishment of that port. A triumphal arch erected in honour of him, opposite to that of Trajan, and his statue in marble, are testimonies of the gratitude of its inhabitants. Pius VI. wished also to give a lustre to his pontificate, by making some additions to the works of his predecessors. The port of Ancona is indebted to him for several improvements; among others, for a lighthouse: but he was still more anxious to have his statue erected there than to deserve it. In 1789, while the workmen were employed on it, part of the scaffolding gave way, and killed a great number of them. This accident, joined to so many

others, was considered as a bad omen; and in fact Pius VI. was now approaching the era of his greatest misfortunes.

But it was in the performance of his pontifical functions, above all, that his taste for ostentation was displayed; and that his vanity found frequent opportunities of gratification. It must be confessed, that, on those occasions, he was as much favoured by nature as by the pompous ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church. He was in all respects one of the handsomest men of his time. To a very lofty stature he joined a noble and expressive set of features, and a florid complexion, which the band of time itself seemed to spare. He contrived to wear his pontifical habits in such a way, that they deprived him of none of his personal advantages. In every thing he did, he displayed them with a refinement of coquetry which gave great scope to ridicule. When elevated to the papacy, he had, in conformity with a custom that had grown into a law, laid aside the peruke, which he wore while cardinal. His forehead was entirely bald; but there remained behind, and on each side of his head, a ring of hair of the most brilliant white, which gave him a look at once noble and venerable. He had also one of the handsomest legs in Italy; and was not a little vain of it. Not wishing that his long pontifical robes should entirely conceal that part of his person, to the adorning of which he was always scrupulously attentive, he took great care to hold them up on one side, so that one of his legs was entirely exposed to view. This affected display of his hair and legs, so unworthy of a grave pontiff, gave occasion to the following

following distich, which, though bad enough in itself, serves, however, as a proof that no opportunity was lost of turning him into ridicule:

*Aspice, Roma, Pium. Pius! baud est:  
aspice mimum—  
Luxuriante, comâ, luxuriante pede.*

Rome, look at Pius. He Pius! not indeed: He is a comedian. Behold the display of his hair;  
And see how vain he is of his leg.

Nothing, indeed, was more striking, than to see him, on days of great parade, crowned with the triple diadem, arrayed in robes of the most dazzling white, which contrasted with the splendor of the Roman purple, soaring in a manner over a crowd of ecclesiastics of every rank, and seeming thereby to announce his sway over the universal church. On these solemn occasions, all the members of the clergy came and adored him repeatedly; and each class in a different way. The cardinals were not permitted to kiss his hand till they had bowed down before his throne. The prelates and heads of orders bowed still more humbly, and only rose as high as his knees; while the inferior clergy remained at his feet. The allegory of the statuary, prostrate before the work of his own hands, was never better applied, than to this stupid veneration, particularly of the cardinals for the sovereign pontiff—the creature of their intrigues and of their caprices; in which not one of them, perhaps, seriously thought that he saw the work of the Holy Ghost.

It is needless to say with what an eye of pity philosophy looks down upon this humiliating homage, paid

by a multitude of reasonable beings to one of their fellow-creatures. Many spectators, however,—many even of those who were the most strongly guarded against all these vain illusions, could not help feeling a strong emotion at the sight of the pomp that surrounded St. Peter's chair, especially while it was occupied by Pius VI. The greatest magnificence accompanied him whenever he went out. A carriage, at the back of which he was seated alone in an arm chair richly ornamented, moved forward, escorted by servants on horseback, and in long clothes, driven by a coachman and postillions, with their heads uncovered, rolling along majestically slow between two rows of foot soldiers, and followed by detachments of light-horse and cuirassiers. It was impossible for any thing to be more striking.

But when he officiated in the grand ceremonies of the church, it was difficult even for heretics, for free-thinkers even, to avoid feeling a sort of religious enthusiasm.

Pius VI. like him whose vicar he called himself, was endowed with a two-fold nature. Clad in his pontifical habits, surrounded by the pomp of religious ceremonies, and employed in the distribution of celestial treasures; Pius VI. appeared to the Romans to be a god. On his return to the Vatican, he was no more in their eyes, particularly during the last years of his pontificate, than a man exposed to their murmurs, and to their sarcasms. This double sovereignty was so far singular, that the sceptre considered itself as inviolable under shelter of the tiara; that the devotion of the subjects seemed to ensure their obedience;

and that the benedictions, the indulgences, and all the celestial favours, of which the monarchical demi-god had undertaken to be the distributor, had at once for object and result to sanctify, to overawe, and to disarm them. Accordingly nothing less than the violent hurricane of the French revolution was necessary to tear up by the roots that gigantic tree,

*De qui la tête au ciel étoit voisine.  
Et dont les pieds touchoient à l'empire  
des morts.\**

It remains to be observed, that all these pompous mummeries, of which we have just given a few specimens, had long been an appendage of the pontifical throne; but no pope had combined, in the same degree as Pius VI. every thing necessary to insure their effect. His predecessor, much more meritorious than he in a variety of respects, was humane, affable, and generous. He possessed all the domestic virtues; but he retained under the tiara all the modesty of his former situation in life; and felt a sort of philosophical disdain for ostentation. The principal persons about him, sensible how much the parade of ceremonies added to the temporal power of the Roman Catholic church, and increased the illusion of which it stands so much in need, were vexed at Ganganelli's neglecting, with a sort of affectation, that external dignity which imposes so much upon the vulgar. The sacred charm was about to vanish. The pontiff seemed desirous of distinguishing himself only by his simplicity. Braschi, on

the contrary, possessed in his manners, in his taste, and in his exterior, every thing that was capable of impressing mankind with respect. The striking contrast that existed, in that particular, between him and his predecessor, gave rise to a belief that the cardinals, in electing Pius VI. had been actuated above all by the hope that the chair of St. Peter, debased by Ganganelli, would rise again, and shine with renovated splendor. An English traveller observed, that in this they imitated the Roman senate, which sometimes chose a dictator in order to restore the ancient discipline.

The hope of the cardinals was not deceived, at least in that respect. No pope ever displayed more pomp than Pius VI. in the performance of his functions; nor was the prevailing taste of any of his predecessors ever more favoured by circumstances. The rage for visiting Italy was become general; and had reached every country and every rank. Pius VI. had the good fortune, so dear to his vanity, of reviewing a whole crowd of great personages, including most of the princes of Europe, of receiving their homage, and of doing the honours of his court and church in the presence of the most illustrious visitors.

The epoch at which he was elected procured him, during the very first year of his pontificate, one of those occasions of unfrequent occurrence, on which the Romish church displays the greatest pomp, and is most lavish of spiritual treasures; we mean the jubilee, which was a real *bonne fortune* to Pius VI.

\* Of which the head approached the skies, and the feet reached down to the mansions of the dead.

It will soon be forgotten in France ; but, perhaps, it is yet remembered, that there were jubilees of two kinds ; the one which recurred periodically was properly called the *Holy Year* ; the other was the *Jubilee of Exaltation*, and was celebrated at the accession of a new pope to the pontifical throne. The first as being the most uncommon, was beyond comparison the most solemn.

It was first established in 1300, by Boniface VIII. who, wishing to sanctify the profane institution of the secular games of ancient Rome, conceived the idea of indicating the first year of each century as that in which heaven, more particularly propitious, would in future shower down upon the faithful a larger portion of those blessings, of which the popes called themselves the dispensers. Clement VI. was of opinion, that these periods, so favourable to the faithful, and so glorious to the holy see, were too distant ; and ordered that they should recur every fifty years. The second jubilee was therefore celebrated in 1350. Sixtus V. improved still farther upon the liberality of his predecessors ; and ordained that the jubilee should take place every five-and-twenty years, which has been the practice ever since.

Clement XIV. already attacked by the lingering disease of which he died, had, in the month of April, announced the opening of the holy year, in full consistory. It was reserved for another to celebrate it. Pius VI. had that happiness in the following year ; and, but for the catastrophe which precipitated him from his throne, would probably have enjoyed it a second time.

The jubilee of 1775, in all probability the last, was celebrated

with a degree of magnificence, surpassing that of all the preceding ones. It was on this occasion, that Pius VI. gave the first proof of his taste for pompous ceremonies. One of the principal circumstances of the festival, that indeed which may be called the first act of it, is the opening of the famous *porta santa*, or sacred door. This door, which is one of those of St. Peter's church, remained constantly shut except during the holy year. It was then opened with a parade of which Pius VI. took care not to diminish the effect. It was his office to preside over the demolition of a brick wall, that closed the entrance of the sacred door. Advancing with majestic gravity, he struck the first stroke, and instantly the wall fell to the ground under the redoubled blows of the workmen, to whom the signal had been given. The pious spectators eagerly seized upon the materials ; each stone being an object of high veneration. By their contact with that which was laid four-and-twenty years before by the sacred hands of the sovereign pontiff, they had acquired the virtue of curing all sorts of diseases. According to custom, the *porta santa* remained open during all the holy year, and was the scene of the most ridiculous mummary. The pope himself did not pass through it without exhibiting marks of the most profound respect ; while the pilgrims, disdainful of the numerous passages which lead into the church of St. Peter, entered it only by crawling under the sacred door upon their hands and knees. It was shut with great solemnity at the end of the year. The pope approached, sitting upon a kind of throne, and surrounded by the cardinals ;



dinals; and an anthem was sung, accompanied by loud music: it was the lyre of Amphion about to rebuild the walls of Thebes. The pontiff then descended with a gold trowel in his hand; laid the first stone of the wall, which was to last twenty-five years; put a little mortar upon it, and re-ascended his throne. Real masons took his place, and completed the blocking up of the sacred door, the ceremony closing with a solemn mass. Thus did the Roman catholics lavish the august mysteries of their religion, sometimes upon the baptism of a bell, and sometimes upon the rebuilding of a wall.

The following day the festival was continued, Pius VI. displaying in it all his great talents for acting, which were hitherto but little known. He was already near sixty years of age; but his complexion still retained somewhat of the brilliant colouring of youth. The Romans, accustomed to see their pontiffs bending under the weight of years, and labouring in the performance of their public functions, which were often long and fatiguing, admired the address and grace with which the new pope acquitted himself of his task. The church seemed to grow young again, and to have a right, as well as Pius VI. to expect prosperous days.

It was shortly afterwards that the beauty of his person received a homage to which the virtues of Jesus Christ were not accustomed. While Pius VI. was passing through a street of Rome, carried along with a splendor suitable to his dignity, a voice was heard from one of the windows, which were crowded with curious spectators. It was that of a young woman: *Quanto è bello!*

*quanto è bello!* cried she, in a moment of enthusiasm. An old woman, in haste to correct any thing that might appear too profane in this exclamation, replied, with her hands joined, and her eyes lifted up to heaven, *Tanto è bello, quanto è santo!* It is said, that such a compliment gave Pius VI. more secret satisfaction than all the incense lavished upon him by the prelates at the altar, and all the genuflexions of the sacred college.

We do not mean, however, that an inclination, common to many of the cardinals, was ever included in the charges brought against him during the course of his long pontificate. His very enemies, if not altogether unjust, must confess that he has always been irreproachable as to purity of morals. In the early days which he passed at Rome, ambition made him seek the society of a lady of high rank, and of a very intriguing disposition, who was supposed to possess considerable influence. This was madame Falconieri, mother of the young lady, afterwards duchess of Braschi. He was indebted to her for his first success in his ecclesiastical career. But madame Falconieri, though worthy of attention as a patroness, had nothing that could make her desirable as a mistress. Braschi visited her for a short time; kept away as soon as he had obtained the only favour he expected from her; and was solely indebted for the reputation, which he acquired in these latter times, of being mademoiselle Falconieri's father, to the ill-humour of his subjects, and to his blind partiality for her after she became his niece.

During the time that he was treasurer of the Apostolical Chamber, that

that is to say, from 1766 to 1773, he was remarkable for his constant application to business, for his contempt of worldly pleasures, and for the regularity of his conduct, which procured him general esteem. He did not forfeit this character during his cardinalate, which lasted only two years; and when he was seated in St. Peter's chair, excepting indeed the duplicity of which he was suspected, and which the embarrassment of circumstances seemed to render excusable, he was free from all serious reproach. Since his elevation to the papacy, his defects, which he had either concealed, or had no opportunity of developing, have excited a great deal of hatred; but calumny, which has not spared him, has scarcely ever attacked him upon the score of his morals. Gorrani, is, perhaps, the only one who treats him as ill in that respect as in every other. He throws suspicions upon the motives of the affection which cardinal Ruffo manifested for him in his youth; he pretends that it was not ambition alone which led to his connection with madame Falconieri: and he even insinuates, that gallantry was one of the principal means of his elevation to the papal throne. It is in fact of no great consequence whether these charges be founded or not. The salvation of Pius VI. may be much concerned; but his glory is very little interested in his having faithfully practised one of the first Christian virtues. It is a duty, however, that we owe to truth, to affirm, that those who have known him long, and well, never perceived any thing that could give rise to the smallest doubt as to the purity of his morals, at least from the time in which he was appointed treasurer,

to the end of his pontificate. If the amorous connections of a temporal sovereign cannot escape the vigilance of his numerous attendants, how can a pope, all whose steps and movements are counted, conceal himself from the nice observation of the conscientious, or from the keen eye of malignity, and cover his secret intrigues with an impenetrable veil? Pius VI. divided all his time between his religious duties, his closet, and the library of the Vatican. He went out very seldom, and never without company. He had no taste for a country residence, nor even for those innocent amusements which the gravest men allow themselves as a relaxation after their labours. He passed the summer season at the Quirinal palace, and the rest of the year at the Vatican. His only recreation was the visit which he paid almost every year to the Pontine marshes. Constantly taken up with serious occupations, or the duties of his office, he avoided, instead of seeking, the society of women.

As pope, he could not then lead a more exemplary life; but as a man, and as a sovereign, he no doubt exposed himself to many and serious reproaches. An erroneous opinion had been formed of him in many respects. When rendered more conspicuous by his eminent station, he soon discovered a great ignorance of worldly affairs, particularly of politics; an obstinacy which never yielded to a direct attack; and an invincible attachment to certain prejudices, inseparable perhaps from his profession, but of which he neither suspected the inconvenience nor the danger. This we shall have frequent opportunities of observing in the course of these

memoirs. He entertained the most favourable idea of his own capacity. Rather headstrong than firm, he was constantly undoing what he had done; and this mixture of vanity and weakness, was attended with serious inconveniences. What was no more than inconsistency, and want of resolution, was taken for duplicity. Coldly affable, he never felt a real affection for any one; nor ever knew what it was completely to unbosom himself, unless when fear rendered him communicative.

Out of the five cardinals, who were successively his secretaries of state, there was not one who could flatter himself with having enjoyed his entire confidence. He granted it, but still under certain restrictions, to Gerdy and Antonelli, two other cardinals; consulting them solely about matters in which he thought he could derive advantage from their talents.

Hasty, impetuous, and sometimes even passionate, he required to be curbed by fear, or soothed by affectionate language, which indicated an attachment to his interest, without hurting his pride. Cardinal de Bernis said of him, towards the end of the year 1777, 'I watch over him incessantly, as over a child of an excellent disposition; but too full of spirits, and capable of throwing itself out of the window if left a moment alone.'

That excellent disposition was afterwards, in a great measure, spoiled by adulation, the possession of power, and the want of somebody bold enough to tell him the truth, or inclined to take the trouble. Faults gradually manifested themselves that the most clear-sighted had not even

suspected. His long pontificate was, besides, a grievance which neither the cardinals nor the people of Rome, could pardon him. In short, a concurrence of unlucky circumstances, to which he knew not how to accommodate himself, added to his improvidence and to his vanity, the principal source of his prodigality, and of his taste for brilliant, but expensive enterprizes, rendered him, in the end, more odious than many princes, who have been really wicked.\*

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*Character and Manner of Life of General Washington; from His Travels in America.*

ON the day I saw gen. Washington he had terminated his 64th year; but though not an unhealthy man, he seemed considerably older. The innumerable vexations he has met with, in his different public capacities, have very sensibly impaired the vigour of his constitution, and given him an aged appearance. There is a very material difference, however, in his looks when seen in private, and when he appears in public, full dressed; in the latter case the hand of art makes up for the ravages of time, and he seems many years younger.

Few persons find themselves for the first time in the presence of general Washington, a man so renowned, in the present day, for his wisdom and moderation, and whose name will be transmitted with such honour to posterity, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor do these emotions subside on a closer ac-

\* For a notice of the death of Pitt VI. see before, p. 31, of this volume.

quaintance;

quaintance; on the contrary, his person and deportment are such, as rather tend to augment them. There is something very austere in his countenance; and in his manners he is uncommonly reserved. I have heard some officers, that served immediately under his command, during the American war, say, that they never saw him smile during all the time that they were with him. No man has ever yet been connected with him by the reciprocal and unconstrained ties of friendship; and but a few can boast even of having been on an easy and familiar footing with him.

The height of his person is about five feet eleven; his chest is full; and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped and muscular. His head is small, in which respect he resembles the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes are of a light grey colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his nose is long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait painter, told me, that there are features in his face totally different from what he ever observed in that of any other human being; the sockets for the eyes, for instance, are larger than what he ever met with before, and the upper part of the nose broader. All his features, he observed, were indicative of the strongest and most ungovernable passions, and had he been born in the forests, it was his opinion, that he would have been the fiercest man amongst the savage tribes. In this Mr. Stewart has given a proof of his great discernment and intimate knowledge of the human countenance; for, although General Washington has been extolled for his great moderation and calmness, during the very try-

ing situations in which he has so often been placed, yet those who have been acquainted with him the longest and most intimately say, that he is, by nature, a man of a fierce and irritable disposition, but that, like Socrates, his judgement and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast, in the eyes of the world. He speaks with great diffidence, and sometimes hesitates for a word; but it is always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language is manly and expressive. At levee, his discourse with strangers turns principally upon the subject of America; and if they have been through any remarkable places, his conversation is free, and particularly interesting, as he is intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He is much more open and free in his behaviour at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies still more so than when solely with men.

General Washington gives no public dinners, or other entertainments, except to those who are in diplomatic capacities, and to a few families on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Washington. Strangers, with whom he wishes to have some conversation, about agriculture, or any such subject, are sometimes invited to tea. This, by many, is attributed to his saving disposition; but it is more just to ascribe it to his prudence and foresight; for as the salary of the president, is very small, and totally inadequate, by itself, to support an expensive style of life, were he to give numerous and splendid entertainments the same might possibly be expected from subsequent presidents, who, if their private fortunes were not considerable, would

would be unable to live in the same style, and might be exposed to many ill-natured observations, from the relinquishment of what the people had been accustomed to; it is most likely also, that general Washington has been actuated by these motives, because, in his private capacity at Mount Vernon, every stranger meets with a hospitable reception from him.

General Washington's self-moderation is well known to the world already. It is a remarkable circumstance, which redounds to his eternal honour, that while president of the United States, he never appointed one of his own relations to any office of trust or emolument, although he has several that are men of abilities, and well qualified to fill the most important stations in the government.

*Since selecting the above Extract, we have the melancholy Duty of adding the following short Notice of the President's Death.*

The illustrious general George Washington died, at his seat, at Mount Vernon, the 14th of December 1799, in the 68th year of his age, after a short illness of about twenty-four hours. His disorder was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a cold, of which he made but little complaint on the 13th. The next morning, about three o'clock, he became ill. Dr. Craick attended him in the morning, and Dr. Dick, of Alexandria, and Dr. Brown, of Port Tobacco, were soon after called in. Every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect. His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan nor

a complaint escaped him, in extreme distress. With perfect resignation, and a full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life. His funeral was celebrated with every mark of honour and regret, so justly due to his virtues. The corpse was interred in the family-vault, in an elevated lawn, on the banks of the Potomack. The general assembly of Maryland have requested, that a day of mourning, humiliation, and prayer, may be appointed; scarfs and hat-bands are to be worn by the governor, the senate, and all the officers of state and government, during the whole of the present session.

*Sketch of the Life of the late William Seward, Esq. F. R. A. S. S.; from the Gentleman's Magazine.*

THIS gentleman was the son of Mr. Seward, partner in Calvert's brewhouse, and was born in January, 1747. He first went to the Charterhouse, whence he was removed to Oxford, where he finished his education. Being possessed of an easy fortune, he did not apply to any profession, but devoted his life to learned leisure, cultivating his talents for his own amusement, and the entertainment and instruction of the public. He possessed uncommonly active benevolence, being always ready to promote the interest of his friends, and solicitous to relieve those who were in distress. His charity was unbounded; and it would be difficult to point out a person, with whom he was intimate, who had not obligations to acknowledge from him. He assisted the Whitehall Evening Post much assistance, particularly in supplying

plying it with the *Reminiscentia*, of which a considerable portion remains yet to publish. He bore a lingering disorder with great fortitude and resignation, and quitted life with the regret of all who knew his virtues, or who respect worth and talents, all uniformly employed for the benefit of mankind. Mr. S. was a great gleaner of information, and collector of a pleasing mass of intelligence, which he dealt out to the public through the channels of the *European Magazine* and *Cadell's Repository*. Although he could not draw characters like Clarendon, yet he had a felicity of his own in hitting off the leading features of his subject. He was apt to dwell long and return often to certain names, not considering that telling a story is like driving a nail into a plastered wall; a few strokes fix it; after which, if you attempt to enforce it, it either grows loose, or recoils. Mr. S. dwelt much in locomotion, and often passed from place to place in search of happiness, as he fondly imagined this was the best way to procure her if she were to be had on earth.—He was the author of "*Anecdotes of distinguished Persons*," 4 vol. 8vo. 1795, and "*Biographiana*" 2 vol. 8vo. 1799. He died of a dropsy at his lodgings, in Dean-street, Soho, in the prime of life.

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*Character of the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode; from the same.*

AT his house, in Queen-square, Westminster, died the rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, M. A.

1753, student of Christ Church, Oxford, one of the trustees of the British Museum,\* and fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies; to which last he was chosen in 1787. He expired, after a severe struggle, in great pain. His death was probably brought on by a cold he caught in going out after a long confinement, being evidently much recovered, and having returned to his old haunts and habits. His disease, which it is not easy to define, was apparently an atrophy, but, finally, a constipation of the bowels. He had completed his seventieth year; and yet his look was that of a man of sixty, till within the twelvemonth. Among his other habits, in which he was extremely regular, he was accustomed, for 40 years of his life, to go every day first to Mr. Elmsly's, in the Strand, and thence to Mr. Payne's, at the Mews-gate, to meet his literary friends; and punctually called every Saturday at the late Mr. Mudge's, now Mr. Duton's, the ingenious mechanic, in Fleet street, to have his watch exactly regulated. For the last fortnight of his life he was dreadfully emaciated! and, on the Monday before his death, seemed to take a last farewell of the parlour at the Mews-gate, in a manner that could not escape the observation of its owner, to whom, as to his father, he had been so liberal a customer, and by his energetic recommendation engaged so many *literati* to follow his example. Soon after he got home, it was found necessary to call in sir George Baker, who paid the most unremitting attention, and revived him from the momentary effects of a fit in which he fell down,

\* To which he has bequeathed his valuable library.

but could not prolong his farther existence. The greatest journey of his life was from London to Oxford, and he was never on horseback. He had an estate in Hertfordshire, on which grew a remarkable chefnut-tree, which he never saw but in an etching. This property was the manor of Great Wimondly, held of the crown in grand serjeantry by the service of presenting to the king the first cup he drinks at his coronation; the cup to be of silver gilt, and the king returns it as the fee of office. Col. Cracherode purchased this manor of the Grosvenor family, and officiated at the coronation of his present majesty. The apprehension of being called to perform this service occasioned no small uneasiness to his son. His fortune was large, which he received from his father, who failed with lord Anson round the world. Possessing about 600*l.* a year in landed property, and nearly 100,000*l.* in three per cents. he was *dives agris, dives positus in senore nummis*; of which he made the best use, for his charities were ample as his income, but secret.

His attainments were various and considerable. He wrote elegantly in Latin verse, as may be seen in the "*Carmina Quadragesimalia*" for the year 1748, which is the only thing he was ever known to have published. He employed a considerable part of a large revenue in making collections of what was best and most curious in literature and certain branches of the arts. His library is unrivalled in its kind; and his cabinet of prints, drawings, and medals, is considered as among the most select and valuable in a country that possesses so many of them. He was an exquisite judge of art, both

ancient and modern, particularly of sculpture, painting, and music, and collected the choicest of early printed books, drawings, coins, and gems, of which a complete *catalogue raisonné* would require a volume; but thus much may be said in this short sketch of his character, that many of his articles were *unique* for their beauty, their preservation, or the rarity of their occurrence: such, for instance, as his cameo of a lion on a sardonix, and intaglio of the Discobolos; his Tyndale's New Testament on vellum, that belonged formerly to Anne Boleyn; his lord Finch, with wings on his head, by Marshall; his Olbiopolis and his Dichalcos, the first and smallest coin, being the fourth part of an obolus. Of these and every other curiosity in his possession he was, at all times, most obligingly communicative. His books, which he used modestly to call a specimen-collection, particularly the *fourteen hundreds*, form, perhaps, the most perfect *collana*, or necklace, ever strung by one man. His passion for collecting was strong in death; and, whilst he was at the last extremity, Thane was buying prints for him at Richardson's. In his farewell visit to Payne's shop he put an Edinburgh Terence in one pocket, and a large paper Cebes in another, and expressed an earnest desire to carry away Triveti Annales, and Henry Stephens's Pindar in old binding, both beautiful copies, and, as he thought, finer than his own, which Mr. Payne had destined for Lord Spencer. There is a drawing in black lead of this elegant and amiable man by Earlesley, an ingenious artist, in Dufour-court, made by order of lady Spencer, but by himself expressly forbidden to be engraved.

*Memoirs*

*Memoirs of Robert Merry, Esq.;  
from the same.*

HE was eldest son of Robert Merry, esq. late governor of the Hudson's Bay company, by a sister of the late judge Willes; was born 1755; educated at Harrow under the private tuition of Dr. Parr; admitted of Christ-college, Cambridge, and of Lincoln's Inn. On the death of his father he bought a commission in the horse-guards, and was several years adjutant and lieutenant to the first troop, commanded by lord Lothian. He quitted this service, and travelled some years on the continent, making a long residence at Florence, where he was elected a member of the celebrated academy Della Crusca; being a principal contributor to the "Florence Miscellany," written by a few English of both sexes, among whom were Mrs. Piozzi, Mr. Greathead, &c. whom chance had jumbled together in that city, and who took a fancy to, while away, their time in scribbling high-flown panegyrics on themselves, and complimentary 'canzonettas' on two or three Italians, who understood too little of the language in which they were written to be disgusted with them. In this there was not much harm; nor, indeed, much good; but, as folly is progressive, they soon wrought themselves into an opinion that they really deserved the fine things which were mutually said and sung of each other. In 1787, he published, at London, "Paulina, or the Russian Daughter," a poetical tale founded on fact; and next year, "Diversity, a Poem." Also, another poem, called, "The Laurel of Liberty;" "Lorenzo," a tragedy, represented

at Covent-garden; "An Ode for the 14th of July, 1791," performed at the Crown and Anchor tavern; "Fenelon, or the Nuns of Cambray," a serious drama, altered from the French; and the "Pains of Memory," a poem, 1796; an ode on his majesty's recovery, recited by Mrs. Siddons at a gala given by the subscribers to Brookes's club; "The Magician no Conjuror," a comic, or, as the author of "The Mæviad" calls it, "idiotic, Opera, acted four nights in the winter of 1791. June 29, 1787, he sent a little poem, intituled, "The Adieu and the Recal to Love," signed Della Crusca, to The World, a newspaper of the day, set up by a knot of fantastic coxcombs, alike ignorant and conceited, who took upon them to direct the taste of the town, by prefixing a short panegyric to every trifle. At this auspicious period the first cargo of poetry arrived from Florence, and was given to the public through the medium of this favoured paper. While the epidemic malady was spreading, Della Crusca came over, and immediately announced himself by a sonnet to Love. Anna Matilda wrote an incomparable piece of nonsense in praise of it; and these two great luminaries of the age, as Mr. Bell calls them, fell desperately in love with each other. From that period not a day passed without an amatory epistle—the fever turned to a frenzy—and from one end of the kingdom to the other all was nonsense and Della Crusca. Heaven itself, if we may believe Mrs. Robinson, took part in the general infatuation.

"Round to catch the heavenly song  
"Myriads of wondering seraphs throng."

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It was answered by another poem, intitled, "The Pen," signed Anna Matilda. This correspondence was kept up two years by various new writers; and it was at last discovered that the two first were Mr. M. and Mrs. Robinson, who had an interview towards the conclusion of the correspondence; and the poetry was reprinted in volumes, under the title of "The Poetry of the World," which reached a fourth edition, in two vol. 12mo, intitled, "The British Album," in which Mr. M's "Diversity" and "Ambitious Vengeance" are inserted. The first interview between Mr. M. and Mrs. R. produced disgust, and this fatal meeting put an end to the whole. When the Baviad came forth, Della Crusca appeared no more in the Oracle. The re-appearance of some of this knot as writers for the stage called forth "The Mæviad."

Mr. Merry was an accomplished man and certainly possessed a degree of poetical genius that might have given permanence to his works, if his muse had not been seduced by the tinsel of affectation. Before the lamentable disorders of France, he was highly esteemed by numerous and respectable friends, who admired him for his knowledge, humour, and companionable qualities; but the change in his political opinions gave a sullen gloom to his character, which made him relinquish all his former connections, and unite with people far beneath his talents, and quite unsuitable to his habits. He once possessed a good fortune, which was devoted to a fashionable style of living; and, by family interest, as well as by his talents, he might have risen in the army, which he quitted early

in life. He married, August 22, 1791, Miss Brunton, the actress, and induced her to exercise her talents in America, because republican principles prevailed in that country, and to procure him a maintenance.

He was seized with a fit of apoplexy, walking in his garden, at Baltimore, in America, about eight o'clock in the morning, and, before eleven, yielded his last breath. Several gentlemen of the faculty attended, and every possible means of recovery were, in vain, had recourse to.

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*Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Tucker;  
from the same.*

AT the deanry, Gloucester, died, of a paralytic stroke, aged 85, the rev. Josiah Tucker, D. D. He was of St. John's college, Oxford; M. A. 1739; B. and D. D. 1759; prebendary of Bristol, which he resigned, on being appointed dean, July 13, 1758; rector of St. Stephen, Bristol, and chaplain to the bishop. His first publication was, "A Sermon, before the Trustees of Bristol Infirmary, 1746." "A brief Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively attend France and Great Britain, with regard to Trade." "Reflections on the Expediency of a Law for the Naturalization of Foreign Protestants, Part I. 1752;" Part II. 1759; on which were published "Remarks, 1759." "Six Sermons, on important Subjects, 1773," 12mo. "Letters to Dr. Kippis, occasioned by his Treatise, intitled, A Vindication of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers, with regard to their late Application to Parliament, 1773," 8vo. "Four Tracts, together with Two Sermons, on Political Subjects, 1774," 8vo.

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"A brief and dispassionate View of the Difficulties attending the Trinitarian, Arian, and Socinian Systems, &c. 1774," 8vo. "Religious Intolerance no Part of the general Plan either of the Mosaic or Christian Dispensation, proved by Scriptural Inferences and Deductions, after a Method entirely new, 1774," 8vo. A fourth tract, "On the Dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies, 1775," 8vo, in confirmation of his plan of mutual separation. "An humble Address and earnest Appeal to those respectable Personages in Great Britain and Ireland, who, by their great and permanent Interest in Landed Property, their liberal Education, and enlarged Views, are the ablest to judge, and the fittest to decide, whether a Connection with, or a Separation from, the Continental Colonies of America be most for the National Advantage, and the lasting Benefit, of these Kingdoms, 1776," 8vo. A letter to him, on his proposal of a separation between Great Britain and her American Colonies, 1774, 8vo, called forth "A Series of Answers to certain popular Objections against separating from the rebellious Colonies, and discarding them entirely; being the concluding Tract of Josiah Tucker, D. D. Dean of Gloucester, on the Subject of American Affairs, 1776," 8vo. "Cui Bono? or, An Inquiry what Benefits can arise, either to the English, or the Americans, the French, Spaniards, or Dutch, from the greatest Victories or Successes in the present War. Being a Series of Letters, addressed to M. Necker, late Controller-general of the Finances of France. With a Plan for a general Pacification." "Four Letters on important Subjects, ad-

ressed to the Earl of Shelburne, his Majesty's first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, 1778," 8vo.—The boldness and spirit which he displayed, as a political writer, at one time, brought the credit of his understanding considerably into question; but his very early argument in favour of a separation from America, and his reasonings to shew, that no material disadvantage would arise from it, were so far confirmed by experience, and his principles, in favour of a free trade, so naturally approved themselves, to unbiassed minds, that he was not long without a numerous set of admirers. In 1781, he published "A Treatise concerning Civil Government, in Three Parts, in Reply to Mr. Locke," 8vo; in which he does not appear to have succeeded so well as in his other political writings. He also published several sermons. "An Apology for the Church of England, 1772," 8vo, in opposition to the petitioning clergy. By far the best pamphlet on the occasion. Besides the great learning and abilities which distinguished him in his profession, he was eminent for his extensive charity, and for his great knowledge of the true principles of trade and commerce, and other matters respecting the police of the country.

There is no quality of the mind which tends so much to the dignity of the human character as the love of the truth, accompanied by an ardent desire to attain it, and an unyielding resolution to support it. So great an effect has this principle on mankind, that we admire it in its weaknesses. The hermit in his cell, though led thither by gloomy superstition, and the martyr in the flames, suffering for opinions that reason condemns,

condemns; have often elevated pity into admiration. This quality particularly distinguished the eminent person of whose life and character I am about to give this biographic record of respect and affection. Dean Tucker was a native of Wales, and his father farmed a small estate of his own in that country. The good man, however, had discernment sufficient to perceive that his son's dispositions elevated him above his own situation, and, therefore, after giving him the best education that could be found for him in the principality where he lived, the young man was sent to Oxford, and entered of Jesus college.\* It has been said, and I believe with some truth, that several of his early journeys to and from the university were performed on foot, with a stick on his shoulder and a bundle at the end of it. *Omnia mea mecum porto*, might have been said by him; as it was by Simonides. At the usual period he entered into holy orders, and served the curacy of a church in Bristol; where, to his honour be it remembered, he was patronized and cherished by that most excellent man and learned divine, Dr. Butler, bishop of that diocese, to whom he was indebted for his promotion to the rectory of St. Stephen in that city. To the circumstances of this situation he may owe that disposition to commercial inquiry and political research which, though he blended with, he always made subservient to, his theological studies. The scenery, the conversation, the pursuits, of Bristol were all com-

mercial; and his sagacious, inquisitive mind seized the objects that presented themselves before him. He first became more generally known by his support of the bill for the naturalization of the Jews, which caused a very considerable ferment in its day; and for his defence of that measure, in a series of letters written with great force of argument, and on the broad ground of justice and national policy. He suffered great obloquy,† was menaced with personal violence, and absolutely burned in effigy by the populace, who, not only at Bristol, but in other parts of the kingdom; and in the metropolis itself, were instigated to believe that, by the Jew bill, Christianity itself was in danger of being overthrown. Soon after this circumstance, Mr. Nugent, since lord Clare, having married the dowager lady Berkeley, and being thereby connected with the neighbourhood of Bristol, became a candidate to represent that city in parliament; and Dr. Tucker, whose influence was paramount in his extensive and opulent parish, greatly promoted, if it did actually decide, the election in Mr. Nugent's favour. By that gentleman's powerful recommendation; he was shortly after promoted to the deanry of Gloucester. It was about this time that he was employed by Dr. Hayter, bishop of Norwich, and at that time preceptor to his present majesty when prince of Wales, to frame an elementary system of commerce, for the instruction of a young prince who was born to reign over the Brit-

\* This must be a mistake; for he is stated as being of St. John's college in the catalogue of Oxford graduates. Edit.

† He was branded with the opprobrious name of *Josiah ben Tucker, ben Judas*.

commercial people in the world. Bishop Hayter, however, being removed from his situation, the plan was not adopted by his successor; and the work, we believe, was never completed, though a part of it appears in some of the deans subsequent publications. He also made a conspicuous figure in the controversy which took place in the year 1771, when a very serious, powerful, and persevering attempt was made to obtain from parliament an abolition of the subscription to the XXXIX Articles. Amid the violence which inflamed the principal writers on both sides, Dr. Tucker displayed much ecclesiastical erudition and sound theology, both which he applied with superior argument, and in the genuine spirit of Christian moderation, to the support of the church of England. The rights and doctrines of that church he afterwards farther maintained, in a series of letters to Dr. Kippis, an eminent minister of the Dissenting persuasion. He also interposed in a very active and prolonged controversy, that took place between the leaders, of different sects, of the Methodists; and published a volume of sermons, on some of the more abstruse points of Christian doctrine, which he treated with great strength of argument, and perspicuity of expression. Having, for some time, considered him as a theological disputant, we must now bring him forward as an eminent political writer, in which character he appeared, on several occasions, during the American war. His opinions were singular on that subject, and, as he agreed with neither party, he became unpopular with both. Mr. Burke spoke of him in parliament, in terms that bordered on contempt;

VOL. XLII.

and Mr. Dunning, in a charge, which he gave to the grand jury of Bristol, as recorder of that city, mentioned the dean, and his opinions respecting America, with an indignant reprobation. His opinion uniformly was, that America could never be coerced into obedience; and that, if Great Britain persevered in the attempt it would cost rivers of blood. He, therefore, contended, that it would be the wisest policy to quench rebellion, and secure friendship, by an unreserved assent to American independence. Subsequent events and later experience have redeemed the general obloquy he suffered for that opinion. During the last war, when the apprehension of an invasion prevailed throughout the kingdom, he published "Observations" on that circumstance, with various political instructions, most admirably calculated to dissipate the alarms, and encourage the spirit, of the people. But the work in which dean Tucker seemed to hazard most, and required no common resolution to present to the world, because it attacked the favourite prejudices and principles of the old whigs and the modern Tories, was his "Treatise on Civil Government," published in 1781, whose principal object was to combat the political doctrines of Mr. Locke. He was immediately attacked by several very able writers; who bore hard upon him. He touched the ark; but he survived the presumption. He might, however, console himself by having his work quoted by lord Mansfield, in the house of peers, with a fine eulogium on the talents of the author, whom he mentioned as a writer of the first class, for sagacity and knowledge. Such is the general outline of Dr. Tucker's

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life; which he, in a great measure, divided between his rectory at Bristol and the deanry at Gloucester, till he resigned the former to his curate, and which his persevering exertions obtained for him. That he performed his duty as became him, in both situations, is well known to those who are acquainted with the scenes of it. Never was a parish-priest more beloved by his parishoners; nor is there a chapter in the kingdom whose discipline has been better maintained, whose revenues have been more wisely managed, and whose patronage more properly bestowed, than that of Gloucester. Of his private character it may be said, with truth, that he had a capacity for friendship; but it was the friendship of experience. He was also continually doing good—for his charity was that of reflection, and therefore effectual. It has often been said of him, that he thought and talked more of trade than of religion. In what manner he employed his thoughts can be only known to that Being who is the searcher of them; but that trade and politics were frequent subjects of his conversation, may be willingly acknowledged. And let us ask, what are and ought to be the ordinary topics of social conversation but the occurrences that are hastening by us? and the events of trade and politics are among the principal of them. Sacred subjects are not the colloquial coin of every hour; they have their seasons, when the world is not of the party. We do not fetch the chalice from the altar, to pour into it the beverage of the banquet. But the dean shall answer for himself. On his being

once asked concerning the coolness which subsisted between him and Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, his answer was to the following effect, and in similar expressions: "The bishop affects to consider me with contempt; to which I say nothing. He has sometimes spoken coarsely of me; to which I replied nothing. He has said that religion is my trade; and trade is my religion. Commerce and its connections have, it is true, been favourite objects of my attention; and where is the crime? And as for religion, I have carefully attended to the duties of my parish; nor have I neglected my cathedral. The world knows something of me as a writer on religious subjects; and I will add, which the world does not know, that I have written near three hundred sermons, and preached them all, again and again. My heart is at ease on that score; and my conscience, thank God, does not accuse me.' The fact is, that he had studied theology in all its branches scientifically, considered it professionally, and applied it practically. And dean Tucker will certainly rank among the ablest divines and most distinguished polemical writers of his age and country.

He left the bulk of his fortune, we believe, to his wife, notwithstanding he had a number of poor relations.

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*Anecdotes of the late Admiral Earl Howe.*

**T**HE late right hon. Richard Howe, earl and viscount Howe, of Langar, in Nottinghamshire; viscount Howe and baron Clemenley,

Clenawley, in Ireland, and a baronet, was the second son of sir Emanuel Scrope, who was second lord viscount Howe, baron Clenawley, and was appointed governor of Barbadoes, in May, 1732, and Maria Sophia Charlotte, eldest daughter of the baron Kilmanseck, master of the horse to George the First, as elector of Hanover, and was born in 1725. The family of Howe was of distinction in the counties of Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset, for several generations. The manor of Langar, in the county of Nottingham, came into the possession of the family by the marriage of John Howe, esq. with Arabella, daughter of the earl of Sunderland, whole eldest son, sir Scrope, was created a baron and viscount, and was succeeded by Scrope, the father of the present lord Howe, in 1712. The late earl succeeded his brother, George Augustus, the late viscount, July 5, 1758; and married, in the same year, Mary, daughter of Chiverton Hartop, esq. of Welby, co. Leicester, by whom he had three daughters: the eldest, lady Sophia Charlotte, is the relict of the hon. Mr. Curzon, late M. P. for the county of Leicester; lady Mary Indiana; and lady Louisa Catharine, married to the present earl of Altamont. Dying without issue-male, his Irish honours, which are lord Howe, baron of Clenawley, descend to his brother, sir William Howe, and also the English baronetcy. The English earldom and viscounty are extinct; and the English barony descends to his daughters and their heirs-male. His lordship was only ten years of age when he lost his father. He was, during some time, at Eton-college, which he left at

14, to enter on board the *Severn*, of 50 guns, commanded by the hon. captain Legge, and which formed part of the squadron destined for the South Seas, under the command of commodore Anson. On its arrival off Terra del Fuego, it suffered the greatest distress from a very long and violent tempest; in which the *Severn*, after being reduced to the utmost distress, was finally separated from it, and, having refitted at Rio Janeiro, returned to Europe. Mr. Howe next served on board the *Burford*, which was one of the squadron detached, in 1743, from admiral sir Chaloner Ogle's fleet, under the command of commodore Knowles, to attempt the town of La Guira, on the coast of Caraccas. The *Burford* suffered very much in this enterprise; and captain Lushington, who commanded her, having lost his thigh by a chain-shot, died soon after. Mr. Howe was now appointed acting lieutenant by the commodore, and in a short time returned to England with his ship; but, his commission not being confirmed by the admiralty, he returned to his patron in the West Indies, where he was made lieutenant of a sloop of war; and being employed to cut an English merchantman, which had been taken by a French privateer, under the guns of the Dutch settlement of St. Eustatia, and with the connivance of the governor, out of that harbour, he executed the difficult and dangerous enterprise in such a manner as to produce the most sanguine expectations of his future services. In 1745, lieutenant Howe was with admiral Vernon in the Downs, but was in a short time raised to the rank of commander, in the *Balti-*

more sloop of war, which joined the squadron then cruising on the coast of Scotland, under the command of admiral Smith. During this cruise an action took place, in which captain Howe gave a fine example of persevering intrepidity. The Baltimore, in company with another armed vessel, fell in with two French frigates of 30 guns, with troops and ammunition for the service of the pretender, which she instantly attacked by running between them. In the action which followed, captain Howe received a wound in his head, which at first appeared to be fatal. He, however, soon discovered signs of life, and, when the necessary operation was performed, resumed all his former activity, continued the action, if possible, with redoubled spirit, and obliged the French ships, with their prodigious superiority in men and metal, to sheer off, leaving the Baltimore, at the same time, in such a shattered condition as to be wholly disqualified to pursue them. He was, in consequence of this gallant service, immediately made post-captain, and, on the 10th of April, 1746, was appointed to the Triton frigate, and ordered to Lisbon, where, in consequence of captain Holbourne's bad state of health, he was transferred to the Rippon, destined for the coast of Guinea. But he soon quitted that station to join his early patron, admiral Knowles, in Jamaica, who appointed him first captain of his ship of 80 guns; and, at the conclusion of the war, in 1748, he returned in her to England. In March, 1751, captain Howe was appointed to the command of the Guinea station, in La Gloire, of 44 guns; when, with his usual

spirit and activity, he checked the injurious proceedings of the Dutch governor-general on the coast, and adjusted the difference between the English and Dutch settlements. At the close of the year 1751, he was appointed to the Mary yacht, which was soon exchanged for the Dolphin frigate, in which he sailed to the Straights, where he executed many difficult and important services. Here he remained about 3 years; and soon after, on his return to England, he obtained the command of the Dunkirk, of 60 guns, which was among the ships that were commissioned from an apprehension of a rupture with France. This ship was one of the fleet with which admiral Boscawen failed to obstruct the passage of the French fleet into the gulph of St. Lawrence, when captain Howe took the Alcide, a French ship of 64 guns, off the coast of Newfoundland. A powerful fleet being prepared, in 1757, under the command of sir Edward Hawke, to make an attack upon the French coast, captain Howe was appointed to the Magnanime, in which ship he battered the fort on the island of Aix till it surrendered. In 1758, he was appointed commodore of a small squadron which failed to annoy the enemy on their coasts. This he effected with his usual success at St. Malo, where a hundred sail of ships, and several magazines, were destroyed; and the heavy gale blowing into the shore, which rendered it impracticable for the troops to land, alone prevented the executing a similar mischief in the town and harbour of Cherbourg. On the 1st of July he returned to St. Helen's. This expedition was soon followed by another, when prince Edward afterwards

afterwards duke of York, was intrusted to the care of commodore Howe, on board his ship the *Essex*. The fleet sailed on the 1st of August, 1758, and on the 6th came to an anchor in the bay of Cherbourg; the town was taken, and the bastion destroyed. The commodore, with his royal midshipman on board, next sailed to St. Malo, and, as his instructions were to keep the coast of France in continual alarm, he very effectually obeyed them. The unsuccessful affair of St. Cas followed. But never was courage, skill, or humanity, more powerfully or successfully displayed than on this occasion. He went in person in his barge, which was rowed through the thickest fire, to save the retreating soldiers; the rest of the fleet, inspired by his conduct, followed his example, and at least 700 men were preserved, by his exertions, from the fire of the enemy, or the fury of the waves. In July the same year (1758) his elder brother, who was serving his country with equal ardour and heroism in America, found an early grave. That brave and admirable officer was killed in a skirmish between the advanced guard of the French and the troops commanded by general Abercromby, in the expedition against Ticonderago. Commodore Howe now succeeded to the titles and property of his family. In the following year (1759) lord Howe was employed in the channel, on-board his old ship the *Magnum*; but no opportunity offered to distinguish himself till the month of November, when the French fleet, under Conflans, was defeated. When he was presented to the king, by sir Edward Hawke, on this occasion, his majesty said, "Your life, my lord, has been one continued

series of services to your country." In March, 1760, he was appointed colonel of the Chatham division of marines; and in September following, he was ordered by sir Edward Hawke, to reduce the French fort on the Isle of Dumel, in order to save the expense of the transports employed to carry water for the use of the fleet. Lord Howe continued to serve, as occasion required, in the channel; and, in the summer of 1762, he removed to the *Princess Amelia*, of 80 guns, having accepted the command as captain to his royal highness the duke of York, then rear admiral of the blue, serving as second in command under sir Edward Hawke, in the channel. On the 23d of August, 1763, his lordship was appointed to the board of admiralty, where he remained till August, 1765. He was then made treasurer of the navy; and, in October, 1770, was promoted to rear admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. In March, 1775, he was appointed rear-admiral of the white: and was soon after chosen to represent the borough of Dartmouth in parliament. In the month of December, in the same year, he was made vice-admiral of the blue. It was on one of these promotions that lord Hawke, then first lord of the admiralty, rose in the house of peers and said, "I advised his majesty to make the promotion. I have tried my lord Howe on important occasions; he never asked me how he was to execute any service, but always went and performed it."—We are now to consider lord Howe as commander-in-chief on the American station, a very critical part of his life, and which at the time, was subject to the censure and praise of



contending parties; but, leaving such discussions to historical examination, we shall proceed briefly to observe, as it appears to us, that every enterprize in which his squadron was concerned was uniformly successful; and he never failed in obtaining those objects that were within the reach of the naval force which he commanded. In 1778, France having become a party in the war, the French admiral (d'Estaing) appeared, on the 11th of July, in sight of the British fleet, at Sandy Hook, with a considerable force of line of battle ships, in complete equipment and condition. Most of the ships under lord Howe had been long in service, were not well manned, and were not line of battle ships of the present day. The French admiral, however, remained seven days without making an attack, and by that time lord Howe had disposed his inferior force in such a manner as to bid him defiance. On d'Estaing's leaving the Hook, lord Howe heard of the critical situation of Rhode Island, and made every possible exertion to preserve it. He afterwards acted chiefly on the defensive. Such a conduct appears to have been required from the state of his fleet, and the particular situation of the British cause in America. He, however, contrived to baffle all the designs of the French admiral; and may be said, considering the disadvantages with which he was surrounded, to have conducted and closed the campaign with honour. Lord Howe now resigned the command to admiral Byron; and, on his return to England in October, immediately struck his flag. In the course of this year he had been advanced to be vice-

admiral of the white, and, shortly after, to the same rank in the red squadron. On the change of administration in the year 1782, lord Howe was raised to the dignity of a viscount of Great Britain, having been previously advanced to the rank of admiral of the blue. He was then appointed to command the fleet fitted out for the relief of Gibraltar; and he fulfilled the important objects of this expedition. That fortress was effectually relieved, the hostile fleet baffled, and dared in vain to battle; and different squadrons detached to their important destinations; while the ardent hopes of his country's foes were disappointed. Peace was concluded shortly after lord Howe's return from performing this important service; and, in January, 1783, he was nominated first lord of the Admiralty. That office, in the succeeding April, he resigned to lord Keppel; but was re-appointed on the 30th of December in the same year. On the 24th of September, 1787, he was advanced to the rank of admiral of the white; and, in July, 1788, he finally quitted his station at the Admiralty. On August 19 following he was created an earl of Great Britain. At the commencement of the present war, in 1793, earl Howe accepted the command of the western squadron, at the particular and personal request of his majesty, and justified the choice which his sovereign had made at such a perilous and important moment. The glorious victory of the first of June soon followed; the enemy's fleet, which was one of the most powerful that France had ever equipped for sea, was totally vanquished, and seven ships of the enemy's line were in possession of the conqueror.

conqueror. He now returned to receive all the honours which a grateful country could bestow. On the 26th of the same month, their majesties, with three of the princesses, arrived at Portsmouth, and proceeded the next morning in barges to visit lord Howe's ship the Queen Charlotte, at Spithead. His majesty held a naval levee on board, and presented the victorious admiral with a sword, enriched with diamonds, and a gold chain, with the naval medal suspended from it. The thanks of both houses of parliament, the freedom of the city of London, and the universal acclamations of the nation, followed the acknowledgements of the sovereign. In the course of the following year he was appointed general of marines, on the death of admiral Forbes; and finally resigned the command of the western Squadron in April, 1797. On the 2d of June in the same year he was invested with the insignia of the garter. The last public act of a life employed against the foreign enemies of his country was exerted to compose its internal dissensions. It was the lot of earl Howe to contribute to the restoration of the fleet, which he had conducted to glory on the sea, to loyalty in the harbour. His experience suggested the measures to be pursued by government on the alarming mutinies which, in 1797, distressed and terrified the nation; while his personal exertions powerfully promoted the dispersion of that spirit which had, for a time, changed the very nature of British seamen, and greatly helped to recall them to their former career of duty and obedience. Such was earl Howe, who is gone to his grave full of years and honour, leaving behind him a name

which will mark one of the most distinguished periods of British glory.

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*Anecdotes of the late Mr. Bacon.*

THIS celebrated sculptor was born, in London, on the 24th of November, 1740. His father was a clothworker, in Southwark. When he was about five years of age, he fell into a pit of a soap-boiler, and must have perished if a man, who then entered the yard, had not discovered the top of his head, and immediately drawn him out. About the same time he fell before a cart, the wheel of which went over his right hand, and must have crushed it, had it not fallen between two projecting stones.—When very young, Mr. Bacon discovered an inclination for drawing; but never made any great proficiency in that art. In the year 1755, and at the age of 14, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Crispe, of Bowchurch-yard, where he was employed in painting on porcelain. Mr. Crispe had a manufactory of china, at Lambeth, where Mr. Bacon occasionally went and assisted. His then occupation, indeed, was but a feeble step towards his future acquirements, as he was chiefly employed in forming shepherds, shepherdesses, and such like small ornamental pieces; yet, for a self-taught artist to perform even works like these with taste, and, in less than two years, form (as he did) all the models for the manufactory, was to give indications of no ordinary powers. But, as goodness of heart excels greatness of parts, we ought not to admit recording here a proof of his filial affection. At this early

period he, in a great measure, supported his parents from the produce of his labours, even to the abridging himself of the necessaries of life. His capacity, however, for greater things discovered itself on the following occasion: \* "In attending the manufactory at Lambeth he had an opportunity of observing the models of different sculptors, which were sent to a pottery, on the same premises, to be burnt. Small circumstances often give rise to important events. From the sight of these models Mr. Bacon was first inspired with an inclination towards his art. He applied himself to it with the most unremitting diligence; his progress was as rapid as his turn for it was sudden and unpremeditated; this will appear from the books published annually by the society for the encouragement of arts, where it may be found, that, between the years 1763 and 1766, inclusive, the first premiums in those classes for which he contended were no less than nine times adjudged to him." The first of these attempts was made in the year 1758, on a small figure of Peace, after the manner of the antique. It was during Mr. Bacon's apprenticeship that he formed a design of making statues in artificial stone, which he afterwards perfected. The manufactory now carried on at Lambeth by Mrs. Coade originated with him. About the year 1763 Mr. Bacon first attempted working on marble. As he had never seen this performed, he was led to invent an instrument for transferring the form of the model to the marble, technically called

*getting out the points*, which instrument has since been used by many other sculptors in England and France. At this time Mr. Bacon lived in the city, where his family-connections were; but, in the year 1768, he removed to the west end of the town; and it was then (being about 28 years of age), in attending the Royal Academy, instituted that year, that he received his first instructions in his art, having never before seen the art of modeling or sculpture regularly performed. "In the following year the gold medal for sculpture (the first ever given by that body) was decreed to Mr. Bacon;† and, about two or three years after, his reputation was publicly established by the exhibition of his statue of Mars, which recommended him to the notice of the present archbishop of York, who, having designed to place a bust of his present majesty in the hall of Christ-Church-college, in the University of Oxford, presented Mr. Bacon to his majesty, who was pleased to sit to him for this purpose; and his execution of this work, added to the same he had already acquired, procured him the Royal patronage, and an order from his majesty to prepare another bust, which he intended to present to the University of Göttingen. Her majesty was also pleased to give directions for a third; and Mr. Bacon has since executed a fourth, which has been placed in the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries. He was soon afterwards employed by the dean and fellows of Christ Church in forming several busts for

\* What follows, in quotation, is taken from an authentic account in a respectable periodical publication for August, 1790.

† He became an associate in 1770, and an academician in 1778.

them, particularly the late general Guise, the bishop of Durham, and the primate of Ireland. In 1773 he presented to the society for the encouragement of arts two statues in plaster, which, by a vote of that society, were directed to be placed in their great room. On this occasion Mr. Bacon addressed a letter to them in the following terms: 'The honour you have done me, in your acceptance of my statues of Mars and Venus, affords me an opportunity, which I gladly embrace, of acknowledging the many obligations I have to the society. It was your approbation which stimulated, and your encouragement which enabled me to pursue those studies which a disadvantageous situation had otherwise made difficult, if not impossible. Believe me, gentlemen, I never think of the society without gratitude, and without the highest idea of the principles on which it is formed; which justly place it among the institutions that do honour to human nature, raise the glory of a nation, and promote the general good of mankind.' To this letter the society sent a polite answer, accompanied with their gold medal, on the reverse of which is inscribed EMINENT MERIT. In 1777 he was employed to prepare a model of a monument to be erected in Guy's hospital, Southwark, to the memory of the founder. In the north aisle of Westminster-abbey is a monument erected by Mr. Bacon to the memory of the late earl of Halifax; and a marble urn executed by him has, by the direction of lady Chatham, been placed in the gardens at Burton Pynsent, Somersetshire, sacred to the memory of the earl of Chatham. The inhabitants of Jerley, having determined

to perpetuate the memory of the gallant major Pierlon, who fell in the defence of that island against the French, the execution of the monument was committed to Mr. Bacon; and the society of All Souls, Oxford, having agreed to erect a statue of the late sir William Blackstone, Mr. Bacon was employed by them for that purpose. In the different competitions with rival artists Mr. Bacon has been almost always successful," there being but *one* exception out of sixteen instances.— "Of the works of this artist exhibited at different periods at the Royal Academy, the following may be enumerated: statues of Mars and Venus; colossal bust of Jupiter; colossal statue of the Thames; several small figures in marble; and a monument since placed in the cathedral of Bristol, to the memory of Mrs. Draper, celebrated by Sterne under the name of Eliza. But the most important work hitherto presented to the world by Mr. Bacon is the monument of lord Chatham, erected in Westminster-abbey at the public expence. This will at all times remain a proof of the genius of the artist who produced it; an artist who has acquired his fame without foreign instruction or study in the schools of Italy, and who may be produced as a proof, not only that "genius is the growth of," but may be fully ripened in, "the British isle, unassisted by such aid." When young, his abilities as an artist were not called in question, except with respect to the antique, of which some affirmed he understood nothing. On this occasion he modeled his large head of Jupiter Tonans, which was inspected by several eminent connoisseurs, and mistaken for a fine antique; they even

even inquired, "from what temple abroad it had been brought." It is not the design of these memoirs to present a regular list of his works, and much less to enter into a critical investigation of their respective merits: they are before the public, and will best speak for themselves. Besides those monuments already mentioned, the most considerable are, lord Chatham's, in Guildhall; the bronze group in the square of Somerset-house; lady Miller's, at Bath; lord Rodney's, at Jamaica; lord Heathfield's, at Buckland, near Plymouth; earl and countess of Effingham's, at Jamaica; sir George Pococke's and bishop Thomas's, in Westminster-abbey; Mr. Howard's and Dr. Johnson's, in St. Paul's; \* and the Pediment of the East India house. Mr. Bacon had under his hand at the time of his death the monuments of Mr. Whitbread; sir William Jones; Mr. Mason, the poet; dean Milner; General Dundas, for St. Paul's; captains Harvey and Hutt, for the Abbey; a group for India, containing a colossal statue of marquis Cornwallis; an equestrian bronze of William the Third, for St. James's-square; with some others of less importance.— This distinguished artist and excellent man was suddenly attacked with an inflammation in his stomach, on the evening of Sunday, August 4, 1799, which carried him off in two days. During this short illness he expressed a firm reliance on that sure foundation on which he had long and consistently built. He departed on Wednesday morning, August 7, in the 59th year of his age; leaving two sons and three

daughters by his first wife, and three sons by his last, the surviving widow. In person Mr. Bacon was about 5 feet 8 inches high; of a fair complexion and interesting countenance, expressive of his natural vivacity, tenderness, and address. In communicating his ideas he was sometimes forcible and happy, but frequently circuitous and obscure; what was successful burst like lightning from a cloud, but, unlike that meteor, it remained to enlighten and to warm. He had a peculiar felicity in illustrating his conceptions by emblems and analogies; and his strong sympathies were frequently accompanied with his tears. He was naturally irritable, but not at all vindictive; warm in his attachments, but more disposed to lament his wrongs than to resent them. His habits were frugal, but not penurious. While he preserved his family from mixing with a dissipated and dangerous world, he strove by every means to render their home delightful, and spared no expense that could make it so. He was an affectionate husband, a tender father, a steady friend, a loyal subject, and an honest man. It only remains to be added that, in perfect consistency with the character described above, Mr. Bacon ordered by his will a plain stone with the following inscription (after the name and date) to be placed over his grave:

"What I was as an artist, seemed to me of some importance while I lived;

BUT

What I really was, as a believer in Christ Jesus, is the only thing of importance to me now."

\* See his modest letter to Mr. Nichols on these two monuments, *Gent. Mag.* vol. LXVI. p. 180.

*Anecdotes of James Burnett, Lord Monboddo.*

THIS gentleman died at the advanced age of 85.\* He was the third on the bench, in succession since the revolution. His lordship was admitted an advocate in 1737, and on the 12th of February, 1767, he was raised to the bench in the room of lord Milton, appointed a judge the 4th of June, 1742, and who had succeeded sir John Lauder, of Fountainhall, admitted Nov. 1, 1689. Thus three persons have enjoyed the same gown for 110 years.

His private life was spent in the practice of all the social virtues, and in the enjoyment of much domestic felicity. He had married Miss Farquharson, a very amiable woman, by whom he had a son and two daughters. Although rigidly temperate in his habits of life, he, however, delighted much in the convivial society of his friends, and among these he could number almost all the most eminent of those who were distinguished in Scotland for virtue, literature, or genuine elegance of conversation and manners. One of those who esteemed him the most was the late lord Gardenstone, a man who possessed no mean portion of the same overflowing benignity of disposition, the same unimpeachable integrity as a judge, the same partial fondness for literature and the fine arts. His son, a very promising boy, in whose education he took great delight, was, indeed, snatched away from his affections by a premature death. But, when it was too late for sorrow and anxiety to avail, the afflicted

father stifled the emotions of nature in his breast, and wound up the energies of his soul to the firmest tone of stoical fortitude. He was, in like manner, bereaved of his excellent lady, the object of his dearest tenderness; and he endured the loss with a similar firmness, fitted to do honour either to philosophy or to religion. In addition to his office as a judge in the supreme civil court in Scotland, an offer was made to him of a seat in the court of justice, the supreme criminal court. But, though the emoluments of this would have made a convenient addition to his income, he refused to accept it; lest its business should too much detach him from the pursuit of his favourite studies. His patrimonial estate was small; not affording a revenue of more than 300*l.* a year; yet, he would not raise the rents, would never dismiss a poor tenant for the sake of any augmentation or emolument offered by a richer stranger; and, indeed, shewed no particular solicitude to accomplish any improvement upon his lands, save that of having the number of persons who should reside upon them as tenants, and be there sustained by their produce, to be, if possible superior to the population of any equal portion of the lands of his neighbours.

The vacation of the court of session afforded him sufficient leisure to retire every year, in spring and in autumn, to the country: and he used then to dress in a style of simplicity, as if he had been only a plain farmer; and to live among the people upon his estate, with all the kind familiarity and attention of an aged father among his grown up

\* See before, page 22, for a notice of his death.

children.

children. It was there he had the pleasure of receiving Dr. Samuel Johnson, with his friend James Boswell, at the time when these two gentlemen were upon their well-known tour through the Highlands of Scotland. Johnson admired nothing in literature so much as the display of a keen discrimination of human character, a just apprehension of the principles of moral action, and that vigorous common sense which is the most happily applicable to the ordinary conduct of life. Monboddo delighted in the refinements, the subtleties, the abstractions, the affections of literature; and, in comparison with these, despised the grossness of modern taste and of common affairs. Johnson thought learning and science to be little valuable, except so far as they could be made subservient to the purposes of living usefully and happily with the world, upon his own terms. Monboddo's favourite science taught him to look down with contempt upon all sublunary, and especially upon all modern things; and to fit life to literature and philosophy, not literature and philosophy to life. James Boswell, therefore, in carrying Johnson to visit Monboddo, probably thought of *pitting* them one against another, as two game cocks, and promised himself much sport from the colloquial contest which he expected to ensue between them. But Monboddo was too hospitable and courteous to enter into keen contention with a stranger in his own house. There was much talk between them, but no angry controversy, no exasperation of that dislike for each other's well-known peculiarities with which they had met. Johnson, it is true, still con-

tinued to think lord Monboddo what he called a *prig* in literature.

Lord Monboddo used frequently to visit London, to which he was allured by the opportunity that great metropolis affords of enjoying the conversation of a vast number of men of profound erudition. A journey to the capital became a favourite amusement of his periods of vacation from the business of the court to which he belonged; and, for a time, he made this journey once a year. A carriage, a vehicle that was not in common use among the ancients, he considered as an engine of effeminacy and sloth, which it was disgraceful for a man to make use of in travelling. To be dragged at the tail of a horse, instead of mounting upon his back, seemed, in his eyes, to be a truly ludicrous degradation of the genuine dignity of human nature. In all his journeys, therefore, between Edinburgh and London, he was wont to ride on horseback, with a single servant attending him. He continued this practice, without finding it too fatiguing for his strength, till he was upwards of eighty years of age. Within these few years, on his return from a last visit, which he made on purpose to take leave, before his death, of all his old friends in London, he became exceedingly ill upon the road, and was unable to proceed; and had he not been overtaken by a Scotch friend, who prevailed upon him to travel the remainder of the way in a carriage, he might perhaps, have actually perished by the way side, or breathed his last in some dirty inn. Since that time, he has not again attempted an equestrian journey to London.

In London, his visits were exceedingly acceptable to all his friends;

friends, whether of the literary or fashionable world. He delighted to show himself at court; and the king is said to have taken a pleasure in conversing with the old man with a distinguishing notice that could not but be very flattering to him. He used to mingle, with great satisfaction, with the learned and the ingenious, at the house of Mrs. Montague. However, after the death of his friend, Mr. Harris, he found a very sensible diminution of the pleasure he had been wont to enjoy in the society of London.

A constitution of body, naturally framed to wear well and last long, was strengthened to lord Monboddo by exercise, guarded by temperance, and by a tenor of mind too firm to be deeply broken in upon by those passions which consume the principles of life. In the country he has always used much the exercises of walking in the open air, and of riding. The cold bath was a means of preserving the health, to which he had recourse in all seasons, amid every severity of the weather, under every inconvenience of indispotion or business, with a perseverance invincible. He has been accustomed, alike in winter and in summer, to rise at a very early hour in the morning, and, without loss of time, to betake himself to study or wholesome exercise. It is said, that he has even found the use of what he called the air bath, or the practice of occasionally walking about, for some minutes, naked, in a room filled with fresh and cool air, to be highly salutary.

His eldest daughter became, many years since, the wife of Kirkpatrick Williamson, esq. a gentleman who holds a respectable office in the court of session, and is univer-

sally beloved and esteemed. His second daughter, in personal loveliness one of the finest women of the age, was beheld in every public place with general admiration, and was sought in marriage by many suitors. Her mind was endowed with all her father's benevolence of temper, and with all his taste for elegant literature, without any portion of his whim and caprice. It was her chief delight to be the nurse and the companion of his declining age.

It is she who is elegantly praised in one of the papers of the *Mirror*, as rejecting the most flattering and advantageous opportunities of settlement in marriage, that she might amuse a father's loneliness, nurse the sickly infirmity of his age, and cheer him with all the tender cares of filial affection and self denial. Her presence contributed to draw around him, in his house, and at his table, all that was truly respectable among the youth of his country. She mingled in the world of fashion, without sharing its follies; and heard those flatteries which are there addressed to youth and beauty, without being betrayed to that light and selfish vanity which is often the only sentiment that fills the heart of the high praised beauty. She delighted in reading, in literary conversation, in poetry, and in the fine arts, without contracting, from this taste, any of that pedantic self-conceit and affectation which usually characterize literary ladies, and whose presence often frightens away the domestic virtues, the graces, the delicacies, and all the more interesting charms of the sex. When Burns, the well known Scottish poet, first arrived from the plough, in Ayrshire, to publish his poems in Edinburgh,



Edinburgh, there was none by whom he was more zealously patronized than by lord Monboddo and his lovely daughter. No man's feelings were ever more powerfully or exquisitely alive than those of the rustic bard, to the emotions of gratitude, or to the admiration of the good and fair. In a poem which he at that time wrote, as a panegyrical address to Edinburgh, he took occasion to celebrate the beauty and excellence of Miss Burnet, in, perhaps, the finest stanza of the whole:

" Thy daughters bright thy walks adorn,  
Gay as the gilded summer sky,  
Sweet as the dewy milk-white thorn,  
Dear as the raptur'd thrill of joy!  
Fair Burnet strikes th' adoring eye;  
Heav'n's beauties on my fancy shine,  
I see the *Sire of Love* on high;  
And own his work, indeed, divine!"

She was the ornament of the elegant society of the city in which she resided, her father's pride, and the comfort of his domestic life in his declining years. Every amiable and every noble sentiment was fami-

liar to her heart, every female virtue was exemplified in her life. Yet, this woman, thus lovely, thus elegant, thus wife and virtuous, whose life, for the consolation of her father, should have been prolonged till she had closed his dying eyes in peace; who, for a blessing to society, should have been spared till she had set the same example in the discharge of the duties of a wife and mother which she had exhibited in performing those of a daughter. This woman was cut off in the flower of her age, and left her father bereft of the last tender tie which bound him to society and to life. She died about six years since, of a consumption; a disease that in Scotland proves too often fatal to the loveliest and most promising among the fair and the young. Neither his philosophy, nor the necessary torpor of the feelings of extreme old age were capable of preventing lord Monboddo from being very deeply affected by so grievous a loss; and from that time he began to droop exceedingly in his health and spirits.

## NATURAL HISTORY.

*On a submarine Forest, on the East Coast of England, by Joseph Correa de Serra, LL.D. F.R.S. and A.S. from the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.*

IN geology, more perhaps than in any other branch of natural history, there exists a necessity of strictly separating the facts observed from the ideas which, in order to explain them, may occur to the mind of the observer. In the present state of this science, every well ascertained fact increases our still narrow stock of real knowledge; when, on the contrary, the reasonings we are enabled to make, are at best but ingenious guesses, which too often bias and mislead the judgement. I shall therefore endeavour, in this paper, to give, first, a mere description of the object, unmixed with any systematical ideas, and shall afterwards offer such conjectures on its cause as seem to me to be fairly grounded on observation.

It was a common report in Lincolnshire, that a large extent of islets of moor, situated along its coast, and visible only in the lowest ebbs of the year, was chiefly composed of decayed trees. These islets are marked in Mitchel's chart of that coast, by the name of *clay huts*; and the village of Huttoft, opposite to which they principally

lie, seems to have derived its name from them. In the month of September, 1796, I went to Sutton, on the coast of Lincolnshire, in company with the right honourable president of the society, in order to examine their extent and nature.—The 19th of the month, being the first day after the equinoctial full moon, when the lowest ebbs were to be expected, we went in a boat, at half past twelve at noon, and soon after set foot upon one of the largest islets then appearing. Its exposed surface was about thirty yards long, and twenty-five wide, when the tide was at the lowest. A great number of similar islets were visible round us, chiefly to the eastward and southward; and the fishermen, whose authority on this point is very competent, say, that similar moors are to be found along the whole coast, from Skegness to Grimsby, particularly off Addlethorpe and Mablethorpe. The channels dividing the islets were, at the time we saw them, wide, and of various depths; the islets themselves ranging generally from east to west in the largest dimension.

We visited them again in the ebbs of the 20th and 21st; and, though it generally did not ebb so far as we expected, we could notwithstanding ascertain, that they consisted almost entirely of roots, trunks,

trunks, branches, and leaves of aquatic plants. The remains of some of these trees were still standing on their roots; while the trunks of the greater part lay scattered on the ground, in every possible direction. The bark of the trees and roots appeared generally as fresh as when they were growing; in that of the birches particularly, of which a great quantity was found, even the thin silvery membranes of the outer skin were discernible. The timber of all kinds, on the contrary, was decomposed and soft, in the greatest part of the trees; in some, however, it was firm, especially in the knots. The people of the country have often found among them very sound pieces of timber, fit to be employed for several economical purposes.

The sorts of wood which are still distinguishable are birch, fir, and oak. Other woods evidently exist in these islets, of some of which we found the leaves in the soil; but our present knowledge of the comparative anatomy of timbers, is not so far advanced as to afford us the means of pronouncing with confidence respecting their species. In general, the trunks, branches, and roots of the decayed trees, were considerably flattened; which is a phenomenon observed in the *Surtarbrand* or fossil wood of Iceland, and which Scheuchzer remarked also in the fossil wood found in the neighbourhood of the lake of Thun, in Switzerland.

The soil to which the trees are affixed, and in which they grew, is a soft greasy clay; but, for many inches above its surface, the soil is entirely composed of rotten leaves, scarcely distinguishable to the eye, many of which may be separated,

by putting the soil in water, and dexterously and patiently using a spatula, or a blunt knife. By this method, I obtained some perfect leaves of *ilex aquifolium*, which are now in the Herbarium of the right hon. sir Joseph Banks; and some other leaves which, though less perfect, seem to belong to some species of willow. In this stratum of rotten leaves, we could also distinguish several roots of *arundo phragmites*.

These islets, according to the most accurate information, extend at least twelve miles in length, and about a mile in breadth, opposite to Sutton shore. The water without them, towards the sea, generally deepens suddenly, so as to form a steep bank. The channels between the several islets, when the islets are dry, in the lowest ebbs of the year, are from four to twelve feet deep; their bottoms are clay or sand, and their direction is generally from east to west.

A well dug at Sutton, by Joshua Searby, shows that a moor of the same nature is found under ground, in that part of the country, at the depth of sixteen feet: consequently, very nearly on the same level with that which constitutes the islets. The disposition of the strata was found to be as follows:

Clay,	-	-	16 feet.
Moor, similar to that of the islets,	from 3 to 4	ditto.	
Soft moor, like the scowerings of a ditch bottom, mixed with shells and fit,	-	-	20 ditto.
Marly clay,	-	-	1 foot.
Chalk rock,	from 1 to 2	feet.	
Clay,	-	-	31 yards.

Gravel and water; the water has a chalybeate taste.

In

In order to ascertain the course of this subterraneous stratum of decayed vegetables, sir Joseph Banks directed a boring to be made, in the fields belonging to the Royal Society, in the parish of Mablethorpe Moor, of a similar nature to that of nearby's well, and of the islets, was found, very nearly on the same level, about four feet thick, and under it a loft clay.

The whole appearance of the rotten vegetables we observed, perfectly resembles, according to the remark of sir Joseph Banks, the moor which in Blankeney fen, and in other parts of the east fen in Lincolnshire, is thrown up in the making of banks; barks, like those of the birch tree, being there also abundantly found. This moor extends over all the Lincolnshire fens, and has been traced as far as Peterborough, more than sixty miles to the south of Sutton. On the north side, the moory islets, according to the fishermen, extend as far as Grimsby, situated on the south side of the mouth of the Humber; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that on the large tracts of low lands which lie on the south banks of that river, a little above its mouth, there is a subterraneous stratum of decayed trees and shrubs, exactly like those we observed at Sutton; particularly at Axholme isle, a tract of ten miles in length, by five in breadth; and at Hatfield-chase, which comprehends one hundred and eighty thousand acres. Dugdale\* had long ago made this observation, in the first of these places; and de la Pryme† in the second.

The roots are there likewise standing in the places where they grew; the trunks lie prostrate. The woods are of the same species as at Sutton. Roots of aquatic plants and reeds are likewise mixed with them; and they are covered by a stratum of some yards of soil, the thickness of which, though not ascertained with exactness by the above-mentioned observers, we may easily conceive to correspond with that which covers the stratum of decayed wood at Sutton, by the circumstance of the roots being (according to Mr. Richardson's observations) only visible when the water is low, where a channel was cut, which has left them uncovered.

Little doubt can be entertained of the moory islets of Sutton being a part of this extensive subterraneous stratum, which, by some inroad of the sea, has been there stripped of its covering of soil.—The identity of the levels; that of the species of trees; the roots of these affixed, in both, to the soil where they grew; and, above all, the flattened shape of the trunks, branches, and roots, found in the islets, (which can only be accounted for by the heavy pressure of a superinduced stratum,) are sufficient reasons for this opinion.

Such a wide spread assemblage of vegetable ruins, lying almost in the same level, and that level generally under the common mark of low water, must naturally strike the observer, and give birth to the following questions:

1. What is the epoch of this destruction?

\* History of Embanking and Draining. Chap. xxvii.

† Philos. Trans. Vol. XXII. p. 980.

‡ Philos. Trans. Vol. XIX. p. 528.

2. By what agency was it effected?

In answer to these questions, I will venture to submit the following reflections:

The fossil remains of vegetables hitherto dug up in so many parts of the globe, are, on a close inspection, found to belong to two very different states of our planet. The parts of vegetables, and their impressions, found in mountains of a cotaceous, schistous, or even sometimes of a calcareous nature, are chiefly of plants now existing between the tropics, which could neither have grown in the latitudes in which they are dug up, nor have been carried and deposited there by any of the acting forces under the present constitution of nature. The formation, indeed, of the very mountains in which they are buried, and the nature and disposition of the materials which compose them, are such as we cannot account for by any of the actions and re-actions which, in the actual state of things, take place on the surface of the earth. We must necessarily recur to that period in the history of our planet, when the surface of the ocean was at least so much above its present level, as to cover even the summits of these secondary mountains which contain the remains of tropical plants. The changes which these vegetables have suffered in their substance, is almost total: they commonly retain only the external configuration of what they originally were. Such is the state in which they have been found in England, by Llwyd; in France, by Jussieu; in the Netherlands, by Burtin; not to mention instances in more distant countries. Some of the impressions or remains

of plants found in soils of this nature, which were, by more ancient and less enlightened oryctologists, supposed to belong to plants actually growing in temperate and cold climates, seem, on accurate investigation, to have been parts of exotic vegetables. In fact, whether we suppose them to have grown near the spot where they are found, or to have been carried thither from different parts, by the force of an impelling flood, it is equally difficult to conceive, how organized beings, which, in order to live, require such a vast difference in temperature and in seasons, could live on the same spot, or how their remains could (from climates so widely distant) be brought together to the same place, by one common dislocating cause. To this ancient order of fossil vegetables belong whatever retains a vegetable shape, found in or near coal-mines, and (to judge from the places where they have been found) the greater part of the agatized woods. But, from the species and present state of the trees which are the subject of this memoir, and from the situation and nature of the soil in which they are found, it seems very clear that they do not belong to this primeval order of vegetable ruins.

The second order of fossil vegetables, comprehends those which are found in strata of clay or sand; materials which are the result of slow depositions of the sea or of rivers, agents still at work under the present constitution of our planet.—These vegetable remains are found in such flat countries as may be considered to be of a new formation. Their vegetable organization still subsists, at least in part: and their vegetable substance has suffered a charge

change only in colour, smell, or consistence; alterations which are produced by the development of their oily and bituminous parts; or by their natural progress towards rottenness. Such are the fossil vegetables found in Cornwall, by Borlase; in Essex, by Derham; in Yorkshire, by De la Pryme and Richardson; and in foreign countries, by other naturalists. These vegetables are found at different depths, some of them much below the present level of the sea, but in clayey or sandy strata (evidently belonging to modern formation), and have, no doubt, been carried from their original place, and deposited here by the force of great rivers or currents, as it has been observed with respect to the Mississippi.\* In many instances, however, these trees and shrubs are found standing on their roots, generally in low or marshy places, above, or very little below, the actual level of the sea.

To this last description of fossil vegetables, the decayed trees here described certainly belong. They have not been transported by currents or rivers; but, though standing in their native soil we cannot suppose the level in which they are found, to be the same as that in which they grew. It would have been impossible for any of these trees and shrubs to vegetate so near the sea, and below the common level of its water: the waves would cover such tracts of land, and hinder any vegetation. We cannot conceive that the surface of the ocean as ever been lower than it now is; on the contrary, we are led by numberless phenomena to believe,

that the level of the waters in our globe is much below what it was in former periods; we must therefore conclude, that the forest here described grew in a level high enough to permit its vegetation; and that the force (whatever it was) which destroyed it, lowered the level of the ground where it stood.

There is a force of subsidence (particular in soft ground) which being a natural consequence of gravity, slowly though perpetually operating, has its action sometimes quickened and rendered sudden by extraneous causes; for instance, by earthquakes. The slow effects of this force of subsidence have been accurately remarked in many places; examples also of its sudden action are recorded in almost every history of great earthquakes. The shores of Alexandria, according to Diodorus's observations, are a foot lower than they were in the time of the Ptolemies. Donati, in his natural history of the Adriatic, has remarked, seemingly with great accuracy, the effects of this subsidence at Venice; at Pola, in Istria; at Lissa, Bua, Zara, and Diclò, on the coast of Dalmatia. In England, Borlase has given, in the Philosophical Transactions,† a curious observation of a subsidence, of at least sixteen feet, in the ground between Sampson and Trellaw islands, in Scilly. The soft and low ground between the towns of Thorne and Gowle, in Yorkshire, a space of many miles, has so much subsided in latter times, that some old men of Thorne affirmed, "That whereas they could before see little of the steeple (of Gowle), they now see

\* La Coudreniere sur les Depots du Mississippi. *Journ. de Phys.* Vol. XXI. p. 230.

† Vol. XLVIII. p. 62.

the church-yard wall.\* The instances, of similar subsidence which might be mentioned, are innumerable.

This force of subsidence, suddenly acting by means of some earthquake, seems to me the most probable cause to which the actual submarine situation of the forest we are speaking of may be ascribed. It affords a simple easy explanation of the matter; its probability is supported by numberless instances of similar events; and it is not liable to the strong objections which exist against the hypothesis of the alternate depression and elevation of the level of the ocean; an opinion which, to be credible, requires the support of a great number of proofs, less equivocal than those which have hitherto been urged in its favour, even by the genius of a Lavoisier.†

The stratum of soil, sixteen feet thick, placed above the decayed trees, seems to remove the epoch of their sinking and destruction, far beyond the reach of any historical knowledge. In Cæsar's time, the level of the north sea appears to have been the same as in our days. He mentions the separation of the Wahal branch of the Rhine, and its junction to the Meuse; noticing the then existing distance from that junction to the sea; which agrees, according to d'Anville's inquiries,‡ with the actual distance. Some of the Roman roads constructed by

order of Augustus, under Agrippa's administration, leading to the maritime towns of Belgium, still exist, and reach the present shore.§ The descriptions which Roman authors have left us, of the coasts, ports, and mouths of rivers, on both sides of the North sea, agree in general with their present state; except in the places ravaged by the inroads of this sea, more apt, from its form, to destroy the surrounding countries, than to increase them.

An exact resemblance exists between maritime Flanders and the opposite low coast of England, both in point of elevation above the sea, and of internal structure and arrangement of their soils. On both sides, strata of clay, silt, and sand, (often mixed with decayed vegetables,) are found near the surface; and, in both, these superior materials cover a very deep stratum of bluish or dark-coloured clay, unmixed with extraneous bodies. On both sides, they are the lowermost part of the soil, existing between the ridges of high lands,|| on their respective sides of the same narrow sea. These two countries are certainly coeval; and, whatever proves that maritime Flanders has been for many ages out of the sea, must, in my opinion, prove also, that the forest we are speaking of was long before that time destroyed, and buried under a stratum of soil. Now it seems proved, from historical re-

\* Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, T. III. p. 35.

† *Mém. de l'Acad. de Paris*, 1789, p. 351.

‡ D'Anville *Notice des Gaules*, p. 461.

§ Nicol. Bergier. *Hist. des grands Chemins des Romains*. Ed. de Bruxelles. Vol. II. p. 109.

|| These ridges of high lands, both on the British and Belgic side, must be very similar to each other, since they both contain parts of tropical plants in a fossil state. Cocoa nuts, and fruits of the arca, are found in the Belgic ridge. The petrified fruits of *Sheppy*, and other impressions of tropical plants, on this side of the water, are well known.

cords, carefully collected by several learned members of the Brussels academy, that no material change has happened to the lowermost part of maritime Flanders, during the period of the last two thousand years.\*

I am therefore inclined to suppose the original catastrophe, which buried this forest, to be of a very ancient date; but I suspect the inroad of the sea, which uncovered the decayed trees of the islets of Sutton, to be comparatively recent. The state of the leaves and of the timber, and also the tradition of the neighbouring people, concur to strengthen this suspicion. Leaves and other delicate parts of plants, though they may be long preserved in a subterraneous situation, cannot remain uninjured when exposed to the action of the waves and of the air. The people of the country believe, that their parish-church once stood on the spot where the islets now are, and was submerged by the inroads of the sea; that, at very low water, their ancestors could even discern its ruins; that their present church was built to supply the place of that which the waves washed away; and that even their present clock belonged to the old church. So many concomitant though weak testimonies, incline me to believe their report, and to suppose that some of the stormy inundations of the north sea, which in these last centuries have washed away such large tracts of land on its shores, took away a soil resting on clay, and at last uncovered the trees which are the subject of this paper.

*Description of the mountainous Part of the Province of Taurida: from Mr. Tooke's View of the Russian Empire.*

ONE of the mildest and most fertile regions of the empire is the beautiful semicircular and amphitheatral vale, formed by the Tauridan mountains on their side along the shores of Euxine.

These vallies, which are blessed with the climate of Anatolia and the Lesser Asia, where the winter is scarcely sensible, where the primroses and spring-lavender bloom in February and often in January, and where the oak frequently retains its foliage the whole winter through, are, in regard to botany and rural economy, the noblest tract in Taurida, and perhaps in the whole extent of the empire. Here are seen thriving and flourishing in open air the ever-verdant laurel, the oil-tree, the fig, the lotus, the pomegranate, and the celtis, which perhaps are the remains of Grecian cultivation; with the manna-bearing ash, the turpentine-tree, the tanbark-tree, the strawberry-tree from Asia Minor, and many others. This last particularly covers the steepest cliffs of the shore, and beautifies them in winter by its perpetual foliage and the red rind of its thick stem. In these happy vales, the forests consist of fruit-trees of every kind, or rather the forest is only a large orchard left entirely to itself. On the shores of the sea, the caper-bushes propagate themselves spontaneously; without the assistance of art, the wild or

\* Vide several papers in the Brussels Mémoires; also Journ. de Phys. T. XXXIV. p. 401.



planted vine-stems climb the loftiest trees, and, twining with flowering ivies form festoons and hedges. The contrasts of the orchards and the rich verdure with the beautiful wilderness which the adjacent mountains and rocks present, which in some places rise among the clouds, and in others are fallen in ruins; the natural fountains and cascades that agreeably present their rushing waters; lastly, the near view of the sea, where the sight is lost in the unbounded prospect: all these beauties together form so picturesque and delightful a whole, that even the enraptured muse of the poet or the painter would be unable to conceive any thing more charming. The simple manner of life of the good-humoured Highland Tartars, who inhabit these paradisaical vales; their turf-covered cottages, some hewn in the rock on the mountain's side, others placed amidst the luxuriant foliage of the surrounding orchards; the roving flocks of goats and sheep clinging to the declivities of the solitary rock; the sound of the pastoral flute, re-echoing its plaintive tones among the hills—every thing here renews the image of the golden age, its innocence and simplicity; every thing contributes to cherish the propensity to an artless, retired, and rural life, and we for a second time gain a fondness for the abode of mortals,

which the horrors of war, the forbidden pursuit of wealth in great cities, and the luxury which fills the train of all the social vices, render so soon intolerable to the sincere votaries of wisdom.\*

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*Account of the Ice-Fox; from the same.*

THIS animal is found in Asiatic Russia, from the Aleutian islands and from Kamtschatka to the districts of the Petschora and the Kama; but the quality of his skin in this extensive region is extremely different. The finest fables come from Yakutsk and Nertchinsk; and among these are likewise, though rarely, yellow, and extremely seldom white fables. The Kamtschadale fables are the largest of all. Their skin is thick and long-haired, but not very black, therefore most of them go to China, where they are coloured. At the time of the conquest of that country, the fables were there in such extraordinary numbers, that a single hunter could easily bring away sixty, eighty, and more of these animals in a winter, and they were held in such little estimation by the Kamtschadales, that they deemed the more useful skin of a dog to be of twice the value. For ten rubles-worth of iron-ware there was no difficulty to obtain the value of five or six hundred rubles in fables; and whoever had only 14

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\* To the generality of readers it may not be a matter of indifference to learn, that the philosopher from whose pen this passage proceeds, resides at present, according to wish, in the country, the beauties whereof he here paints in such warm and poetical colours. As the health of this famous naturalist rendered his living in a warm climate necessary, on his request to the late empress, he obtained not only immediate permission to choose for himself a place in her dominions, but also, on his pitching upon Tchernia for that purpose, an estate in that province, and to the furnishing of his establishment a present of ten thousand rubles.

lowed this trade to Kamtschatka, for the space of a year, usually came back with a profit of thirty thousand rubles and upwards. This superfluity, however, since the first Kamtschadale expedition, or since the year 1740, has considerably diminished: but notwithstanding this, that peninsula and the circumjacent territory continues to be the richest in fables, as, on account of the mountains, they cannot be so easily caught, and are prevented by the bordering sea from retiring to other tracts. The manner in which the fables of Kamtschatka are taken is extremely simple. The Kamtschadales follow the track of this animal in snow-shoes, till they have detected his covert, which is generally a burrow in the earth. As soon as the little creature is aware of his pursuer, he escapes into a hollow tree, which the hunter surrounds with a net, and then either cuts it entirely down, or forces the fable by fire and smoke to abandon his retreat, when he falls into the net and is killed.

During my unfortunate abode (says Steller) on Behring's island, I had opportunities more than enough for studying the nature of this animal, far excelling the common fox in impudence, cunning, and roguery. The narrative of the innumerable tricks they played us, might easily vie with Albertus Julius's history of the apes on the island of Saxenburg. They forced themselves into our habitations by night as well as day, stealing all that they could carry off; even things that were of no use to them, as knives, sticks, our clothes, &c. They were so inconceivably ingenious as to roll down our casks of provisions, several poods in weight, and then steal the meat out of them so ably, that at

first we could not bring ourselves to ascribe the theft to them. As we were stripping an animal of his skin, it often happened that we could not avoid stabbing two or three foxes, from their rapacity in tearing the flesh out of our hands. If we buried it ever so carefully, and added stones to the weight of earth that was upon it, they not only found it out, but shoved away the stones, as men would have done, with their shoulders, and lying under them, helped one another with all their might. If, thinking to secure it, we put any on the top of a high post in the air, they grubbed up the earth at the bottom, so that the post and all came tumbling down, or one of them clambered up and threw down what was upon it with incredible artifice and dexterity. They watched all our motions, and accompanied us in whatever we were about to do. If the sea threw up an animal of any kind, they devoured it, ere a man of us could come up; to our great disadvantage: and, if they could not consume it all at once, they trailed it away in portions to the mountains where they buried it under stones before our eyes; running to and fro as long as any thing remained to be conveyed away. While this was doing, others stood upon guard and watched us. If they saw any one coming at a distance, the whole troop combined at once and began digging all together in the sand, till they had so fairly put a beaver, or a sea-bear, under the surface, that not a trace of it was to be seen. If we laid down as if intending to sleep, they came and smelled at our noses, to try whether we were dead or alive; if we held our breath, they gave such a tug to the nose as if they would bite it off.

many boats on the banks, almost all of them use differently formed, clumsy, heavy, wooden anchors, large stones, &c. &c. If this evil cannot be entirely prevented, it might, at least, be greatly lessened, by obliging them to use anchors of a particular sort, and less destructive.

This season the Sewel bank only was fished, which lies above twenty miles to the westward of Aripoo, opposite to the fresh water rivers of Moosalee Modragam and Pomparipoo. It has been observed, that the pearls on the north-west part of this bank, which consists of rock, are of a clearer water than those found on the south-east, nearest the shore, growing on corals and sand.

Condatchy is situated in a bay, forming nearly a half moon, and is a waste, sandy district, with some miserable huts built on it. The water is bad and brackish, and the soil produces only a few, widely scattered, stunted trees and bushes. Those persons who remain here during the fishery are obliged to get their water for drinking from Aripoo, a village with a small old fort, lying about four miles to the southward. Tigers, porcupines, wild hogs, pangolines, or the Ceylon armadillos, are, amongst other quadrupeds, here common. Of amphibia, there are tortoises, especially the *testudo geometrica* and various kinds of snakes. A conchologist meets here with a large field

for his inquiries. The presents which I made to the people employed in the fishery, to encourage them to collect all sorts of shells which the divers bring on shore, produced but little effect; as they were too much taken up in searching after the mother of pearl shells to pay attention to any other object. However, my endeavours were not entirely useless; I will specify here a few of the number I collected during my stay: different kinds of *pectines*, \* *palium porphyreum*, *solen radiatus*, † *Venus castrensis*, Linn. ‡ *astrea hyotis*, § *ostr. Forskolii*, *ostr. Malleus*, || *mytilus hirundo* Linn. \*\* *spondilus crocius*, *pholas pusillus*, Linn. †† *mitra episcopalis*, Linn. *lepas striata Pennanti*, (vide Zool. Brit.) *patella tricarinata*, Linn. *bulia perfecta maculata*, †† *harpa nobilis*, *porcellana salita*, Rumph. §§ *strombus scorpio*, and other of inferior kinds. Amongst the *zoophytes*, many valuable species of *spongiae*, *coralline*, *satularia*, &c. a great variety of sea stars, and other marine productions, that cannot be preserved in spirits, but should be described on the spot. These, as well as the description of the different animals inhabiting the shells, are the more worthy of our attention, and deserve farther investigation, as we are yet very deficient in this branch of natural history.

During the fishing season, the desert, barren place, Condatchy, offers to our view a scene equally novel and astonishing. A hetero-

\* Scallops.

† Alpha cockle.

|| Hammer oyster; these were pretty large, but many broken and some covered by a calcareous crust. It is very probable that, among those, there may be some precious white ones.

\*\* Swallow muscle.

†† Diving snail, (Grew, Mus.)

† Radiated razor shell.

§ Double cocks-comb.

†† The wood piercer.

§§ Salt-coury, Kl.

days to attend divine service in their church at Aripoo; but if either a Mahomedan or Hindoo festival happens during the fishing days, or if it is interrupted by stormy weather, or any other accident, this lost time is made up by obliging the Catholics to work on Sundays.

The fear of sharks, as we shall see hereafter, is also another cause of interruption. These, amongst some others, are the reasons that, out of two months, (from February till April,) seldom more than thirty days can be employed in the fishery.

As this time would be insufficient to fish all the banks (each of which has its appropriate name, both in Dutch and Tamul,) it is carried on for three or four successive years, and a new contract annually made till the whole banks have been fished, after which they are left to recover.

The length of time required for this purpose, or from one general fishing to another, has not yet been exactly determined; it was, therefore, a practice to depute some persons to visit the banks annually, and to give their opinion, whether a fishery might be undertaken with any degree of success? \*

From various accounts, which I have collected from good authority, and the experience of those who assisted at such examinations, I conjecture, that every seven years such a general fishery could be attempted with advantage, as this interval seems sufficient for the pearl-shells to attain their growth: I am also confirmed in this opinion, by a re-

port made by a Dutch governor at Jafnas of all the fisheries that have been undertaken at Ceylon since 1722; a translation of which is to be found in Wolfe's Travels into Ceylon. But the ruinous condition in which the divers leave the pearl-banks at each fishery, by attending only to the profit of individuals, and not to that of the public, is one great cause, that it requires twice the above mentioned space of time, and sometimes longer, for rendering the fishing productive. They do not pay the least attention, to spare the young and immature shells that contain no pearl; heaps of them are seen thrown out of the boats as useless, on the beach between Manâr† and Aripoo; if these had been suffered to remain in their native beds, they would, no doubt, have produced many fine pearls. It might, therefore, be advisable, to oblige the boat people to throw them into the sea again, before the boats leave the bank. If this circumspection, in sparing the small pearl-shells, to perpetuate the breed was always observed, succeeding fisheries might be expected sooner, and with still greater success: but the neglect of this simple precaution will, I fear, be attended with similar fatal consequences here, as have already happened to the pearl-banks on the coast of Persia, South America, and Sweden, where the fisheries are by no means so profitable at present as they were formerly.

Another cause of the destruction of numbers of both old and young pearl-shells, is the anchoring of so

\* A gentleman, who assisted at one of the last visits, being an engineer, drew a chart of the banks, by which their situation and size are now better known than formerly.

† Manara, properly Manar, is a Tamul word, and signifies a sandy river, from the shallowness of the sea at that place.

sleeping; the other had fastened round that member, which decency forbids me to mention, a brass ring, and fixed to it was a chain, of a fathom in length, trailing on the ground, the links of this chain were as thick as a man's finger, and the whole was exhibited in a most scandalous manner.

The pestilential smell occasioned by the numbers of putrifying pearl-fishes, renders the atmosphere of Condatchey so insufferably offensive when the south-west wind blows, that it sensibly affects the olfactory nerves of any one unaccustomed to such cadaverous smells. This putrefaction generates immense numbers of worms, flies, muskitoes, and other vermin; all together forming a scene strongly displeasing to the senses.

Those who are not provided with a sufficient stock of money suffer great hardships, as not only all kinds of provisions are very dear, but even every drop of good water must be paid for. Those who drink the brackish water of this place are often attacked by sickness. It may easily be conceived what an effect the extreme heat of the day, the cold of the night, the heavy dews, and the putrid smell, must have on weak constitutions. It is, therefore, no wonder that of those who fall sick many die, and many more return home with fevers, fluxes, or other equally fatal disorders.

The many disappointments, usually experienced by the lower classes of men in particular, make them of-

ten repent of their coming here. They are oftentimes ruined, as they risk all they are worth to purchase pearl-shells; however, there are many instances of their making a fortune beyond all expectation. A particular circumstance of this kind fell within my own observation: a day-labourer bought three oysters\* for a copper saham (about the value of two-pence) and was so fortunate as to find one of the largest pearls which the fishery produced this season.

The donies appointed for the fishery are not all procured at Ceylon; many came from the coasts of Comandel and Malabar, each of which has its distinguishing number. About ten o'clock at night a gun is fired as a signal, when they sail from Condatchey with an easterly or land wind, under the direction of a pilot. If the wind continues fair, they reach the bank before day, and begin diving at sun-rise, which they continue till the west or sea breeze sets in, with which they return. The moment they appear in sight, the colours are hoisted at the flag-staff, and in the afternoon they come to an anchor, so that the owners of the boats are thereby enabled to get their cargoes out before night, which may amount to 30,000 oysters, if the divers have been active and successful.

Each boat carries twenty-one men and five heavy diving stones, for the use of ten divers, who are called, in Tamul, *kooly kárer*, the rest of the crew consists of a tandel, or head boat-man, and ten rowers, who

\* The East India pearl-shell is well known to be the *matrix perlarum* (mother of pearl) of Rumphius, or the *mytilus margaritifagus* of Linneus; consequently the general term pearl-oyster must be erroneous; however, as it has long been in common use, I hope to be excused for continuing it.

assist in lifting up the divers and their shells.

The diving stone is a piece of coarse granite, a foot long, six inches thick, and of a pyramidal shape, round at the top and bottom. A large hair rope is put through a hole in the top. Some of the divers use another kind of stone, shaped like a half moon, to bind round their belly, so that their feet may be free. At present there are articles of trade at Condatchey. The most common, or pyramidal stone, generally weighs about thirty pounds. If a boat has more than five of them, the crew are either corporally punished or fined.

The diving, both at Ceylon and at Tutucorin, is not attended with so many difficulties as authors imagine. The divers, consisting of different casts and religions, (though chiefly of Parrawer\* and Mussulmans,) neither make their bodies smooth with oil, nor do they stop their ears, mouths, or noses, with any thing, to prevent the entrance of salt water. They are ignorant of the utility of diving bells, bladders, and double flexible pipes. According to the injunctions of the shark conjurer they use no food while at work, nor till they return on shore, and have bathed themselves in fresh water. These Indians, accustomed to dive from their earliest infancy, fearlessly descend to the bottom in a depth of, from five to ten fathoms, in search of treasures. By two cords a diving stone and a net are connected with the boat. The diver putting the toes of his right foot on the hair rope of the diving stone, and those of his left on the net, seizes the two

cords with one hand, and shutting his nostrils with the other, plunges into the water. On reaching the bottom, he hangs the net round his neck, and collects into it the pearl-shells as fast as possible, during the time he finds himself able to remain under water, which usually is about two minutes. He then resumes his former posture, and making a signal, by pulling the cords, he is immediately lifted into the boat. On emerging from the sea, he discharges a quantity of water from his mouth and nose, and those who have not been long enured to diving frequently discharge some blood; but this does not prevent them from diving again in their turn. When the first five divers come up and are respiring the other five are going down with the same stones. Each brings up about one hundred oysters in his net, and if not interrupted by any accident, may make fifty trips in a forenoon. They and the boat's crew get generally, from the owner, instead of money, a fourth of the quantity they bring on shore; but some are paid in cash, according to agreement.

The most skilful divers come from Collish, on the coast of Malabar; some of them are so much exercised in the art, as to be able to perform it without the assistance of the usual weight; and for a handsome reward will remain under water for the space of seven minutes; this I saw performed by a Caffre boy, belonging to a citizen at Karical, who had often frequented the fisheries of these banks. Though Dr. Halley deems this impossible, daily experience convinces us, that, by long practice, any man

\* Fishermen of the Catholic religion.

may bring himself to remain under water above a couple of minutes. How much the inhabitants of the South-Sea-lands distinguish themselves in diving we learn from several accounts; and who will not be surprized at the wonderful Sicilian diver Nicholas, surnamed the Fish:\*

Every one of the divers, and even the most expert, entertain a great dread of the sharks, and will not, on any account, descend until the conjuror has performed his ceremonies. This prejudice is so deeply rooted in their minds, that the government was obliged to keep two such conjurors always in their pay, to remove the fears of their divers. Thirteen of these men were now at the fishery from Ceylon and the coast, to profit by the superstitious folly of these deluded people. They are called in Tamul, *Pittal Kadtar*, which signifies one who binds the sharks and prevents them from doing mischief.

The manner of enchanting consists in a number of prayers learned by heart, that nobody, probably not even the conjuror himself, understands, which he, standing on the shore, continues muttering and grumbling from sun rise until the boats return; during this period, they are obliged to abstain from food and sleep, otherwise their prayers would have no avail, they are, however, allowed to drink, which privilege they in-

dulge in a high degree, and are frequently so giddy, as to be rendered very unfit for devotion. Some of the conjurors accompany the divers in their boats, which pleases them very much, as they have their protectors near at hand. Nevertheless, I was told, that in one of the preceding fisheries, a diver lost his leg by a shark, and when the head conjuror was called to an account for the accident, he replied that an old witch had just come from the coast, who, from envy and malice, had caused this disaster, by a counter-conjuration, which made fruitless his skill, and of which he was informed too late; but he afterwards shewed his superiority by enchanting the poor sharks so effectually, that though they appeared in the midst of the divers, they were unable to open their mouths. During my stay at Condutchy, no accident of this kind happened. If a shark is seen, the divers immediately make a signal, which, on perceiving, all the boats return instantly. A diver who trod upon a hammer oyster, and was somewhat wounded, thought he was bit by a shark, consequently made the usual signal, which caused many boats to return; for which mistake he was afterwards punished.

The owners of the boats † sometimes sell their oysters, and at other times open them on their own account. In the latter case some put

\* According to Kircher, he fell a victim amongst the polypes, in the gulph of Charvædis, on his plunging, for the second time, in its dangerous whirlpool, both to satisfy the curiosity of his king, Frederick, and his inclination for wealth. I will not pretend to determine, how far this account has been exaggerated.

† These are the individuals which farm one or more boats from the renter; and though they are in possession of them only during the fishery, they are commonly called the owners of the boats.

them on mats in a square, surrounded with a fence; others dig holes of almost a foot deep, and throw them in till the animal dies; after which they open the shells and take out the pearls, with more ease. Even these squares and holes are sold by auction after the fishery is finished, as pearls often remain there, mixed with the sand.

In spite of every care, tricks in picking out the pearls from the oysters can hardly be prevented. In this the natives are extremely dexterous. The following is one mode they put in practice to effect their purpose: when a boat owner employs a number of hired people to collect pearls, he places over them an inspector of his own, in whom he can confide; these hirelings previously agree that one of them shall play the part of a thief, and bear the punishment, to give his comrades an opportunity of pilfering. If one of the gang happens to meet with a large pearl, he makes a sign to his accomplices, who instantly conveys away one of small value, purposely, in such a manner as to attract notice. On this the inspector and the rest of the men take the pearl from him: he is then punished and turned out of their company. In the mean time, while he is making a dreadful uproar, the real thief secures the valuable pearl, and afterwards the booty is shared with him who suffered for them all. Besides tricks like these the boat-owners and purchasers often lose many of the best pearls, while the dory is returning from the bank; for, as long as the animal is alive and untouched, the shells are frequently open near an inch; and if

any of them contain a large pearl, it is easily discovered and taken out by means of a small piece of stiff grass or bit of stick, without hurting the pearl-fish. In this practice they are extremely expert. Some of them were discovered whilst I was there, and received their due punishment.

Gmelin asks if the animal of the *mytilus margaritifera* is an *ascidia*? See Linn. Syst. Nat. tom. I. p. vi. 3350. This induces me to believe that it has never yet been accurately described: it does not resemble the *ascidia* of Linnæus, and may, perhaps, form a new genus. It is fastened to the upper and lower shells by two white flat pieces of muscular substance, which are called by Houttuin\* *ears*, and extend about two inches from the thick part of the body, growing gradually thinner. The extremity of each ear lies loose, and is surrounded by a double brown fringed line. These lie almost the third of an inch from the outer part of the shell, and are continually moved by the animal. Next to these, above and below, are situated two other double fringed moveable substances, like the branchiæ of a fish. These ears and fringes are joined to a cylindrical piece of flesh, of the size of a man's thumb, which is harder and of a more muscular nature than the rest of the body. It lies about the centre of the shells, and is firmly attached to the middle of each.—This, in fact, is that part of the pearl-fish which serves to open and shut the shells. Where this column is fastened, we find on the flesh deep impressions, and on the shell various nodes of round or oblong

\* Vide Houtt. Nat. Hist. Vol. I. p. xv. p. 81, seq.



forms, like imperfect pearls. Between this part, and the hinge (*cardo*) lies the principal body of the animal, separated from the rest, and shaped like a bag. The mouth is near the hinge of the shell, enveloped in a veil, and has a double flap or lip on each side; from thence we observe the throat (*œsophagus*) descending like a thread to the stomach. Close to the mouth there is a carved brownish tongue, half an inch in length, with an obtuse point; on the concave side of this descends a furrow, which the animal opens and shuts, and probably uses to convey food to its mouth.\* Near its middle are two bluish spots, which seem to be the eyes. In a pretty deep hole, near the tape of the tongue, lies the beard (*byssus*), fastened by two fleshy roots, and consisting of almost one hundred fibres, each an inch long, of a dark green colour, with a metallic lustre; they are undivided, parallel, and flattened. In general the *byssus* is more than three quarters of an inch, without the cleft (*rima*); but if the animal is disturbed, it contracts it considerably. The top of each of these threads terminates in a circular gland or head, like the *stigma* of many plants. With this *byssus* they fasten themselves to rocks, corals, and other solid bodies; by it the young pearl-fish cling to the old ones, and with it the animal procures its food, by extending and

contracting it at pleasure. Small shell-fish, on which they partly live, are often found clinging to the former. The stomach lies close to the root of the beard, and has, on its lower side, a protracted obtuse point. Above the stomach are two small red bodies, like lungs; and from the stomach goes a long channel or gut, which takes a circuit round the muscular column above-mentioned, and ends in the anus, which lies opposite to the mouth, and is covered with a small thin leaf, like a flap. Though the natives pretend to distinguish the sexes, by the appearance of the shell, I could not find any genitalia. The large flat ones they call males, and those that are thick, concave, and vaulted, they call females, or *pedoo-chippy*; but, on a close inspection, I could not observe any visible sexual difference.

It is remarkable that some of these animals are as red as blood, and that the inside of the shell has the same colour, with the usual pearly lustre, though my servants found a redish pearl in an oyster of this colour; yet such an event is very rare. The divers attribute this redness to the sickness of the pearl-fish; though it is most probable that they had it from their first existence. In the shade they will live twenty-four hours after being taken out of the water. This animal is eaten by the lower class of Indians, either fresh in their curries, or cured by drying;

\* The depth at which the pearl fish generally is to be found, hindered me from paying any attention to the locomotive power, which I have not the least doubt it possesses, using for this purpose its tongue. This conjecture is strengthened by the accurate observations made on *muscles* by the celebrated Reaumur, in which he found that this body serves them as a leg or arm, to move from one place to another. Though the divers are very ignorant with regard to the economy of the pearl-fish, this changing of habitation has been long since observed by them. They alledge, that it alters its abode when disturbed by an enemy or in search of food. In the former case they say it commonly descends from the summit of the bank to its declivity.

in which state they are exported to the coast; though I do not think them by any means palatable.

Within a mother of pearl-shell I found thirteen *murices nudati* (vide Chemnitz's New System, Cabt. vol. XI. tab. 192, f. 1851 and 1852), the largest of which was three quarters of an inch long; but as many of them were putrid, and the pearl-fish itself dead, I could not ascertain whether they had crept in as enemies, or were drawn in by the animal itself. At any rate turtles and crabs are inimical to the animals, and a small living crab was found in one of them.

The pearls are only in the softer part of the animal, and never in that firm muscular column above-mentioned. We find them in general near the earth, and on both sides of the mouth. The natives entertain the same foolish opinion concerning the formation of the pearl which the ancients did. They suppose them formed from dew-drops in connection with sun-beams. A Brahmen informed me that it was recorded in one of his Sanscrit books, that the pearls are formed in the month of May at the appearance of the Sootee star (one of their twenty-seven constellations) when the oysters come up to the surface of the water, to catch the drops of rain. One of the most celebrated conchologists,\* supposes that the pearl is formed by the oyster in order to defend itself from the attacks of the pholades and boreworms. But we may be assured that in this supposition he is mistaken, for although these animals often penetrate the outer layers of the pearl-shell, and there occasion hollow nodes, yet,

on examination, it will be found, that they are never able to pierce the firm layer, with which the inside of the shell is lined. How can the pearls be formed as a defence against exterior worms, when, even on shells that contain them, no worm-holes are to be seen? It is, therefore, more probable these worms take up their habitations in the nodes, in order to protect themselves from the attacks of an enemy, than that they are capable of prevailing on an animal, so well defended as the pearl-fish is. It is unnecessary to repeat the various opinions and hypotheses of other modern authors; it is much easier to criticize them, than to substitute in their place a more rational theory. That of Reaumur, mentioned in the memoirs of the French Academy for 1712, is the most probable, viz. that the pearls are formed like bezoars and other stones in different animals, and are apparently the effects of a disease. In short it is very evident, that the pearl is formed by an extravasation of a glutinous juice either within the body, or on the surface of the animal; the former case is the most common. Between one and two hundred pearls have been found within one oyster. Such extravasations may be caused by heterogeneous bodies such as sand, coming in with the food, which the animal, to prevent disagreeable friction, covers with its glutinous matter, and which as it is successively secreted forms many regular lamellæ, in the manner of the coats of an onion, or like different strata of bezoars, only much thinner; this is probable, for if we cut through the centre of a pearl, we often find

\* The rev. Mr. Chemnitz, at Copenhagen.

a foreign particle, which ought to be considered as the nucleus, or primary cause of its formation. The loose pearls, may originally have been produced within the body, and on their increase may have separated and fallen into the cavity of the shell. Those compact ones, fixed to the shells seem to be produced by simular extravasation, occasioned by the friction of some roughness on the inside of the shell. These and the pearl-like nodes have a different aspect from the pearls, and are of a darker and bluer colour. In one of the former I found a pretty large, true oval pearl, of a very clear water; while the node itself was of a dark blueish colour. The yellow or gold coloured pearl, is the most esteemed by the natives; some have a bright, red lustre; others are grey or blackish, without any shining appearance, and of no value. Sometimes when the grey lamella of a pearl is taken off, under it is found a beautiful, genuine one, but it oftener happens that after having separated the first coat you find a worthless impure pearl. I tried several of them, taking one lamella off after another, and found clear and impure by turns, and in an impure pearl I met with one of a clear water, though in the centre of all I found a foreign particle. The largest and most perfect pearl which I saw during my stay at Condatchey, was about the size of a small pistol bullet, though I have been told since my departure, many others of the same size have been found. The spotted and irregular ones are sold cheap, and are chiefly

used by the native physicians as an ingredient in their medicines.

We may judge with greater or lesser probability by the appearance of the pearl-shell, whether they contain pearls or not. Those that have a thick calcareous crust upon them, to which *serpula* (sea-tubes) *Tubuli marini irregulariter intorti*, *Crista-gali Chanar lazarus*, *Lepas tintinabulum*, *Madreporee*, *Milipore*, *Cellipore*, *Gorgonta*, *Spongia*, and other Zoophytes are fastened, have arrived at their full growth, and commonly contain the best pearls; but those that appear smooth, contain either none, or small ones only.

Were a naturalist to make an excursion for a few months to Manar, the small island near Jafna and the adjacent coast, he would discover many natural curiosities, still buried in obscurity, or that have never been accurately described.

Indeed no place in the East Indies abounds more with rare shells, than these: for there they remain undisturbed, by being sheltered from turbulent seas, and the fury of the surf. I will just name a few of them, viz. *Tellina foliata* Linn., \* *Tell.*, *Spenghrii*, *Arca culculata*, † *Arca Noë*, *solen ranatinus* Linn. *Ostrea Ijognomum*, *Terebellum*, *albidum*, *striatum*, *Turbo scabaris* ‡ *Bula volva* Linn., || *Vexillum ingratum*, &c. Amongst the beautiful cone shells: *conus thalassarchus Anglicanus cullatus*, § *anadis thalassarchus em. generacis* Linn. & *capitaneus*, \*\* *c. miles*, †† *c. fereus muscarum*, ‡‡ *c. releareum*, *c. glaucus*, ||| *c. cecicola*, *regia corona murus lapidius*, *canda erminia societas cordium*. There

\* The golden tong

|| Weaver's shuttle.

†† Garter stamp.

† Mountscape.

§ Red English admiral.

‡‡ Green land stamp.

‡ Royal staircase.

\*\* Green stamp.

||| Capt. Götter.

are many others, besides those already mentioned, equally valuable and curious.

The great success of the rev. doctor John, in conchology, when at Tutucorin, and assisted by G. Angelbeck, with a boat and divers: and the capital collections made by his agents, whom he afterwards sent there with the necessary instructions and apparatus, may be seen in Chemnitz's elegant cabinet of shells, in 4to. (with illuminated plates), and how many new species of zoophytes he discovered, we learn from another German work by Esper, at Erlangen, the third volume of which is nearly finished.

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*Extract of a Journal to the Peak of Teneriffe, by M. M. de Lamanon and Monges, on the 24th of August 1785; and the Results of some chymical Experiments made on the Summit of the Mountain; together with a Description of some new Varieties of Volcanic Schörls. From la Pérouse's Voyage round the World.*

**T**HE crater of the peak is a true solfatara, perfectly analogous to those of Italy; its length is about fifty toises, its breadth forty, and it rises abruptly from west to east.

On the sides of the crater, especially towards the lower part, are several vents or chimneys, from which steam and sulphureous acid are continually exhaling: the heat of these vapours is so great as to raise the thermometer from nine to thirty-four degrees. The inside of the crater is covered with yellow, red, and white clay, and blocks of partly decomposed lava, under which are found beautiful crystals of

fulphur; their figure is that of a rhomboidal octaedron, some of which are nearly an inch high, and are perhaps the finest specimens of native volcanic sulphur yet known.

The steam arising from the vents appeared, from the taste and some experiments, to be pure water.

The elevation of the peak above the sea being about 1900 toises, induced me to make on its summit several chymical experiments, in order to compare their results with what takes place in our laboratories: it will be sufficient to give the results without encumbering the reader with the detail.

The volatilization of liquids and the consequent production of cold was very considerable, a minute was sufficient for the evaporation of a full dose of ether.

The action of acids on metals, earths, and alkalis, was slow, and the bubbles that escaped during the effervescence were of a much greater size than usual. The production of vitriols was attended with some singular phenomena; that of iron became instantly of a beautiful violet colour, and that of copper was suddenly precipitated of a bright blue.

I examined the humidity of the atmosphere by means of the hygrometer, pure alkali, and sulphuric acid, and conclude, that during the absence of clouds the air is very dry, for at the end of three hours the sulphuric acid had not undergone any change of colour, or gained any increase of weight: the fixed alkali remained dry, except on the edges of the vessel, where it appeared to be a little damp; the index of the hygrometer pointed to 64 degrees, but we could not fix it with perfect exactness on account of the violence of the wind.

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'The smell and strength of liquids appeared to be not in the least impaired by this height, contrary to the extraordinary accounts of some even modern travellers: volatile alkali, ether, and spirit of wine, possessed their usual pungency. The fuming liquor of Boyle was the only one that suffered any perceptible loss of strength; its evaporation, however, was not retarded, for in thirty seconds a small quantity that I poured out had disappeared, leaving behind only the sulphur, which gave a reddish tinge to the sides and bottom of the vessel. On the addition of a little sulphuric acid to this liquor it detonated briskly, and the vapour that arose had a sensible degree of heat.

I attempted to produce the volatile alkali by decomposing sal ammoniac by fixed alkali, but its effect was slow, and hardly to be perceived, whereas on the sea shore an equal quantity of materials produced it readily and in great abundance.

Desirous of ascertaining the nature of the vapours which were rising from the crater, particularly, whether they contained any inflammable air, fixed air, or marine acid, I made the following experiments. Having exposed some nitrous solution of silver on the edge of one of the vents, and suffering it to remain above an hour amid the rising vapours, I perceived no alteration in it, which clearly showed the absence of marine acid: I then dropped in a little muriatic acid, and there ensued an immediate precipitation of corneous silver; but, instead of being white, as is commonly the case, it was of a fine dark violet colour, which presently became grey, assuming the form of little leafy crystals distinguishable by the naked eye,

such as M. Sage observed. (Vid. *Min. docim.*) From some experiments that I have made on the precipitation of corneous silver in inflammable air, I am inclined to attribute its change of colour to the presence of that substance. Lime-water, after an exposure of three hours on the side of the crater, in the neighbourhood of one of the vents, exhibited no pellicle, but merely a few floating detached threads; hence proving, that there is not only no exhalation of fixed air from the crater, but that the quantity of it contained in this elevated exposure is not equal to that of the lower atmosphere; inflammable and sulphureous vapours being the only ones that abound here.

The electricity of the atmosphere was pretty considerable, for the electrometer of M. Saussure, held in the hand about five feet from the surface, indicated three degrees of positive electricity, whereas on the ground it showed only one and a half.

The violence of the wind hindered me from making any experiments on boiling water upon the crater itself, but at the icy fountain it continued in a state of ebullition at 77° of Reaumur's thermometer, the mercury in the barometer being 13 inches, 1 line.

I met with some new varieties of volcanic schörls.

1. A triple crystal belonging to the class of octaedral unequal-sided prisms.

2. Black schörl in octaedral unequal-sided prisms, terminated by opposite triedral summits, the planes of which forms two large, irregular heptaedrons and a small scalene triangle produced by the truncature of the upper angle.

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3. A compressed hexaedral prism, the two largest faces opposite, terminated at one end by an obtuse tetraedral pyramid; with trapezoidal plans; and at the other by a hexaedral pyramid composed of six trapezoidal plans; two of which, very small, are formed on the intervals of the two upper sides of the large hexagon of the prism.

4. Terminated at one end like the summit of the preceding crystal, and at the other by a diedral pyramid, all the edges of which are bevelled.

5. Terminated at one end by a tetraedral summit, and at the other by a heptaedral, composed of an irregular pentagon in the centre, five trapezoids on the sides, and a sixth on one of the angles.

6. Terminated at one end by a pentaedral summit, composed of four pentagons surrounding a truncated rhomb; and at the other by a pentaedral summit differing from the first only in a triangular truncature of the edge of two of the trapezoids.

7. Black schörl with a hexaedral prism, terminated at one end by a heptaedral summit, composed of two irregular hexagons, two irregular pentagons, and three trapezoids; and at the other end by a tetraedral summit, the truncatures of which form; 1. Two great trapezoids and one rhomboid; 2. Two small regular trapezoids; and between the great and the small trapezoids three truncatures, the first hexagonal, the second pentagonal, and the third a scalene.

of *le Vaillant's Natural History of the Birds of Africa.*

THIS African bird is similar to the raven in the shape of his body, his feet, and his claws: his middle claw is united as far as the first articulation, by a membrane, to the inner one; and the feathers on the lower part of his beak are turned upwards, and cover his nostrils: but he is unlike the raven in his back, in the length of his wings, and in his *graduated*\* tail.

This bird appears to occupy in part the space which is discoverable between the genus of the ravens and that of the vultures; though he resembles the former in a greater degree than the latter. He is similar to the African vultures which I have already described, in the size of his wings; which when spread are three inches longer than his tail; in his *graduated* tail; in the form of his beak, which is compressed sideways, convex above, crooked and rounded; that is to say, raising itself like that of the cassree and oricou, its whole length, and then progressively becoming crooked. These particulars distinguish the corbiveau from all the species of ravens hitherto described; and if travellers in future should discover birds very similar to this, they may always ascertain the corbiveau, by the white patch on the nape of his neck, which strongly contrasts with the glossy black that constitutes the rest of his plumage; except a white mark which separates the sides of this white patch on the back of his neck, and encircles the neck. This stripe, (*cordon*) in itself not

*Account of the Corbiveau, an African Bird; translated from the French*

\* The French word is *large*, for which we cannot find any English term more analogous than *graduated*.

very apparent, is formed by a single row of white feathers, or half-white, of which the outer border is alone visible. The throat is of a less decided black than the rest of the body, and the feathers which cover it are forked; the beards extending beyond the stems as if the points had been cut off; a very remarkable circumstance, and such as I have had an opportunity of observing in very few birds.

The tail of the corbiveau, which is less than that of the great raven, and larger than that of the grey raven, is much graduated, and the feathers on the sides are very short; the feet are black, and so is the beak, which however has a white end to it; the iris is brown, like a hazel-nut. The claws of the corbiveau, it is observable, are stronger and more hooked than those belonging to the generality of ravens.

This description of the corbiveau shews that this species of raven, if I may so call it, has some resemblance in point of form to birds of prey. The following observations on their manners and mode of life will confirm the resemblance. Noisy, voracious, daring, social, and dirty, he resembles the raven in his taste for carrion, which constitutes the chief part of his food; and he frequently assembles in large and noisy crowds. These birds raise hoarse and hollow cries, not unlike those of the raven; and which singularly conform with its shape and manners to the disgusting ideas which we entertain of savage animals, in general, from the aggregate of their repulsive and mournful characteristics. To the habits which I have just mentioned, the corbiveau joins a marked appetite for live prey; he

attacks and kills lambs and young antelopes, and devours them after having pulled out their eyes and tongue; he may be seen following troops of buffaloes, oxen, and horses, the rhinoceros, and even the elephant himself. The love of live flesh and the blood leads these birds to pursue such great quadrupeds, on whose backs they are frequently perched in great numbers. The corbiveau would be a dangerous and fatal bird of prey to these animals, if he possessed strength sufficient to kill them: but, unable to penetrate their strong and solid hides, he contented himself with plunging his beak into the soft parts of the body of the animal, and where the skin has been injured by the vermin who deposit their eggs there. If these quadrupeds then permit the corbiveau on their back, they really derive a benefit from his sanguinary instinct; a benefit, which they receive with considerable pleasure, in suffering him to remove with the point of his beak the sanguineous *larme*; of which the number is so considerable on certain animals, that I have seen many perish from the extreme waste which they occasion.

The corbiveau flies with great strength, and raises himself very high by means of his long wings.—He builds his nest in October, and constructs it in thickets, or trees: the nest is large and hollow, composed of boughs, and furnished in the inside with softer materials. It lays four eggs, greenish, spotted with brown.

The corbiveau is not a bird of passage, but continues the whole year in the country where he was born. I have seen him in every part of my African travels, though in some places more frequently than

in others, and particularly among the Grand Namaquois. He is less common about the city of the cape, but is to be found in great numbers in Swarte-Land. The female is less than the male, the white of her neck less extended, and the black less glossy, more inclining to a brown colour.

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*Description of a Volcanic Island recently formed in the Vicinity of Iceland, by Captain Vaa Löwenhorn, in the Danish Service.*

**I**N the spring of 1783, a volcanic island was formed in the vicinity of Iceland, which, according to the accounts of the navigators who that year visited the country, attracted no small notice. The discoverer of it, who arrived just at the time of the first eruption, when smoke and flames ascended out of the sea, relates that no island or any land could be seen, from which these flames could originate. No wonder, then, that he fell into the greatest consternation, when, as he expresses himself, he saw the waves on fire.— Captain and crew therefore conceived the notion, that the day of judgement was at hand: and took to their prayer and hymn books, devoutly to prepare themselves for their approaching end. But as no trumpet sounded, as the sun remained undarkened, and the firmament undisturbed, they began to reflect further what it might be, and at last hit upon the thought, that Iceland had been sunk by an earthquake, and that this was the last remains and ejection of Hecla, the well-known burning mountain on that island. Wholly possessed with this idea, they were on the point of

tacking about and returning to Denmark with the news of the dreadful event: but luckily, they had not proceeded far before they got sight of the coast of Iceland.

The site of the volcanic eruption lies only  $7\frac{1}{2}$  nautical miles (15 to a degree) from the south-west point of Iceland; and they had not discovered any land: but having now been convinced of their mistake, respecting the submerſion of Iceland, the ship reached its destined port, and completed its voyage. Ships that arrived afterwards saw a small island from which the volcanic eruption proceeded: and, as may well be conceived, always saw it under a different form. The same year smoke and flames were perceived on the shores next adjacent to Iceland.

As there are numerous instances of such volcanic eruptions in the sea becoming an island, this phenomenon attracted the attention of the Danish government; and the following year orders were given to all ships bound to Iceland, to examine the newly-formed island: but so entirely had it vanished, that none of them either saw, or could discover the smallest trace of it.— However, towards the end of the year, a very unfortunate accident happened, which was occasioned, beyond all doubt, by some rocks under water, the remains of the vanished island.

A Danish ship of war, of 64 guns, called the *Indfædretten*, was expected back from the East Indies; and intelligence had been received, that she had already sailed from the Cape of Good Hope: but from that time nothing further was heard of her until the year 1785; when the ships returning from Iceland reported,



ported, that some parts of that ship, and the long-boat, had been thrown on the coast of Iceland. From all accounts, and a comparison of circumstances, to me it appears certain, that the Indföðfretten foundered on this rock, which now no longer rises above the surface of the sea. It is impossible that such a long-boat can come out of a ship, except it be done by the hands of men, even should the ship be shattered all to pieces. Now, not only was this long-boat driven on shore whole, and in good condition; but they, moreover, found in it a box of wax-candles, but not a living soul. At the distance of about a quarter of a mile from the boat, they discovered several parts of the same ship, which were known from the mark upon them. These parts, of different dimensions and form, would not have been thrown on shore so near to one another, if the shipwreck had happened at a greater distance; the waves of the sea, the currents, &c. must undoubtedly, in that case, have scattered them farther asunder. Moreover, the fragments had been wasted to the land by the wind which blows in the direction from the rock. Besides, no other traces of this misfortune had been noticed along the coast of Iceland.

From these circumstances I drew the conclusion, that the Indföðfretten had, after leaving the Cape of Good Hope on her return home, a dangerous and adverse passage; for it is known, that in our northern seas in that year, east winds generally prevailed. Very many ships, especially the ships of war, prefer going north round England, to sailing through the channel: and probably the ship may have been in

want of something; as, for example, fresh water, and the like.— The captain was, at any rate, well acquainted in Iceland; for I myself had, some years before, been there with him as lieutenant of a ship under his command; he may, then, have been in search of some of the harbours of Iceland, when he had the misfortune, in the open sea, unexpectedly to strike on this hidden rock. In this desperate situation, the crew probably had recourse to the long-boat, as the only means of saving at least a few of them: but while they were hoisting it overboard, it is likely that the ship foundered, and every soul on board perished, as no intelligence was ever received concerning them.

During my expedition to Iceland in the year 1786, it became an object of my particular attention, to make inquiries concerning this volcanic island, although no one then suspected that the above-mentioned ship of war had been wrecked at that place; for this is only a conclusion which I have drawn from what I learned during my investigation of the subject.

When I arrived in Iceland, where, on account of the observations for the maps, and of other affairs committed to my care, I found myself under the necessity of remaining with my ship a considerable time in Holmehs-Hafen, and had at my disposal a small ship lying in that harbour; I ordered lieutenant, now captain, Grove, to proceed on a cruise about the place where the volcanic island had been seen. He continued there several days, and while under sail frequently cast the sounding-lead, but could find no bottom, with a line of a hundred or

more

more fathoms, and had given up all hopes of making the desired discovery. When he was on the point of returning, he, contrary to all expectation, observed the waves breaking on a rock, whose top was nearly on a level with the surface of the water: and now, no longer doubting that he had found what he had been in search of, he observed its direction and distance from the nearest coast of Iceland.

When the object of my expedition was accomplished, and I, at the conclusion of summer, was preparing to commence my voyage homewards; I determined before my departure to visit this remarkable spot myself, and to correct or confirm its true geographical situation, as far as it can be ascertained by observations made at sea. I therefore took my point of departure from some small islands or rocks, which lie in front of Cape Reikianös, the most south-west promontory of Iceland, and of which the outermost, called the Grenadier's Cap; is  $3\frac{1}{4}$  miles distant from the promontory, in the direction from south-west to west. The weather proving favourable, I was able to make a meridian observation for determining the latitude, as likewise observations of the longitude by means of time-keepers. Although the time-keepers I had with me were none of the best; yet, as I had sailed on the same day from an Icelandic harbour, where I had observed the longitude the relative error could not be very considerable: I therefore determined the situation of the rock, called the Grenadier's Cap, to be in  $63^{\circ} 43' 40''$  N. latitude, and  $25^{\circ} 33' 40''$  longitude, west from Paris. This likewise tolerably

well coincides with the observations of the French navigators, Vêtdun, De la Crenne-Borda, and Pingré; \* the more, as I have good reasons for believing, that, from want of a sufficient knowledge of the coast of Iceland; they made the latitude of Cape Reikianös three minutes too far north; for they stated it to be  $63^{\circ} 55'$ . And as, from the most accurate observations, I found that the rock lies in a direction from south to west, according to the true meridian; and just four miles from the above-mentioned Grenadier's Cap, it follows, that the situation of this most dangerous rock is in  $63^{\circ} 32' 45''$  of N. latitude, and  $26^{\circ} 2' 50''$  west longitude from Paris.

While I was continuing my course, in order to get a view of the rock, and captain Grove, who was on board with me; concluded from his former observations, that we must be near it, as the coast of Iceland had totally vanished from our sight, and the outermost of the abovenamed visible rocks, which lie south-west from Iceland, was, notwithstanding the clearness of the weather, scarcely any longer perceivable; he said, "Is it advisable to sail so directly towards it?"—"Yes, my friend," was my answer; "for, on whichever side we turn, we shall have as great a chance of striking upon it, as of escaping the danger: it is like looking for a needle in a load of hay." As we were thus conversing about it, the people on the watch called out.—The attention and eyes of all were directed towards it, and we saw directly a-head of us the waves breaking against a rock. We in-

\* See Voyage, fait par Ordre du Roi, en 1771, 1772.

stantly tacked about, and, at the same time, hove the lead, which had been kept in readiness. We found the depth to be 26 fathoms; immediately after, 40 fathoms; and shortly after we could not find the bottom with a line a hundred fathoms long. Tallow was, as usual, applied to the plummet, that we might be able to judge of the nature of the ground from the particles that thus adhere to it. We obtained small pieces of stone, which either wholly consisted of lava, or at least were of the volcanic kind. The rock is not large, and appears from our soundings, surrounded by a steep abyss. Its top is level with the surface of the sea, or only a little beneath it: hence it cannot be perceived till we are very near it, or only when the waves break against it.

The origin of the volcanic island which was seen at this place in the year 1783, may be explained in the following manner:—The rock that still remains, formed the crater from which an eruption at that time happened; the great quantity of lava that was ejected accumulated at the bottom of the sea around the crater, till it rose to a considerable height above the surface of the water. But as this volcano is situated in the wide ocean, where the largest and most violent waves arise, and tower one over another; it is probable that their force very soon destroyed a structure that possessed yet so little solidity and strength; especially as round about there is an engulfing abyss, into which it might easily be precipitated. It is to be remembered likewise, that, in the same year, a considerable quantity of pumice, and the like volcanic productions, whose specific gravity is less than

that of water, was driven on shore in Iceland, and by navigators found swimming in the ocean.

Had the eruption happened in a less tempestuous sea, and the profundity around it been less steep and unfathomable, the ejected materials would have been consolidated by its own weight, and in time have become an island; of which we have seen several instances in the Archipelago, in the East Indies, and in other places of the ocean. Had this volcanic eruption taken place on the main land, or on an island, a mountain would have been formed by it. A volcano does not necessarily originate from a mountain; they have been seen to burst forth from the plain: but a necessary consequence is, that the ejected volcanic productions, which are heaped up upon the land, at last become a mountain. Now, as here the mighty waves of the ocean could easily wash away the loose accumulations around the crater, it is not absurd to suppose, that, as the sea raged over its mouth, the fire was at last overpowered, and the volcano extinguished by the water gushing down the opening.

The crater, formed of rock, remained standing. It is an undoubted fact, that there existed here a rock even before the eruption of the volcano; and later observations evince, that it still exists. There was before an obscure tradition among the mariners who were wont to sail to Iceland, that hereabout there was a blind rock, which they called Blind Fugle-Skiör (bird-rock.) This name I have retained in the chart, though many navigators deny its existence, because they have often sailed past without observing it.—But in this case, and under such circumstances,

cumstances, the assertion of one man that he has seen it, deserves more credit than the reports of a hundred others, who deny its existence because they have not seen it. This confirms me in my opinion, that the crater was in the same state long before the late eruption.

To conclude: it will not be deemed a superfluous observation, to strengthen this opinion, that in almost the same direction from the south-west point of Iceland, as has been remarked above, lie five small islands, or rocks, the outermost of which is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles distance from the promontory Reikianös. Between

these islands is deep water; and ships sailing to or from the west side of Iceland commonly pass that way, if they be sufficiently acquainted with the situation of the land and rocks. The latter are called by the Danish mariners, Vogel-Klippen (Bird-rock,) on account of the numbers of sea-fowl resorting on them: but the natives of the country give them the name of Eld-Eyarne, that is Fire-Islands. May we not thence infer, that, in ancient times, they had volcanic eruptions? And, indeed, the volcano seen in 1783, may likewise have raged long before that period.

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*List of Patents granted in the Course of the Year 1799.*

**W**ILLIAM Alifon, of Long-lane, Bermondsey, tanner; for manufacturing an article into leather, commonly called Spanish, or Morocco Leather. Dated January 4.

John Kent, of Southampton, architect and builder; for a method of applying power to the working of mills and other machinery, where power is required. Jan. 5.

James Edgell, of Frome Selwood, Somersetshire, gentleman; for the use and application of metal, of a peculiar quality, and great strength, in the place of common iron, in all cases where common iron hath hitherto been employed. Jan. 16.

Wilson Fitzgerald, late of the Temple, London, esq. for a signal trumpet, for increasing the powers of sound by sea and land. Jan. 23.

Cater Rand, of Lewes, esq. for an improved naval and military telescope. Jan. 26.

Thomas Cooke, of Red-Lion-square, London, clerk; for an apparatus, which he calls *carbo frugalist*; being an effectual mode of applying fire to boilers, ovens, and other caldronic impliments. January 29.

Joseph Barton, of Old-street, London, chymist; for a medicine

which he denominates; *compound concentrated fluid vital air*, of great use in the cure of putrid disease, &c. and another preparation which he calls *erated preventive fluid*, as preventive from putrid infection, &c.; also, *erated liquid balm*, for preserving and beautifying the skin. Jan. 29.

Hezekiah Beers Pierpoint, of New York, in North America, merchant, at present residing in Surrey-street, in the Strand; for a new sort of oil, produced or extracted from certain vegetable substances, not heretofore used in this kingdom for that purpose. Feb. 5.

Joseph Watts, of Yeovil, Somerset, tanner and glove-manufacturer; for tanning foreign and English kid, goat, sheep, and lamb skins, (or other skins usually tanned into gloves and mittens) into leather fit for gloves and mittens, without lime and bran, in a shorter space of time, and with less expense and labour, than have yet been used. February 5.

Humphrey Jeffereys, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, engineer; for an improvement applicable to bringing or conveying coals from the interior parts of coal-mines, or other mines; also for an improvement upon machinery for raising coals, ores, or other minerals, in the

the pit or shaft; also for an improvement in the manner of delivering coals, ores, or other minerals, at the mouth of the pit or shaft-February 12.

Joseph Dale, of St. Mary-la-bonne, music-seller; for improvements on the tambourine. February 19.

Samuel Sandy Hickling, of Birmingham, gentleman; for improving and beautifying certain vessels and utensils used for chymical, culinary, and various other purposes. February 28.

John Luccock, of Morley, near Leeds, York, wool-stapler; for a machine, upon hydrostatic principles, to produce a very considerable mechanical power, applicable to all the purposes of a steam-engine, but without the use of fire, steam, or water-wheel. February 28.

Joseph Tidmarsh, of the parish of St. Luke, Chelsea, glazier and painter; for an article which may be used alone, as a substitute for paint, or mixed with paints in general for the purpose of enlarging their quantity, and reducing their price. February 28.

George Medhurst, of Battle-bridge, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, engineer; for a condensing wind-engine, capable of being applied to all purposes in which either steam, wind, water, or horses, are used. February 28.

David Hardie, of the parish of St. James, Westminster, gentleman; for an improvement in and upon cranes for raising and lowering goods into and out of warehouses, which will considerably lessen the labour usually required to work them. March 8.

Michael Loggan, of Paradise-street, in the parish of St. Mary, Rotherhithe, engineer; for a cen-

trifugal barrel-engine or central force, for raising water, &c. from great depths, applicable to all manufactories or systems of machinery requiring the action of circular motion, such as, an effectual power in mill-work, water-works, and clock-work. March 8.

Robert Delap, of Banville, near Bambridge, Ireland, bleacher; for economical boilers, for sundry useful purposes. April 6.

William Brodum, of the parish of Christ Church, Surry, doctor of physic; for a medicine denominated Botanical Syrup, for the cure of scorbutic and various other complaints; also for a medicine denominated Nervous Cordial, for the cure of consumptive and many other complaints. April 10.

Samuel Rehe, of the parish of St. Bride, London, mechanist; for an engine or apparatus for giving motion to water, or other fluids, either for the purpose of conveying such fluids from place to place, in any direction, or for mechanical purposes; which apparatus is also capable of being made the instrument for transmitting the force of water, or any other of the fluids hitherto used as first movers in mills and other machines. April 11.

George Davis, of Windsor, in the county of Berks, locksmith; for a double chamber lock, with cylinders, to which pins are affixed, in different directions, instead of wards. April 11.

Mark Hambard Brunel, of the parish of St. Mary, Newington, Surry, gentleman; for a writing and drawing machine, by which two or more writings or drawings, resembling each other, may be made by the same person, at the same time. April 11,

Henry

Henry Wildey, of New Compton-street, in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, smith, for an improved method of applying springs to the poles or shafts of two-wheeled carriages, which he calls an Antimobile, or destroyer of the disagreeable sensation produced by the motion of the horses. April 16.

Henry Wood, of Sloane-square, in the parish of St. Luke, Chelsea, statuary; for an instrument or machine to be called a Time Setter, whereby the possessor thereof is enabled to publish to every one, viewing the same, several various purposes intended to be performed by him, at any given future period of time, or within certain given intervals, with great ease and celerity, and without being subject to error. April 20.

Robert Simpson, of the parish of St. John, Clerkenwell, surgeon's instrument-maker; for an instrument for extracting teeth in a perpendicular direction. April 23.

James Knowles, of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, leather-dresser; for a method of dressing or preparing skins, for the purpose of converting them into leather, whereby much trouble, labour, and expense is saved. April 27.

William Gillispie, of Anderston, near Glasgow, calico-printer; for a method of printing, colouring, or staining, linens, calicos, or other cloths. April 30.

Charles Tennant, of Darnly, near Glasgow, bleacher; for a method of preparing the oxygenated muriates of calcareous earths, strontites, barytes, and magnesia; and for applying such oxygenated muriates of the above earths to the purpose of bleaching, or removing colours from vegetable or animal substances. April 30.

John Daniel Belfour, of Elsinour, in the kingdom of Denmark; for improvements in his method of manufacturing cordage of all kinds, and for which he obtained former letters patent, dated respectively on or about the 16th day of March, 1793, and the 3d day of May, 1798, by means of which improvements the work is accelerated and simplified. April 30.

Stephen Wilkins, of the parish of St. Peter, Worcester; for a new-invented composition of a gum to be used in calico-printing. May 25.

Henry Brown, of Derby, chymist; for a new-invented method of making and preparing extract of zinc, which he has frequently used and applied to various medicinal purposes. May 28.

John Wilkinon, of Castle-head, Lancaster, iron-master; for an improvement in boilers, applicable to salt-pans, or any other purpose, where a saving of fuel is an object. May 28.

Thomas Chapman, of Bermondsey, skinner and seal-wool manufacturer; for a new-invented method of taking off the wool or fur from seal or other skins, in a more perfect state than has hitherto been done, for the purpose of manufacturing the same into hats, or any other article of clothing. June 6.

William King, of the parish of St. Luke, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex, tin-plate-worker; for new-invented joints, on improved principles, and for applying the same to tea-pots, coffee-pots, coffee-biggins, tea-urns, coffee-urns, tea-caddies, and every other article that hath a lid or door to it, either in small or loose work. June 17.

Francis Brewin, of Bermondsey, tanner; for a new-invented method of tanning hides and skins. June 18.

John

John Hayes, of Wokingham, in the county of Wilts, gentleman; for new-invented machines or instruments for the cultivation or tillage of all kinds of land. June 18.

John Wilkinfon, of Castle-head, Lancaster, iron-master; for a new-invented method of making cerufe or white-lead. June 18.

Amos Whittemore, of Banner-street, Middlesex, cotton and wool card-maker, and Clement Sharp, of the same place, merchant; for a new method of making cards, for carding cotton, wool, silk, and other things. June 26.

Stephen Hooper, of Margate, in the Isle of Thanet, in the county of Kent; for a machine for the purpose of cleansing rivers, creeks, harbours, bars of harbours, and sand-banks, or other shoals at sea, by the power of the tide or current. June 26.

Joseph Boyce, of the parish of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for a machine for cutting wheat, and all other corn. July 4.

John Eaton, of Nottingham, framework-knitter; for a new piece of machinery, to be added and affixed to a stocking-frame, for manufacturing, by a more simple, speedy, and neat method, elastic cross-kitch, plated hose-pieces, gloves, mitts, &c. July 4.

William Chapman, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, gentleman, and Edward Walton Chapman, of the same place, gentleman; for a method or methods of making cords, ropes, and cordage, both tarred and untarred, from the spinning of the yarn to the finishing of the rope or cordage. July 16.

Matthew Murray, of Leeds, York, engineer; for improvements in the

steam-engine, for the purpose of saving fuel, lessening the expense of erecting steam-engines, and producing a more steady motion therein than by any means at present practised. July 16.

John Ashforth, of Oldfield, near Manchester, dyer; for a machine or apparatus for a speedy and elegant method of stiffening, drying, and finishing dyed muslins. July 16.

Paul Newham, of Melkham, Wilts, clothier; for a method of figuring and ornamenting, by means of pressure, embossment, or otherwise, cloths or stuffs of woollen, linen, cotton, velvet, silk, or satin, or any mixture of those materials, July 16.

Willon Fitzgerald, of the Middle Temple, London, esquire; for a method of making or producing tal-low or fat. July 16.

Samuel Gratrix, of Manchester, calico-printer and dyer; for a method of dying and staining colours upon cotton-cloth, linen-cloth, and cotton and linen cloth mixed, much superior to any method heretofore in use. July 17.

Thomas Bins, of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middlesex; for a movement producing a retrograde motion, capable of being applied to mangles and calandars. July 20.

James Mitchel, of the hamlet of Poplar and Blackwall, Middlesex, rope-maker; for a method of manufacturing cables, hawsers, or shroud-laid ropes, and other cordage, on a scientific principle. July 22.

James Lambie, of Paisley, in North Britain, machine-maker; for a mode of applying additional power to various kinds of machinery, by which the force of a man is greatly increased. July 23.



# 400 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1799.

John Grimshaw, of Bishop Wearmouth, Durham, rope-maker; for improvements in the method of manufacturing ropes and cordage. August 2.

William Hunt and Wastel Cliffe, of the Brades, Stafford, steel manufacturers; for a method of grinding corn, malt, and other grain, with steel or iron hardened plates. August 8.

George Dodson, of Blackfriars-road, Surry, cabinet-maker, and John Skidmore, of High-Holborn, Middlesex, iron-founder; for a method of making and casting, with cast-iron, brass, or mixed metal, naves or stocks for all sorts of wheels, to be used for all sorts of carriages. August 8.

Edward Woods, of Parr, Lancaster, gentleman; for machinery for the purpose of slitting, fashioning, pointing, sinking down, bottoming, and founding of ivory, bone, horn, tortoiseshell, and box-combs; and for cutting all kinds of fustian. August 13.

Joseph Huddart, of Islington, esq. for a method of registering or forming the strands in the machinery for manufacturing cordage. August 20.

William Murdock, of Redruth, Cornwall, engineer; for the method of constructing steam-engines. August 29.

John Bishop, Newhaven, in the state of Connecticut, in North America, at present residing in the parish of St. Paul, Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex; for a method of creating a power useful in moving machinery, and reducing labour, by means of fire, water, and steam, with or without condensation. September 23.

John Crooks, of Edinburgh, chy-

mist; for a method of making soap, and bleaching, by, means and use of volatile, mineral, and vegetable alkalies, either by joining them with each other, or using the volatile, alkali by itself; and of killing vermin. September 23.

William Bolts, of Aldgate-street, London, gentleman; for a mode of improving the form, quality, and use of candles, and other lights made of tallow, wax, spermaceti, or any other inflammable substance. September 26.

Anthony George Eckhardt, of Queen's Buildings, Knightsbridge, gentleman, F.R.S.; for a method of constructing and moving the back and bottom of fire-grates, combined with checks, on a new construction, which is particularly adapted for kitchen-ranges, and can be applied to other grates; by which a great saving of coals will be obtained. October 3.

Joseph Smith, of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for improvements in the internal bracing of piano-fortes, so as to admit the introduction of a drum, tambour, or tambourine, with sticks or beaters thereunto belonging. October 3.

John Hotchkiss, esq. lieutenant in the royal navy; for a mechanical power, for the purpose of lifting weights, moving ships, weighing anchors, &c. October 3.

James Bell, of Chancery-lane, in the county of Middlesex, tailor, for a pocket fastening, to prevent the loss of property. November 1.

Thomas Foden, of the city of Coventry, woollen-mannufacturer, for a crystalline size or mixture, to be used in sizing and dressing cotton, worsted, and linen yarn. November 4.

William

William Lonsdale, of Harrington, in the county of Cumberland, mariner; for an improvement in weighing anchors, steering ships, and other advantageous methods of weighing, raising, and uplifting any heavy burthen or weight, on board of ships. November 4.

Richard Hall Gower, of Leaden-hall-street, in the city of London, mariner in the service of the East India Company; for a method of rigging vessels upon an improved plan. November 4.

Ralph Gout, of Bunhill-row, in the parish of St. Luke, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex, watch-maker; for improvements on pedometers and pedometrical watches, for the purpose of ascertaining more accurately, and with greater precision, the number of steps the wearer makes in walking; and, when affixed to a saddle, the number of paces the horse makes; and also, when affixed to a carriage or other carriage, the number of revolutions of the wheel. November 4.

Thomas Binns, of Great Barlow-street, Marybone, water-closet-maker; for a machine answering the purposes of a portable water-closet, or bidet, and easy chair; comprised in one third of the space occupied by portable water-closets now in use. November 4.

Thomas Foden, of Coventry, cotton-manufacturer; for a loom for the purpose of warping, dressing, weaving, and piecing, silk, cotton, woollen, or any other yarn. November 4.

Edward Prior, of Brook-street, Holborn; for a method of painting and colouring all kinds of leather. November 4.

John and Joseph Williams, of Holywell-street, Strand, stationers; Vol. XLI.

for an improved method of binding all sorts of books. November 4.

William Tunstall, of Nidd, Yorkshire, gentleman; for a portable hand-engine or machine, for thrashing all kinds of grain. November 9.

William Lander, of Mere, Wiltshire, brass-founder; for a method of raising water, by pumps or other engines, by means of an apparatus for moving the piston-rod. November 9.

James Burns, of Glasgow, builder; for improvements applicable to fire-grates, stoves, furnaces, and chimnies. November 23.

James Fussell, of Mills, Somersetshire, iron-manufacturer, and James Druggals, of Church-street, Surry, engineer; for an apparatus, composed of chains, wheels, rollers, and conductors, for lessening friction in raising, lowering, driving, and conducting, heavy bodies. November 28.

Edward Thomason, of Birmingham, manufacturer; for improvements in the cocks of gun-locks, applicable to all kinds of fire-arms. November 28.

John Foster, of Oxford-street, breeches-maker; for a new-invented bracer or sling, acting by means of a certain spring or springs, made of steel, calculated for the better and more convenient suspending and keeping up breeches, pantaloons, or drawers. December 2.

John Palmer, of Maxstock, Warwickshire, gentleman; for improvements in machinery for clearing grain from the ear or stalk, and for breaking or cutting the straw into provender for cattle, and other useful purposes. December 6.

William Reynolds, of Ketley, Shropshire, iron-master; for a method of preparing iron for the conversion

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version thereof into steel, December 6.

John Frederick Chabannes, of Mary-la-bonne, esq. for a machine for separating coals, and a composition for making small coals into cakes or bricks, to be used for fuel. December 16.

Edward Ludlow, of Walworth, and Ann Wilcox, of London; for their new-invented playing-cards, to be named *brilliant new-invented knights cards*. December 20.

William Loosmore, of Oldstreet, factor; for a method of making and manufacturing certain cloth, for general uses, and purposes. December 20.

*Experiments and Observations on various Kinds of Manure, by John Middleton, Esq. From the Transactions of the Society, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

**H**AVING made experiments with various kinds of manure, on a farm of which I am the owner and occupier, situate at Merton, in Surry, for the purpose of ascertaining the most appropriate dressing for the soil which is a tenacious loam, on a substratum approaching towards yellow clay, I am induced, by the regard I feel for the success of British agriculture, to lay the following observations on the several experiments before the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, for their consideration. I hope and believe that they will be found not altogether unworthy their attention.

1. Peat ashes, from Newbury, Berks. Of these ashes I have spread, in various quantities, *per acre*, fif-

teen hundred bushels, on wheat, tares, seeds, and meadow land, without being able to discern any beneficial effect from them.

2. Coal ashes, spread on three or four acres of grass land, in March, 1798, produced no visible effect at mowing time, nor have I since observed any.

3. Wood ashes, the produce of my own fires, when spread on the grass, in February, or early in March, I have found to be of some though little service.

4. Malt dust, including the dust from the malt-kilns, I used for two or three years, to an extent sufficiently great to ascertain that the benefits produced by the use of it are considerable. It may be applied in such a quantity as to insure one large crop; but, on meadow land, even when hay is at five pounds a ton, it only repays the prime cost.

The quantity which I have usually laid on, has been in the proportion of from fifty to sixty bushels *per acre*. The first cost of kiln-dust is six-pence, and of malt-dust eight-pence, *per bushel*: including the expense of carriage, and spreading this dressing on the land, it amounts to about two guineas *per acre*. The extra crop returned me this sum, but without profit.

5. Soot. Of this manure I spread eight hundred bushels over twenty acres of wheat, in one year; but I could not, from the subsequent appearance of the crop, discover whether the increase in quantity was equivalent to the additional expense. However, it was evidently of some use; but to what extent, would require more than bare inspection to ascertain. By way of comparison, some of the ridges were left without soot: they were at harvest scarcely

to be distinguished from the rest; but, where the foot lay in larger quantity than ordinary, as was the case in the places at which the loads had been shot from the carts, the superior vegetation was very distinctly marked. I have, on the whole, formed the same opinion with respect to this species of manure, as I have already stated in regard to malt-dust, namely, that it returns the cost price, with very little profit.

6. Soap-maker's waste. I have tried only one load of this manure, on a few rods of ground, in four of my meadows. It has not produced the least effect, although it is now three years since it was laid on. Soap-maker's waste, potash, and barilla, are probably held in too much esteem, as preparers of the food of plants, by philosophical chymists, of whom it might be wished that a little practice were combined with their theoretical ideas on the science of agriculture; and that they would try their specious theories by the test of experiment, before they publish them to the world.

I am farther induced to consider this kind of dressing for land as of much less utility than is generally imagined, from having been informed by Mr. Russel, junior, that his father, who is a soap-maker of great respectability, at Paris-Garden, has used the waste of his own manufactory on his farms in Essex and Kent, (in the latter on a clay soil,) without discovering that it was of any material benefit to the land; and that he has consequently discontinued the use of it.

The experiments made by Major Velley, as reported in the eighth

volume of papers published by the Bath society of agriculture, seem also to prove, that Dr. Hunter's food of plants does not answer any of the purposes for which it has been so highly extolled; but, on the contrary, that it is really hurtful to corn crops.\*

7. Sweepings of London streets. I have used several hundred loads of this manure on grass land, and have found it to be of considerable service to the succeeding crops. I have usually laid it in large heaps, and mixed with it a small quantity of horse-dung; in this state it generates a little heat, though less than might be wished, which helps to decompose or rot the mixture; when thus prepared, it has been spread on the land, in the proportion of ten or twelve loads *per* acre.

8. The soil of privies. Within the last four or five years, this manure has been spread on my land, to the expense of about 100*l.*; the proportion, from two to four loads *per* acre. The effect produced by it was astonishing fertility; so much so, as to induce me to be of opinion, that it exceeds every other kind of manure that can be brought into competition with it, at least for the first year after it is laid on. In the second, it is of some service; but, in the third year, its effects very nearly or entirely cease. From these premises I draw this conclusion, that, for land in good condition, the application of two loads *per* acre, *per* annum, will continue it in that state for any length of time; and also, that land which has been much exhausted, might be restored by laying on four or five loads *per* acre; after which, a repetition of two

\* Major Velley's experiments are printed in our present volume, page 413.

loads annually, would be found sufficient to keep it in the highest degree of fertility.

9. Farm-yard dung. This, when it had been once turned, and become about three-fourths rotten, I have used in the proportion of about thirteen or fourteen loads *per acre*; and found it much less effective, for one year, than three loads of night-soil. I believe that even a load and a half of soil, would have been equal to the foregoing quantity of dung. In the second year, I could not perceive any difference between the dung and the soil.

In the last volume of the transactions of the society, page 168, a crop of wheat, amounting to 56 bushels *per acre*, is said to have been raised by Mr. Henry Harper, of Lancashire; which is so much above the general average, that Mr Harper was at a loss how to account for it. I am inclined to think that the night-soil, contained in the mixture with which he dressed the close, was the cause of this wonderful effect.

He mentions, that the quantity of manure (consisting of night-soil, coal-ashes, sweepings of streets, &c.) was eighty tons, and that the close contains eleven acres: the proportion *per acre* was therefore something more than seven tons. He does not say what part of this proportion was night-soil, but it was probably not less than four tons; a quantity which, as I have before observed, is sufficient of itself to produce one immense crop.

In short, it appears to me that nature, following her general system of re-production, prepares this matter in the most perfect manner for the purpose of seeding vegetables, and raising them to the very highest pitch of excellence; and it is certain,

that herbage growing under these circumstances, is capable of fattening the largest cattle in less time than any other.

The importance of this kind of manure being so evident, that I am sure the society will feel, equally with me, the most poignant regret, when they take into their consideration, that ninety-nine parts in every hundred of this valuable article is constantly and most absurdly carried by the sewers and drains, into the rivers, and thereby totally lost to the purposes of agriculture, for which it is so admirably adapted.

In Britain alone, the quantity of this manure, and of urine, which is annually thus wasted, is astonishingly great; probably not less than five millions of cart-loads, worth to the farmers two millions and a half, and to the community five millions of pounds sterling, *per annum*.

This subject is, I think, well entitled to the attention of the society; and it would add much to the credit which they have already acquired by their patriotic labours, if they could devise the means whereby the waste of this article might be effectually prevented.

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*On preserving Seeds in a State fit for Vegetation, by John Sneyd, Esq. of Belmont, Staffordshire; from the same.*

**M**ANY years ago, having observed some seeds which had got accidentally amongst rains, and that they were such as were generally attended with difficulty to raise in England, after coming, in the usual way, from abroad, I sowed them in pots, within a framing; and, as all of them grew, I committed my sons, who were then abroad.

abroad, to pack up all sorts of seeds they could procure, in absorbent paper, and send some of them surrounded by raisins, and others by brown moist sugar, concluding, that the former seeds had been preserved, by a peculiarly favourable state of moisture thus afforded them. It occurred, likewise, that as many of our common seeds, such as clover, charlock, &c. would lie dormant for years within the earth, well preserved for vegetation, whenever they might happen to be thrown to the surface, and exposed to the atmosphere, so these foreign seeds might be equally preserved, for many months at least, by the kindly covering, and genial moisture, that either raisins or sugar afforded them. This conjecture was really fulfilled; as not one in twenty of them failed to vegetate, when those of the same kinds, that I ordered to be sent lapped in common parcels, and forwarded with them, would not grow at all.

I observed, upon examining them all, before they were committed to the earth, that there was a prevailing dryness in the latter, and that the former looked fresh and healthy, and were not in the least infested by insects, as was the case with the others.

It has been tried, repeatedly, to convey seeds (of many plants difficult to raise) closed up in bottles, but without success; some greater proportion of air, as well as a proper state of moisture, being perhaps necessary.

I should observe, that no difference was made in the package of the seeds, respecting their being kept in hulks, pods, &c. so as to give those in raisins or sugar any advantage over the others: all being

sent equally guarded by their natural teguments. Whether any experiments of this nature have been made by others, I am totally ignorant; but I think that, should this mode of conveyance be pursued still more satisfactorily than I have done, very considerable advantages might result from it.

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*Description of an easy Method of cleaning and bleaching Prints of all Kinds, by G. Fabbroni, of Florence; from Brugnatelli's Annali di Chimica.*

THE means hitherto made use of for cleaning prints have consisted in washing them in clean water, or in a weak alkaline lixivium, and then exposing them, for a considerable time, to the dew: sometimes aquafortis has also been used for this purpose. The alkaline lixivium, at the same time that it removes the dirt, dissolves a part of the ink with which the impression is made; and aquafortis corrodes the vegetable fibres of which the paper is composed.

Soon after Scheele's discovery of the oxygenated muriatic acid, and the application of it, by Berthollet, to the bleaching of cloths, experiments were made to determine its effects in cleaning prints. Those made by Mr. Chaptal, for this purpose, were completely successful.

This method, however, is not so generally practised as it deserves to be. The reasons of which, Mr. Fabbroni supposes to be, the trouble attending the preparation of the oxygenated muriatic acid, and the difficulty of procuring it ready made. On these accounts, he has thought proper to publish the following practice:

cells: which is attended with little or no trouble, and is so simple, that any person may perform it with great ease.

Let a glass bottle be half filled with a mixture composed of one part of red-lead or minium, and three parts of common muriatic acid. Let the bottle be immediately closed with a glass stopper; and then let in a cool dark place. A certain degree of heat, which spontaneously takes place in the mixture, shows that new combinations are forming in it. The red-lead gives out a great part of its oxygen, which combines with the acid, causing it to acquire a beautiful gold colour, and the peculiar smell of oxygenated muriatic acid. A small portion of lead is dissolved in the acid; but this does not at all diminish its power. It should be observed, that the bottle used for this purpose must be a very strong one; otherwise the elastic vapour which arises might burst it, especially if the stopper is firmly fixed in, as it ought to be.

In order to make use of the liquor, prepared as above, take a large pane of glass, and fix upon its edge a sort of border of wax, about an inch in height, and equally high all round. In this manner a kind of trough is made, in which the print is to be soaked, for three or four days, either in fresh urine, or in water mixed with a small quantity of ox-gall. At the end of that time, the liquor is to be poured off, and its place supplied with warm water, which is to be changed every three or four hours, until it comes off quite clean. If there is any dirt of a resinous nature upon the print, it may be removed by wetting it with a little alcohol.

When the print is thus cleaned,

let all the moisture drain from it, and (having placed it again upon the pane of glass) pour upon it a fresh quantity of the muriatic acid, oxygenated by the red-lead to cover it. Another pane of glass of the same size as the first, is to be placed upon the border of wax, to prevent any inconvenience from the disagreeable smell of the acid. The most yellow print, by this treatment, will be seen gradually to resume its original whiteness, and one or two hours will be sufficient to produce all the effect that can be desired. Nothing then remains, but to pour off the acid, to wash the print, two or three times, in pure water, and to dry it in the sun.

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*Description of a Liquor for discovering, in Wines, the Presence of such Metals as are injurious to Health.*  
By Dr. Hahneman; from the *Journal de Physique*.

THE property which liver of sulphur and hepatic air possess, of precipitating lead of a black colour, has long been known, and this property has been made use of in the preparation of a liquor called *Liquor probatorius Wurttembergicus*, by which it was supposed the purity of wines might be ascertained.

But, in examining wines which are suspected to be adulterated, this liquor can by no means be trusted to, because it precipitates iron of the same colour as it does lead, which is so poisonous a metal. For this reason, many respectable wine-merchants have been thought guilty of adulterating their wines, to the great injury of their character.

Consequently there was still wanting a test or re-agent that should point

point out, in wines, the presence of such metals only as are injurious to health. This property the following liquor possesses, as it precipitates lead and copper of a black colour, arsenic of an orange colour, &c. It does not, however, precipitate iron, which frequently, by various means, gets unobserved into wines, but which is generally harmless, and in many cases salutary, to the human frame.

*Preparation of the new probatory Liquor.*

Mix together equal parts of oyster-shells and crude brimstone, both finely powdered: put the mixture into a crucible, and place the crucible in a wind-furnace. When it is heated, let the fire be suddenly increased, till the crucible becomes of a white heat, in which state it is to be continued for about a quarter of an hour. The mass, when cold, is to be reduced to powder, and kept in a bottle closely stopped.

In order to prepare the liquor, one hundred and twenty grains of the above powder, and one hundred and eighty grains of cream of tartar, are to be put into a very strong bottle, which is to be filled up with common water, that has been previously boiled for about an hour and then suffered to cool. The bottle must be immediately corked, and afterwards shaken from time to time. When it has remained still for a few hours, the clear liquor must be decanted into small phials, capable of holding one ounce, into each of which, twenty drops of spirit of sea-salt have been previously dropped. The mouths of the phials must then be well closed with stopples, composed of wax mixed with a small quantity of turpentine.

If one part of the above liquor be mixed with three parts of the wine meant to be examined, the slightest impregnation of lead, copper, &c. will be immediately discovered, by a very perceptible black precipitate. But, if the wine contains iron, the liquor will have no effect upon that metal.

When the above precipitate has subsided to the bottom, we may find out whether the wine contains any iron, by decanting the clear liquor, and adding to it a little salt of tartar: if there is any iron in the wine, the liquor will immediately turn black.

Wines which are pure and unadulterated, remain clear after the addition of this liquor.

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*On the Art of cleaning Woollen and other Cloths. By M. Chaptal; from the Bulletin des Sciences.*

THE art of cleaning cloths supposes, first, a knowledge of the various substances which can occasion spots upon them. Secondly, That of the substances to which we must have recourse in order to remove those substances, when deposited upon the cloth.—Thirdly, That of the manner in which the colours of the cloths will be affected, by the re-agents meant to be employed for the removal of the spots. Fourthly, That of the manner in which the cloth itself will be affected by the above re-agents. Fifthly, We should know how to restore the colour of the cloth, when it is changed or rendered faint.

Of the substances which occasion spots upon cloths, some are easily known by their appearance; for in-



stance, grease of every kind. Others produce more complicated effects, such are, acids, alkalies, perspiration, fruits, urine.

The effects of acids upon blacks, purples, blues, (except those produced by indigo or by Prussian blue) and some other colours, and upon all those shades of colour which are produced by means of iron, archil, and astringent substances, is to turn them red. They render yellows more pale, except that produced by arnatto, which they turn to an orange colour.

Alkalies turn scarlet, and all reds produced by brazil or logwood, to a violet colour; they turn green (upon woollen cloths) to yellow; and they give a reddish cast to the yellow produced by arnatto.

The effect of perspiration is the same as that of alkalies.

Spots which are produced upon cloths by simple substances are easily removed by well-known means.

Greasy substances are removed by alkalies, by soap, by yolk of egg, or by fat earths. Oxides of iron, by nitric or oxalic acid. Spots occasioned by acids are removed by alkalies, and *vice versa*.

Spots caused by fruit, upon white cloth, are removed by sulphureous acid, or, what is still better, by oxygenated muriatic acid.

But, when the spots are of a complicated nature, various means must be employed, successively; thus, to remove a spot occasioned by the soot of carriage-wheels, we must first dissolve the alkali by some of the means above-mentioned, and then take away the oxide of iron by oxalic acid.

The colours of the cloths are often injured by the re-agents made use of; in order to restore them, we

must thoroughly understand the art of dying, and know how to modify the means according to circumstances. This is sometimes difficult, because it is necessary to produce a colour similar to that of the rest of the cloth, and to apply that colour to a particular part only; sometimes also, the mordant which fixed the colour, or the basis which heightened it, has also been destroyed, and must be restored. It is evident that, in this case, the means to be employed depend upon the nature of the colour, and that of the ingredients which produced it; for it is well known that the same colour may be obtained from very different substances.

Thus, when after having made use of an alkali, to remove an acid spot upon brown, violet, or blue cloth, &c. there remains a yellow spot, the original colour is again produced by means of a solution of tin. A solution of the sulphate of iron restores the colour to those brown cloths which have been dyed with galls. Acids give to yellow cloths, which have been rendered dull or brown by alkalies, their original brightness. When black cloths, dyed with logwood, have any reddish spots occasioned by acids, alkalies turn such spots to a yellow colour, and a little of the astringent principle makes them black again. A solution of one part of indigo in four parts of sulphuric acid, properly diluted with water, may be successfully employed to restore a faded blue colour upon wool or cotton. Red or scarlet colours may be restored by means of cochineal, and a solution of muriate of tin, &c.

The choice of re-agents is not a matter of indifference; vegetable acids are generally preferable to mineral

mineral ones. The sulphureous acid, however, may be used for spots from fruit: it does not injure blue upon silk, or the colours produced by astringents; nor does it affect yellow upon cotton. The volatile alkali succeeds better than fixed alkalies in removing spots produced by acids: it is usually made use of in the form of vapour, and acts quickly, seldom injuring the colour of the cloth.

The means of removing spots of grease are well known; namely, alkalies, Fuller's-earth, essential oils dissolved in alcohol, a sufficient degree of heat to render the grease volatile, &c.

Spots of ink, or any other occasioned by yellow oxide of iron, may be removed by oxalic acid: the colour may be restored by alkalies, or by a solution of muriate of tin. Such spots may also be taken away by oxygenated muriatic acid, when they are upon white cloth, or upon paper.

The effects of alkalies and that of perspiration is the same; their spots may be removed by acids, or even by a dilute solution of muriate of tin.

When the spots are owing to various unknown causes, we must have recourse to compositions possessing various powers; of which the following may be considered as one of the most efficacious. Dissolve some white soap in alcohol; mix with this solution four or five yolks of eggs; add gradually some spirit of turpentine, and then stir into the mixture such a quantity of Fuller's earth as will enable it to be formed into balls. The manner of using these balls, is to rub the spots, previously wetted with water, with them; after which, the cloth is to

be well rubbed and washed. By these means, all kinds of spots, except those occasioned by ink, or any other solution of iron, will be removed.

The washing of the cloth takes off its gloss, and leaves a dull spot, disagreeable to the eye. The gloss may be restored by passing, in a proper direction, over the washed part of the cloth, a brush wetted with water in which a small quantity of gum is dissolved, and then laying upon the part a sheet of paper, a piece of cloth, and a pretty considerable weight, which are to remain there until the cloth is quite dry.

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*Experiments and Observations on the glutinous Part of Wheat. By M. Teflier; from the Memoires de l'Institut National.*

OF the constituent parts of wheat, that which appears to have most excited the attention of philosophers, is the glutinous part, known also by the name of *vegeto-animal matter*.

Having been employed in examining the various species and varieties of this plant, and being desirous to know every particularity concerning them, it was scarcely possible that I should not seek to discover how much vegeto-animal matter each of them was capable of furnishing; and whether any circumstance contributed to increase its proportion.

I should have carried my inquiries upon this subject (as well as upon many others) to a much greater extent, if some particular circumstances had not stopped my progress. I can therefore offer only a few results; but, trifling and imperfect

fect as they are, they will not be totally useless, if they should engage any other person to pursue the subject, and to fulfil, better than I have been able to do, the end I had in view.

After the harvest of 1791, I caused to be ground twenty sorts (species and varieties) of wheat; some of them were hard, the others soft. They were gathered from the same soil, which was of an inferior quality. A sufficient quantity of each sort was ground; and such precautions were taken, as to prevent the possibility of a mistake respecting the flour produced from each particular kind of wheat.

I shall not at present speak either of the proportion of flour produced from these different wheats, or of the various kinds of bread I obtained from them; those will furnish matter for another memoir: in this, I shall confine myself to what concerns the glutinous part.

One pound of each sort of flour was made into a thick paste, and afterwards worked for a long time with the hands, (according to the usual manner,) under a very thin stream of water, which ran, or rather dropped upon it; by this means, all the starch was separated from the glutinous part. The latter I weighed while wet, and then dried it gently upon the cover of a saucepan, filled with boiling water, and placed over the fire.

The result of these operations was, first, that two of the forementioned kinds of wheat, one of which had smooth ears of a reddish colour, with diverging beards, and grains of the usual yellow colour, and

which ripened very early, and another kind which had white ears, also smooth, without beards, with grains of a white colour, and which came originally from Philadelphia, gave each of them five ounces of glutinous matter from a pound of wheat; whereas, another kind, which had smooth reddish ears, growing close together, with beards, and which seemed to be a variety of that called *bled de miracle*, and another kind which had white ears, with strait beards, and long glumes, with hard long grains, and which is particularly distinguished by the name of Polish wheat, (*Triticum Polonicum*, Linnei) gave, only, the first, two ounces, and the second, two ounces and a half, of this substance, *per* pound. From another kind, with purplish ears, bearded, and pubescent, with hard spotted grains, and which came originally from Nice and the Canaries, I obtained only half an ounce of the above matter *per* pound. The other sorts, produced from four ounces to four ounces and a half *per* pound.

Secondly that the flour of hard-grained wheats produced, in general, less glutinous matter than that of soft ones.

Thirdly, that the glutinous part of some kinds, after being dried, was more brittle than that of others; this was particularly the case with the hard-grained wheats.

Fourthly, that, according to the remarks of M. Parmentier, in his work upon the vegetables used for food, the glutinous part loses much of its weight by being dried.\*

Lastly,

\* Our colleague, M. Parmentier, exposed some of the glutinous matter, divided into small pieces, to a very gentle evaporation, till it could be reduced into powder. He found that it lost three-fourths of its weight; and that the best grain contained only an eighth

Lastly, that the loss of weight is in the inverse ratio of the quantity obtained.

The object of this memoir is merely a comparison of the quantities of glutinous matter furnished by the different kinds of wheat; it is consequently indifferent in what state they are estimated, and also what proportion they bear to the weight of the flour. It is sufficient for me to have shown, that the flour of twenty different sorts of wheat, after being treated in the same manner, furnished a quantity of vegeto-animal matter which, whether it was weighed immediately after this extraction, or not until it was completely dried, was in very different proportions.

This comparative trial having informed me of a circumstance I wished to know I proceeded to the investigation of another. It appeared to me important to determine, whether manures of any kind could contribute to the information of the glutinous part, and if so, what those manures were. With this view, in the spring of the year 1792, I prepared, in a piece of land, the soil of which appeared to me all of the same nature, nine beds, each containing two perches, of twenty-two square feet; they were exactly simi-

lar in every respect, excepting in the manure made use of to them.

In one of these beds, I folded a flock of sheep and goats, amounting in the whole to one hundred and forty; they remained on the bed about two hours; and the result of the folding appeared to me to be such as commonly takes place from that operation in the departments of Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, Loire, and Eure-et-Loir.

Another bed was manured with two sacks of horse-dung, in a rather rotten state.

The third, with two sacks of cow-dung, in the same state.

The fourth, with sixty-four quarts of human urine.

The fifth, with thirty six quarts of bullock's blood.

The sixth, with the remains of plants, reduced into the state of mould.

The seventh, with three bushels of pigeon's dung.

The eighth, with human excrement in powder, prepared at Mont-faucon.

The ninth was not manured at all.

I sowed every one of these beds with the same kind of wheat; namely, that kind which has smooth white ears, without beards, the grain of the usual colour, the straw

eight part. This assertion is not exaggerated; for, after having collected the glutinous part of different kinds of wheat, and deprived them as much as possible of their starch, and of their water, and dried them thoroughly, I found, at the end of four years, a decrease of weight, amounting to two-thirds, to three-fourths, to four-fifths, and even to seven-eighths, according to the species or variety of wheat made use of; and I very seldom obtained more than two ounces, in a state of dryness, from a pound of wheat. It must be observed, however, that the weight of the glutinous part cannot be compared with that of flour in its usual state; because a pound of flour, which did not appear to be wet, being put to dry gradually upon a warm stove, was, in the space of four-and-twenty hours, reduced to fourteen ounces; that is to say, it lost one-eighth part, without appearing burnt, or suffering any alteration in its colour. From which it follows, that, in order to estimate truly the loss of weight in the glutinous part of a pound of flour, it must be extracted from a pound of flour, which has already been dried, or else be considered as the produce of only fourteen ounces of flour.

hollow,

hollow, and which is usually sown in the month of March.

Although a comparison of the quantity of grain produced was not the principal object I had in view, yet I think it right to observe, that the bed manured with pigeon's dung was that which produced the greatest quantity of grain. After that, I gathered the greatest quantity from the two beds manured with human excrement, and with human urine. Next to these, the greatest quantity was produced from those manured with bullock's blood, and with horse-dung. The beds manured with the remains of plants, and with cow-dung, were less productive. That which had no manure at all, produced little more than double the quantity which was sown; whereas the others produced more than six times the quantity sown.

With respect to the quantity of glutinous matter, which was the principal object in view, the result of the experiment was as follows: The wheat of the bed watered with urine, produced six ounces of glutinous part from a pound of flour, not dried. That of the bed in which the sheep and goats were folded, and that of those manured with horse-dung, with cow-dung, with pigeon's dung, with bullock's blood, with the remains of plants, also that to which no manure was used, gave five ounces of glutinous part *per* pound. Lastly, that which was manured with human excrement, gave only four ounces *per* pound.

It will, undoubtedly, be difficult to conceive, why the eight manured beds above-mentioned did not give an equal proportion of vegetable-matter; for the wheat was all produced from the same seed, was sown in land which was the same

in appearance, and the manure was applied in the usual manner. It is evident that the manure was not the cause of this difference; because from the wheat which grew in the bed not manured, I procured five ounces of glutinous matter *per* pound; that is, a quantity equal to that procured from the wheat of six other beds manured in various ways; a circumstance which naturally leads us to seek elsewhere for the cause of the variation in the proportion of glutinous matter.

I shall here observe, that the wheat made use of for the above experiments in spring, was the same as one of those on which I made the first-mentioned experiments in the autumn of 1791; and that, in the experiments of 1791, it produced only three ounces of glutinous matter *per* pound, instead of five or six. This would lead us to suppose, that wheat sown in March contains more glutinous matter than that sown in autumn; or at least that the latter, notwithstanding its longer vegetation, does not contain a greater proportion of it.

As a brief recapitulation of the preceding results, I shall state, that different species and varieties of wheat produce various proportions of the glutinous part, which is more or less brittle, and which, before it is dried, sometimes amounts to more than a third part of the flour; but, when dried, does not commonly exceed one-eighth. Manures do not appear to contribute to the formation of this singular substance.

Many interesting circumstances respecting this substance still remain unknown; for, it may reasonably be inquired, first, whether it is proved that no other grain contains this

this glutinous part. It has, without doubt, been ascertained, that it cannot be obtained from rye, from barley, or from oats; but, have experiments been made upon the flour produced from the seeds of other kinds of grasses? Is it not probable, for instance, that it would be found in the grain of what is called manna-grass, so much used in Poland?

Secondly. Rural economy would require that we should examine, whether the wheats of one district always contain more glutinous part than those of another; this examination would necessarily take up several years.

Thirdly. We should also determine whether the exposition of the land, and the nature of the soil, ought to be admitted among the causes which contribute to the formation of the glutinous part.\* For this purpose, it appears necessary that we should form an artificial soil, of which the ingredients were well known; a difficult task, and one which can only be undertaken by a zealous person, who resides in the country.

Fourthly. Supposing that these inquiries should produce merely negative proofs, and that only a concurrent or secondary cause should be discovered, it will then remain to be known, why, of the various grains which serve us for nourishment, wheat is the only one that appears to contain this vegeto-animal matter, or at least that contains

so much of it. We must not be too sanguine in expecting to discover this last truth; because it may depend upon the particular organization of the vegetable, which organization we cannot investigate. But, it will be a great deal to have discovered in what consists, or upon what depends, in the various species or varieties of wheat, the greater or less quantity of this glutinous matter, which is of so much consequence in the process of making bread.

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*Experiments made, with a View to ascertain the Truth and Importance of Dr. Hunter's Opinions respecting the Food of Plants, by Major Thomas Velley; from the Letters and Papers of the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, &c.*

THE laudable exertions of the Board of Agriculture having called forth various expedients, both from the practical and theoretical improvers of land, for the advancement of cultivation in general, I selected, from among sundry tracts recommended by the board, the one intitled, "The Outlines of Agriculture," published by Dr. Hunter, the learned editor of Evelyn's Sylva; in which work the above-mentioned tract made its first appearance, in the form of a note. In the seventh page of the pamphlet, the ingenious author thus ex-

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\* M. Parmentier, in the work already quoted says, that there are some kinds of wheat, particularly those which grow in wet places, or in poor soils, whose product of glutinous matter scarcely amounts to one ounce per pound; and that, on the contrary, there are others which contain near two ounces. I shall not contradict this assertion, for the fact is certain; I shall only observe, that if by poor soils M. Parmentier means dry and stony ones, it appears to me more natural to suppose, that as the wheat which grows in such soils is of good quality, it should contain a greater quantity of glutinous part. This, however, requires to be more carefully examined.

presses himself; "I lay it down as a fundamental maxim, that all plants receive their principal nourishment from oily particles incorporated with water, by means of an alkaline salt, or absorbent earth." Having supported this hypothesis by various arguments, he notices a preparation as follows:

"One drachm of Russia potash dissolved in two ounces of water, then add two spoonfuls of oil; p. 19."

This mixture, the author asserts, "is adapted to all the purposes of vegetation."

Pleased with the information, I determined to give the fairest trial to the experiment, and chose a piece of ground which was fresh, and had not received any manure: in this I made six contiguous beds. I then marked out, in each bed, 128 spots, four inches asunder every way. In the first bed planted the same number of barley seeds, which had been steeped three days in the above mixture. After this, I planted, in the same manner, and in the adjoining bed, the same quantity of seeds, dry, and not steeped; but, before the soil was closed upon them, I poured into every hole two-thirds of a drachm of the said composition; a quantity so small as scarcely to fill a tea-spoon, and which could not have been supposed to produce any visible effect. I then planted, in the third bed, the same number of seeds in their natural state, unprepared, and without any composition.

The following observations I made with great accuracy. The seeds which had been steeped did not make their appearance so soon, by eight or nine days, as the grain which had been planted with-

out any preparation. Those seeds upon which the mixture had been poured continued still longer in the ground, inasmuch that I thought they had been entirely destroyed; at last, however, they came up, though but sparingly, and less in quantity than those which had been steeped; but both sorts were far less productive than those which had been totally unprepared. The last produced nearly double the quantity to the next best; as will appear from the annexed accounts of the relative productions of the different beds.

I repeated the same experiment with oats, in the same manner as before stated, in every respect, and planted them in the three adjoining beds; and it was singular enough to observe the same effects precisely, as to the time of their coming up, and of their ripening, as well as with regard to their produce, which I had before remarked in the barley. In both instances, the unprepared grain was much more forward in its appearance and state of maturity, as also much more abundant, than either of the other two.

All the seeds were planted with the Norfolk dibble, exactly at the same depth, at the same time, and in adjoining beds, under the same aspect, in an open though rather loomy soil, which had not been manured.

*Table of the relative Productions of Grain, as noticed in the above Account.*

	Ear.
Barley, steeped, eight or nine days more backward than the dry grain, produced	463
Barley, not steeped, but having a small quantity of the mixture	

mixture poured into the hole with it, was still longer in the ground than the former, and produced . . . . . 236

Barley, unprepared, came up eight or nine days sooner than the first, and produced 750

Oats, steeped, were seven or eight days more backward than the dry grain, and produced . . . . . 459

Oats, not steeped, but having a small quantity of the mixture poured into the hole with them, were longer in the ground than the former, and produced . . . . . 103

Oats, unprepared, came up seven or eight days sooner than the first, and produced . . . 238

An objection may possibly be made to the small scale upon which the essay has been brought forward:

Ears. yet, as the effects produced by the composition, and by the varied modes of applying it, were remarkably similar in the different sorts of grain, planted at the same time, and in the same soil, I think such an objection cannot reasonably invalidate an experiment of this nature; more especially when it is considered, that a greater degree of accuracy and precision can accompany similar attempts upon a smaller scale, than when extended to a greater scope; and, if I am not greatly mistaken, some of the very ingenious observations which the learned chymist, Dr. Ingenhousz has lately given to the world, with respect to the nutriment and support of vegetable life, have been found upon experiments even more confined in their extent, though not less worthy of attention on that account, than those above cited.



## ANTIQUITIES.

*Temple of Dendera, in Egypt; from Sonnini's Travels in Egypt.*

**I**T was not in their architecture alone that the Egyptians displayed that affection for posterity, that love of immortality which presides in all their works; they wished also that the painting they employed should be equally durable. The colours of which they made use, the two-edged tool serving to incorporate them closely and for ever with bodies as hard and as solid as stone, are so many proofs of their profound knowledge in the arts, and so many secrets, which our researches have not yet been able to discover. The ceiling of the temple of Dendera is painted in fresco, of the brilliant colours of azure blue, with which the vault of the firmament shines in fine weather: the figures in relief strewed along its bottom, are painted of a beautiful yellow; and these paintings, at the expiration of some thousands of years, possess still a brilliancy to which our freshest colours do not approach, and they are still as lively as if they had been newly laid on.

I have said that the front of this temple, an admirable and but little known work of the genius and the patience which, among the ancient people of Egypt, produced wonders, was a hundred and thirty-

two feet, and some inches in length. I took its other dimensions with the same exactness. The depth of the peristyle is a hundred and fifteen feet three inches, and its breadth sixty feet eleven inches. The two sides of the edifice are two hundred and fifty-four feet nine inches and a half in length; finally, the depth is a hundred and ten feet eleven inches. The summit of the temple is flattened, and formed of very large stones, which are laid from one pillar to another, or on two ways of separation. Several of these masses are eighteen feet long and six broad. Rubbish heaped up, and the sand which collected there, have raised the soil to a level with the roof of the building, and you easily ascend it from behind, although the front is still elevated seventy feet above ground. The inhabitants of this canton had availed themselves of this disposition: they had built a village on the very summit of the temple, as on a basis more firm than the inconstant sands or marshy earth, upon which they generally erect their dwellings. When I was at Dendera, the modern village was desolated and overthrown; its ruins of hardened mud formed a singular contrast with the magnificent remains of the ancient city of Tentyris. We beheld there with sorrow the most complete

proof of the total annihilation of the arts, in a country which had given birth and such an astonishing perfection to them, and the still more deplorable decline of the human mind.

*Singular Tenure of the Manor of Wichnor, in Staffordshire, granted by John of Gaunt to Philip de Somerville; from Shaw's History of Staffordshire.*

NEVERTHELESS, the said sir Philip shall fynd, meyntienge and sustaigne one bacon flyke hanging in his halle at Wichnore redy arrayde all times of the yere bott in Lent to be given to everyche mane or womane married after the daye and yere of there mariage be passed; and to be gyven to everyche mane of religion, archbishop, bishop, prior, or other religious; and to everyche priest after the yere and daye of their profession finished or of their dignity reseyved, in forme following: whensoever that ony such byfore named wyll come for to enquire for the baconne, in their owne persone or by ony other for them, they shall come to the bayliffe or to the porter of the lordship of Wichnovre; and shall say to them in the mannere as enshewethe—  
“ Bayliffe, or porter, I do you too knowe that I come for myselfe (or, if he be come for ony other, shewing for whome he demaunde) to demaunde one baconne flyke hanging in the halle of the lord of Whichnovre, after the forme thereunto belonging;” after which relacioun, the bayliffe or porter shall assigne a daye unto him upon promise by his feythe to retourne and with him to bring twayne of his neighbours.

VOL. XLI.

And in the meyn time; the said bayliffe shall take with him twayne of the freeholders of the lordshipe of Whichenovre, and they three shall go to the manoir of Rudlowe belonging to Robert Knyghtleye; and there shall somon the preseid Knyghtleye, or his bayliffe, commanding him to be ready at Whichenovre, the day appoynted, at pryme of the day wythe his caryage; that is to saye a horse and a saddylle, a fakke and a pryke, for to convey and carye the said baconne and corne a journee owtt of the countee of Stafford at his costages. And then the said bayliffe shall, with the sayd freeholders, somon all the tenants of the sayd manoir to be redy at the day appoynted at Whichenovre, for to doo and perform the services which they owe to the baconne. And at the day assygned all such as owe services to the baconne shall be redy at the gate of the manoir of Whichenovre from the sonne rynging to none, attending and awatyng for the comyng of hym that fetcheth the baconne. And when he is comyn, there shall be delivered to hym and hys fellowys, chapeletts, and to all those whych shall be there to do their services dew to the baconne. And they shall lede the seid demandant wythe trompes and tabours and other manner of mynstralseye to the halle door, where he shall fynde the lord of Whichenovre, or his steward, redy to deliver the baconne in this manner—

He shall enquire of hym whiche demandeth the baconne, yf he have brought twayne of hys neighbors with hym. Whyche must answer “ they be here ready,” and then the steward shall cause theese two neighbours to swere, yf the said demandant

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demandant be a weddit man, or have been a marriaged man, yf the his marriage one yere and a day be passed, and yf he be a freeman or vassall. And if he be a sergent, or made othe that he can for hym all then three points reserved, then shall the cheefe be taken down, and brought to the baillie, and shall there be layed up the half a quarter of wheate, and upone one corner of rye. And he that demandeth the baillie shall kneele upon his knee, and shall hold his right hande upone a booke, which booke shall be layed above the baillie and the corne, and shall make othe in this maner—

Here ye, Sir Phillip de Somerville, lord of Whichenovre, maintener and gover of this baillie, that I. A. sith I wedded B. my wyfe, and sith I had her in my keeping, and at my wyfe, by a yere and a day after our marriage, I wold not have chaunged for none other, sorer ne slower, rycher ne powrer, re for none other defended of greater byage, sypyrig ne wakyng, at noon tyme. And yf the sayd B. were sole, and I sole, I wold take her to be my wyfe, before all the women in the worlde of what condicions sorer they be, good or evyll, as help me God and hys seynts and thys fleshe and all fusthes—

And hys neighbors shall make othe that they trust verily he hath said truly; and yf it be founde by his neighbors, beforenamed, that he be a freeman, there shall be delivered hym half a quarter of wheate and a cheefe; and yf he be a velleyn, he shall have half a quarter of rye without cheefe. And then shall Knyghtleye, the lord of Rudlowe be called for to carry all theis thynges afore-reherfed; and the

said corne shall be layed upone booke and the baillie above yte and he to whom the baillie apperteyneth shall attend upon his lord, and shall take the cheefe before hym, if he have a horse; and yf he have none, the lord of Whichenovre shall cause hym to have one horse and fawt to fawt tyme as he be paid his lordshippe; and so shalle they depart the manoir of Whichenovre with the corne and the baillie, to fere him that hath won it, with trumpets, tabouretts, and other maner of mustrance; and all the free-tenants of Whichenovre shall comyn to be passed the lordshippe of Whichenovre, and then shall they all retorne except hym to whom apperteyneth to make the carryage and journey without the countie of Stafford at the costys of his lord of Whichenovre.

And yf the said Robert Knyghtleye do not cause the baillie and corne to be conveyed as is reherfed, the lord of Wychnovre shall do it to be carved, and shall disfreigne the said Robert Knyghtleye for his default for one hundred shillings, in his manoir of Rudlowe, and shall kepe the disfreys so takyn yntrepleviable.

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*Inquiry whether Herodotus was acquainted with the River Joliba. By Professor Heeren, of Gottingen.*

FROM the general attention directed in so many respects towards Africa, and from the many attempts undertaken to explore that quarter of the globe, we may confidently hope, that, after the lapse of a few years, it will no longer be to us a *terra ignota*. The departing century delivers over to the succeeding

ceeding at least the key to the discovery, if it does not transmit the discovery itself. The present, then, is the proper point of time, to collect, put in order, and compare all the information we already possess, for the purpose of furnishing a clue to, and facilitating future discoveries. And, indeed, the mass we already know, or might know, is very great, certainly greater than most people imagine. Africa was never unknown: in ancient times, and in the middle ages, its northern coasts, were inhabited by polished and enlightened nations: the Carthaginians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Arabians, who, either as merchants or conquerors, penetrated far into the continent, and one way or other brought back with them a variety of knowledge, as strikingly appears from the writings of the Greek geographers. But what may in an essential manner excite wonder, how rich a treasure of accounts has not Herodotus, the father of history and geography, left us concerning this quarter of the globe! Many of them *e. g.* his description of the caravan-tracks, by which the Carthaginians and Egyptians travelled through North Africa, have only become clearly intelligible since the most recent discoveries; almost every one of which is likewise illustrated and confirmed by some passage in Herodotus. Another striking example of this is furnished by his accounts which Mungo Park, partly as eye witness, partly from inquiries, has lately brought back with him concerning the river *Niloba*, which flows in the very east of Africa, in a direction from west to east. Every reader, who has a taste for such researches, will agreeably surprised find, that

Herodotus not only knew this most recent geographical discovery; but that he likewise was able to give us very clear information concerning things, which the greatest geographers of the eighteenth century only conjecture, or which are even altogether unknown. I shall here translate the passage of his history, book ii. chap. 32, 33, which relates to this subject; and endeavour to illustrate it from the "Proceedings of the African Association," lately published, and from Rennel's excellent new map of North Africa, annexed to that work.

"What I have hitherto related," says Herodotus (he had given an accurate description of the course of the Nile, higher up than Egypt, as far as Sennaar, and even as far as Gojam) "I learned from men of Cyrene, who told me that they had been at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and conversed with Etearchos, the king of the Ammonians. Among other topics of conversation, they had likewise chanced to discourse of the Nile and the remarkable circumstance that no one was acquainted with its sources. Etearchos had then said, that some men belonging to the Nafamones had visited him (the Nafamones are a nation of Libyan origin, and dwell on the borders of the Syrtis, and in the next adjoining region, to the east, but not far); and when he had inquired of them, whether they could not give him some information concerning the deserts of the interior of Africa, they had communicated to him the following particulars: Among their countrymen some bold young men, sons of their chiefs, who had executed many daring enterprises; had chosen twelve from among them, by lot,

who should undertake a journey of discovery into the desert part of Africa, and endeavour to explore more of it than those who had penetrated the farthest before them. The young men then had set out, abundantly provided with water, and provisions; and first had travelled through the inhabited country (coast of Barbary); after which, they had arrived at the part of Africa that abounds with wild beasts (*Biledulgerid*); but thence they had continued their journey through the desert, proceeding in a south-west direction. After they had, during many days, wandered through an extensive sandy region, they had, at last, espied some trees in a field, had made towards them, and plucked the fruit from the trees. Men of a smaller stature than common had then come to them, had received them kindly, and became their guides. But they understood not their language, nor their conductors, the language of the Nafamones. But they led them through very extensive marshy regions; and after they had travelled through these, they had arrived in a city, whose inhabitants were all of the same stature as their conductors, and of a colour completely black. By the city flowed a large river, and that river ran in a direction from west towards the rising of the sun; and in it there were likewise crocodiles. Thus far I give the narrative of Etearchos the Ammonian: I shall only add, that he moreover said, as the Cyreneans told me, that the Nafamones had returned; and that the men, in whose country they had been, were all magicians. With regard to the river, Etearchos conjectured that it

was the Nile; and this is the most probable opinion concerning it.

Thus far Herodotus. According to his own account, he had his information from the third hand, viz. from Cyrenean Greeks, who had heard it in *Ammonium* from Etearchos, the king of the Ammonians, to whom it was related by some Nafamones, countrymen of the adventurers. To give to these authorities their due value, it is necessary to be previously acquainted with the following particulars. The oracle of Jupiter Ammon was not merely the temple: there was there likewise a small state, whose constitution was hierocratical, after the form of the ancient Egyptian states, and at the head of the government was a king. The same place was likewise the centre of inland commerce, because through it the caravan road passed from Egypt to Carthage and Cyrene, and likewise from Egypt to Nigritia, both which have been described by Herodotus. Temples and sanctuaries have, in the southern part of the world, been, in all ages, the centre of commerce, as the *Kaaba* of the prophet at Mecca, still is; for where could this friendly conflux of different nations take place with greater security, than under the immediate protection of the gods, and near their sanctuaries? The Grecian commercial republic, Cyrene, on the northern coast of Africa, was certainly so intimately connected, and carried on so great a commercial intercourse, with the Ammonians, that the head of Jupiter Ammon was the common impress on their coin. Hence it is evident, that the temple of Jupiter Ammon was the place where there was the greatest probability of acquiring

quiring information concerning the interior of Africa; and certainly Herodotus could not apply to fitter persons for intelligence, than to the Cyrenæans, who came from that place; probably merchants, with whom he conversed in Egypt.

But the authority of these accounts acquires additional strength, when we become acquainted with the people, to whom the travellers belonged, who had met with the above adventures, and from whom the accounts originated. The Nasamones were, as Herodotus informs us in another place,\* a numerous nomadical nation, who derived their subsistence from their flocks of sheep. They dwelt on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the eastern part of the *Regio Syrtica*, or the present kingdom of Tripoli, about what was called the great *Syrtis*, or the present bay of *Sidra*, nearly then in 30° north latitude, and 35° longitude east from Ferro. The whole of this Syrtic land, from 28° to 35° eastern longitude is a sand-land, which was therefore always inhabited by nomadical tribes, who were tributary to the Carthagenians. And of them principally were the caravans composed, which traversed the deserts, and were the means of keeping up the intercourse of the Carthagenians with the countries in the interior of Africa. For this reason the expedition of the Nasamones is not described as a journey into a country altogether unknown: They had, says Herodotus, before undertaken many other bold enterprises; the object of their journey was only to try whether they might not penetrate farther than had hitherto been done by preceding travellers. And, although

the real adventurers amounted to no more than five, yet it is very probable that their retinue was more numerous, so that they formed a small caravan; for they were sons of the chief men of the nation, and they carried along with them a great quantity of water and provisions.

They traversed, says Herodotus, first the inhabited part of Africa, and then the region abounding with wild beasts: after which, they came into the sandy desert. For Herodotus divides North Africa into three regions; the most northern, on the Mediterranean, which we now call the coast of Barbary; the region abounding with wild beasts, or the middle region, by the Arabs called *Biledulgerid*, or the land of dates; and the southern region, or the desert. To arrive at the last, they were obliged to cross the two former obliquely from north to south.

On reaching the desert, they proceeded in a south-west direction; for so I translate the *προς ζεφύρον* of Herodotus.—Among the later writers, indeed, who express themselves with scientific precision, the zephyr is properly the west wind; but Herodotus, who knows only the four principal winds, denotes by it a western direction in general. That he could not here mean the west properly so called, is evident from the slightest inspection of the map of the country; because they must otherwise have remained on the northern border of the desert, and never could have traversed it. The great caravan road from the country of the Nasamones, as Herodotus elsewhere informs us, went in a direction exactly south: it should

\* Herod. iv. 172.

seem then, that they purposely took another, namely a western, direction, with a view of thus penetrating through the great desert of Western Africa, through which probably at that time no caravan road passed.

They travelled, says Herodotus, through a great desert during many days journeys, (unfortunately he does not tell us their number, and certainly it had not been told him.) On the other side of the desert, they again reached a cultivated country, where fruit-trees grew, and black men dwelt, who were of a stature smaller than common; not dwarfs, however, for that our author certainly does not assert. These negroes gave the Nasamones a hospitable reception, and became their conductors. They led them through great marshy regions, to a city, by which flowed a large river in a direction from west to east. The inhabitants of the city all resembled their guides, and were much addicted to magic.

The question now is, whither had these adventurers come? It is evident, methinks, that they were arrived in the country of the negroes, and among a negroe nation, who received them with the same hospitality which yet so honourably distinguishes this race of men from their barbarous neighbours, the Moors. This we learn not only from their black colour and their whole exterior appearance, by which they at first sight immediately presented themselves to the eyes of the North Africans as a quite different race of men; but likewise particularly from the circumstance, that they were all magicians; when we recollect what Mungo Park, who, as it were, conjured his way, through these

people with the aid of his amulets, says concerning the belief in magic generally prevalent among them. Concerning their diminutive stature, I cannot immediately adduce any farther corroborating testimony: but to maintain that, in that burning clime, in the vicinity of the equator, no such people may be discovered, would surely be hazarding a very precipitate decision.

But the phenomenon most worthy of attention undoubtedly is the river which flowed by the city in an eastern direction. Is this river the Joliba? Were these bold adventurers the first discoverers of it? And did the tradition concerning it, though its name was lost in the deserts, nevertheless by a series of the most singular accidents, reach the ears of the father of history, that he might record it, to be one day, at the close of the eighteenth century, again rendered intelligible?

Herodotus does not name the river, and thus far every thing remains mere conjecture. But this conjecture from so many quarters gains confirmation, that, at last, it is almost impossible to doubt.

First, if we attend to the direction of the route of our travellers, the question is, whither must they necessarily have come? If from their native land, on the bay of Sydra, or the great *Syrtis*, they traversed the desert in a south-west direction, and thus reached the country of the negroes; this must have happened between 15 and 35° east longitude, which is about the length of the course of the Joliba, as will appear from a single glance at major Rennel's map. Proceeding as they did, they could not fail to arrive at the Joliba. It will however be perhaps objected, that there may possibly be  
some

some other river; for who knows how many such rivers exist in those regions of the interior of Africa? But with a person who, from the relations of traveller, has acquired a knowledge of those parts, this objection can have no weight. Herodotus expressly says, that it was a great river, running from west to east. According to the best accounts we possess of the western half of North Africa, not only is there in those regions no such river flowing in that direction; but from the very nature of the country, as far as we are acquainted with it, there cannot well exist any. To the north of the Joliba is the sandy desert, which contains no river; to the south, a chain of mountains, at the foot of which the Joliba flows, and which must, therefore, have been the first large river the Nafamones met with.

Besides, Herodotus gives us likewise the following indications: First, they were obliged to pass through large marshy regions, before they reached the river; secondly, a city stood on its banks; and lastly, crocodiles were found in the river.

The first-mentioned of these three circumstances is highly important. According to major Rennel's newest investigations, the sandy region of Africa has a sloping declination towards the south; so that to it succeeds a low marshy tract, bounded to the north by the sandy desert, but to the south by a chain of mountains. Here the Joliba flows, receiving in its course a number of smaller mountain rivers from the south; but not one from the north. Like other tropical rivers, it has its annual inundations, when it, more or less, fills the valley

through which it passes. The Joliba is at last lost, as far as our information yet reaches, in inland lakes and marshes, which major Rennel looks for in the districts of Wangara and Ghana (or Cassina). We are told of one such lake in Ghana, and of three in Wangara. These observations throw a clear light on the circumstance related by Herodotus, that the Nafamones had been conducted through great marshy tracts (*ἐν μεγάλῃ*). Without passing through such tracts, they could not possibly reach the Joliba. Major Rennel has, therefore, marked Wangara and Ghana as marshy countries; they lie, however, too far to the east, for us, with any degree of probability, to suppose that the adventurous Nafamones had come thither. But then we are yet wholly ignorant how far these marshes extend to the west: from the nature and situation of the country we may reasonably conclude, that they stretch along the greater part of the river. All that major Rennel has said concerning the lower, or eastern half of the Joliba, whither no European has yet penetrated, is no more than conjecture drawn from ingenious combinations; and it certainly is a surprising phenomenon, that what the greatest geographer at the end of the eighteenth century so happily conjectures, the earliest of historians and geographers was already enabled to describe in express terms and to relate on good authority.

It cannot now be determined with certainty which was the city to which the Nafamones came: however, we probably ought to look for it between *Tombuctu* and *Cassina*. That besides these cities, there are at present several others on the



banks of the *Joliba*, such as *Huffar*, *Tocrur*, &c. we know: the existence, therefore, of a city here, even in those ancient times, would not seem to be any thing strange or incredible.

A third indication given by Herodotus, is, that the river contains crocodiles. Here the father of history knows more than even our latest travellers, in none of whose works I recollect to have seen any information relative to this circumstance. It is probable that these creatures infest only the lower part of the *Joliba*: and the narrations of Herodotus, which have so often and so strikingly been illustrated and confirmed by new discoveries, will, without doubt, be found true, with respect to the existence of crocodiles in the *Joliba*, whenever another traveller shall be able to penetrate into those distant regions.

The conjecture which Herodotus adds at the end, and in which he coincides with the king of the Ammonians, (but which, however, is merely a supposition), that the river he had been treating of was the Nile, is connected with his hypothesis of the course of the latter. It is, namely, one of the most singular of phenomena, that Herodotus describes the course and state of the Nile above Egypt to near its sources, with an accuracy which has hardly been attained by any succeeding writer: only that he is mistaken with respect to the direction of this river; as he believes, that, until its entrance into Egypt, it flows obliquely through Libya from west to east. This error cannot be otherwise well accounted for, except by supposing that Herodotus had confounded the (either really, or only in imagination existing) western

branch of the Nile, or the Nile of the Negroes, with the main stream flowing from the south. The belief of the existence of such a western branch, as appears from the narrative of Herodotus, was then already generally prevalent in Africa. That the *Joliba*, however, is not this river, and that consequently Herodotus was mistaken in his conjecture, seems at present, no longer to admit of a doubt. But the non-existence of such a stream is yet far from being proved: on the contrary, the belief of its existence has so constantly and invariably prevailed throughout all antiquity and the middle ages, that here too we must wait for farther discoveries, before we can venture to give a final decision.

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*Preparations made by the French for invading England, in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries; from Seward's Biographiana, Vol. 2.*

**I**N the tenth year of the reign of Richard II. and in the year 1388, the ancient chronicles tell us, "that the young French king Charles, and his uncle the duke of Burgoyne and constable of France, had great desire and affection to go with an army into England, and all knights and squires of France did very well agree thereto, saying— 'Why should we not once go to England to see the countrye, and to learne the pathes of the same, as they have done in France?' So that forthwith great provision and furnytur for that voyage was made in France on all sydes, and taxes and tallages set and assessed upon the cities, towns, and burgeses of the same, and in the plaine countries, that in an hundreth years before

before there had been none such sene nor heard of; and also great provision made by sea all the sommer-time until the month of September." \*

"The constable of France his ship was apparayled and furnished at Lenterginer in Bretagne. Also the constable of France caused to be made in Bretagne, of timber, a closure for a towne, made like a parke, that when they had taken lande in England to close in their felde, to lodge therein with more ease and safetie: and whensoever they should remove their felde, the closure was so made that they might take it asunder in pieces; and a great number of carpenters and others were retained on wages to attend thereon.

"And, as it is before said, all that had been rehearsed, and whatever else was done in France concerning the advancement of this journey, was well known in England, which brought some feare among them, and therefore they caused dyvers general processions to be made in every good towne and citie, and three times in the weeke, wherein prayer was made with fervent spirite and devotjon to Almighty God, to be their protector and shield against their enemy and the perill that the realme was then in. And yet, notwithstanding, there were in England at that time more than a hundred thousand that heartily wished and desired that the Frenchmen might arrive in England. And those lustie young lads, † as triumphing among them-

selves and their companions, would say, 'Let these Frenchmen come, there shall not one tayle of them returne againe unto France.' And such as were in debt, and cared not for the payment thereof, they rejoicing greatly at the coming of the Frenchmen, would say to their creditors when they demanded their debt of them, 'Sirs, be you patient a little, and beare with us, for they forge in France new floreyne wherewith ye shall be payde.' And in trust thereof they lyved and spent very largely."

"The earle of Salisbury, who was a right valiant and prudent knight, sayde before the kinge and his uncles, and before all the lords and prelates of England that were present in counseyle, 'Sir, my sovereign lord, and all ye my lords and others, it ought not to be marvelled if our adversary the French king doe come and runne upon us; for sithen the death of our late sovereign, king Edward, this noble realme of England hath bene in great hazard and adventure to have been lost and destroyed, even with the lewde and naughtie people brought up and nourished in the same; which thinge is not holden from France; and that which is worse, it is well knowne that we amongst ourselves are not in perfect love and unity, and that maketh our enemy so bold. And hereunto I will specially directe my speeche, to move and exhort that peace, unitie, and love, may be had amongst ourselves; and that being first had, and faithfully and

\* "The Frenchmen," says Hollingshed, "never shewed more vanitie than they did this year since the lineage of Capetes began to rule in France. All the shippes they could provide, from the confines of Spaine unto the mouth of the Rhine, all along the coast, they assembled at Sluis."

† "Verilie the lustie lads be in England," says Roger Ascham.

lovingly granted of every of us, we shall the better devyse the resistance and withstanding of our foreign enemies.' Now when the earl of Salisbury had ended his tale, there was no replie made, but with one voice they consented to enter into devises for defence. And whereas the taxes and talliages \* were great in France, in like wise at that time they were great in Englande, so that the realme felt great grief thereof. Now there were at that time ready in England for defence, of good fighting men a hundred thousand archers, and ten thousand men of armes.

"Then the French king came to Arras, and daily there came down people from all partes in such great numbers that the countrie was almost eaten up; and to say truth, nothing remayned in the countrie but it was taken from them, without making any payment for them. And when the poor people called upon them for some amends they answered, 'As now we have no silver to pay, but *when we returne* we will bring you enough, and then every thing shall be fully answered and payd.' But when the poor people sawe their goodes thus taken away and spent, and they durst not complain thereof, they cursed them between the teeth, saying, 'Get ye unto England, or to the devil, and God grant ye never returne agayne.'"

"Nowe the French king came down to Lisle to shewe that the journey pleased him, and to come nearer to the passage; and yet at

this time the duke of Berry was behinde, and came sayre and forth, for he had no great appetite to this journey of going into England."

"The constable of France departed from Lenterginer, standing on the sea side in Bretagne. He had seventy-two great shippes, and he had with him the closure of the field, made of timber, and they had good wynde at the beginning, but when they approached neare to England the winde rose so fiercely, and was so tempestuous about the entrie of Margate and the Thamys mouth, that their shippes were scattered, so that they kept not together, and some were driven perforce into Thamys, and taken by the Englishmen; and specially there was taken two or three shippes laden with part of the closure of tymbre that was ordeyned to close in the fildes, and certain master carpenters and artificers with them, and so they were brought to London, whereat the king had great joy, and all the Londoners."

"The king of France returns to Paris; and so broke up this most wonderful voyage for this time," adds the Chronicle, "which cost the realme of France a hundred thousand franks thirtie times told, which of English money was 333,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* after nine frankes to the pounce. And such an end have every similar attempt."

The particulars of the expedition are taken from an elaborate extract made from the chronicles of the time, by Craven.Ord, esq. F. R. S. and A. S.

\* "Many a man," says Froysfart, "forrowed long after; but by cause the commons sawe it was *needful*, they said, it is not against reason that we be taxed now, and so give of our goods to knightes and squyres to defend their *herytages* and ours."

*Account of the Theatre of Saguntum, translated from the Latin. Emmanuel Martini to the most Illustrious and Honourable Antony Felix Zondadari, Archbishop of Damascus, and Pontifical Legate to the Catholic King.*

WHEN we lately conversed together upon various subjects, and one thing drawing out another as usual in conversation, mention happened to be made of the theatre at Saguntum; which, when I said I had in every particular described in a draught thereof taken by me, you expressed a desire of seeing it, together with certain short notes or observations added by me, not so much for the sake of shewing my learning, as explaining of a very obscure matter. Behold it, therefore, most honoured sir, restored and brought to light from the darkness of oblivion, although in tattered and obsolete clothing. The true and pristine structure whereof, traced out by all its vestiges, I shall consecrate to late posterity in as brief a manner as I can.

The theatre of Saguntum is situate in a most fit and healthy place; for it opens itself against the north and the rising sun, adjacent to a most pleasant valley, which a river flows beside, and has the eastern sea in prospect. It is defended from southern and western blasts by the interposition of a mountain, by which it is surrounded, and, as it were, embraced in its bosom: wherefore it admits only the northern and eastern vital breezes to breathe upon it; the rest, that are hurtful to human health, being entirely excluded; which Vitruvius admonishes, in the first place, to be taken care of in building theatres; for when the

minds of the spectators are overflowing there with the greatest pleasure, their bodies, being unmoved and captivated, and allured by delight, have gaping passages, and open pores, into which the surrounding winds easily enter, which, if they be noxious and unhealthy, or any ways infected, may bring destruction by their blast; therefore their force from the south is to be avoided: for when the sun fills the curvity of the theatre with its scorching heat, the air shut in the hemisphere, and having no power of getting out, grows hot with its continual turning, circumaction, and whirling rotation. From whence it comes to pass, that the bodies being exhausted of their natural moisture, are burnt up, and being overheated, fall into diseases. Moreover, our theatre is, by the disposition and nature of the place, prepared for sounding, which is very necessary therein; for the voice being collected by that curvity and embrace of the mountain, climbing with increase up the summit, strikes stronger upon the ear with a distinct termination of words, which I myself experienced; for Emmanuel Mignana, a most worthy gentleman, and most near to me in all friendly offices, recited to me some verses of Asinius, out of the scene in Amphitryon, which I heard very well from the top gallery or cavea, which, as I live, filled me with incredible pleasure; for those rocks are vocal, nor that only, but five times sounding: and thus much for the position of the theatre. Now as to the structure—The ambit then of its hemisphere, which the Greeks call *Primetron*, has 564 of our palms, or spans, or three quarters of a Roman foot; and, measuring its diameter,

the line being drawn from each horn, it has 330 and a half of the like palms or spans. The height of the theatre, from the orchestra to the top gallery is 133 palms and an half; but, to the top of the remaining summit of the decayed party wall, 144 palms and an half: also the diameter of the orchestra hath 96 palms; from which it is certain the description of the whole theatre arises, as it were, from a centre; therefore the name orchestra was allotted by the Greeks, because in the Greek theatre it had been a place destined for dancing and gestulations; yet among the Romans it had quite another use, at least from what C. Atilius Serranus and L. Scribonius Libodid; who, being the Curule Ædiles, following the sentence of the superior Africanus, assigned the orchestra for the seats of the senators: in that therefore, in the most honourable place, sat the prince or prætor in his stall, the vestiges whereof remain in the middle of the orchestra to the podium; afterwards were placed the vestals, priests, ambassadors, senators; and, lest the prospect of the stage should be taken away by any objects standing before them, it was very carefully contrived to a nicety that the pavement of the orchestra, from the prince's stall, should arise gently and by degrees into an acclivity up to the lowest step of the equestrians, the pavement being lowered and cut away by degrees into a circle, in the manner of a belt, by placing and fixing the seats: a space being left between the orders of the seats a little more advanced that it might afford the coming in and going out, which I believe no one has hitherto taken notice of; and indeed it had slipped me, unless, having called for dig-

gers, I had not bid them remove the earth with which the whole orchestra was buried. From the bottom of the orchestra the equestry broke forth, or 14 steps set apart for the equestrian order, by the Roscian and Julian theatric laws, to the seventh of which steps two vomitories afford passage, which therefore is wider, lest by the straitness of the place the equestrian multitude should be pressed, but might pour themselves into their seats with free passage. And because this theatre is founded in the hardest stone, whose stubbornness deludes the attempts and industry of art, the equestry has only two doors in it, which, when they are not sufficient to admit the number of the knights, there are added from thence a double ladder, in the open and spreading place of which the bottom steps go under the arch in the proscene itself. A precinct or inclosure reserves the highest step of the equestrian order, by which name the ancients called the step that was doubly higher and broader than the rest, which as it were begirt and inclosed the rest that were smaller, which the Greeks called *Diazomata*, for they were a sort of transverse girdles, from whence they are by some called belts, that is, they are breaks and little beds of steps running circular; which are so interred, that the distinctions of the senatorian, equestrian, and plebeian orders might appear manifest to the eyes by that division, nor any communication be between them; afterwards follow twelve steps of the populace in a higher and more remote place, in which sat spectators of the plebeian order, which they call the upper gallery or cavea. Into these seats very many passages lead, and thence to the inner arches

or nest of chambers; also the upper portico, whose use was twofold, that it might have where the people might retire themselves if any sudden storm or shower should interrupt the plays; and that the theatre beneath might be defended from the injury of waters and filth. That portico hath eight fore doors, and as many back doors opposite, yet oblique, and which mutually face each other; that by the wind admitted through them the theatre might be refreshed, nor the air unmoved grow torpid and stagnant.— Into these doors a flight of seven steps afford ascent, breaking out from the lower step of the equestrians at the orchestra, not indeed intersected therefrom and varying, as in most amphitheatres, but in a direct leading and continuity; by which it comes to pass that they form wedges very long, from the lowest seats to the top, very pleasant to the eyes of the spectators; and these stairs were ways between the wedges to ascend or descend; for whereas those degrees or steps of seats were higher than a man's step, and not without the greatest difficulty to be climbed, these stairs are contrived nicely for the purpose, by placing a third step between every two, unless where the precincts or inclosures intervene; for there four are inserted.— The breadth of the highest of these is three palms and a half, and the height of the steps a palm and an inch, which twofold measure the degrees of seats exhibit. These stairs are so made that the multitude, so seated, might have an easy exit, and as it were at hand where to turn themselves, lest, being there inclosed, they might be driven to undergo the necessities of

the body. Moreover, those that were shut out of the wedge, or excuneated, to use a theatric expression, beheld the shows standing.— There is that difference between the inner doors and outer, that the inner are square and open wider, and the outer are arched and less. There is besides an upper portico 15 palms broad and a quarter, and twelve palms and a span high, therefore the breadth is greater than the height. Wherefore? For this reason, that lest while they are crowding in or going out, they should labour in the strait of the portico. Which portico does not reach to the angles of the theatre, but stands much before, cut off from both by an interval of 35 palms, which the quatern steps filled, separated by that only from the cavea or gallery placed under it, because the top of the populary or place of the common people exceeded the rest in breadth, and was, as it were, a certain boundary or little space distinguishing the superior order from the inferior: from whence it may be guessed the licensors, tipstaves, summoners, and other attendants of the magistrates, sat in that place, as well to be ready at call, as to deter the cavea or gallery beneath from contention and strife, and break off the insolence of quarrelsome fellows, which I find to have been the custom at Athens from the scholiast of Aristophanes's Eirenes, to which opinion I am the more inclined, because certain secret ladders lead from those very steps through hidden meanders into dungeons, one of which remains hitherto, and setters or iron rings fixed in that wall to bind malefactors; add to this, that this very portico is broke in the middle, and a space left

left of 22 palms, in which both the quatern stairs reach out seven palms and a half, which I judge were built to the end that the officers might overlook the seats every where, and keep the peace. In the middle space of which some vestiges, although decaying and almost obliterated, inform us that there was a statue, for its base indicates as much; because even the ratio itself of the structure and the proper modulation of the work required it, to design the middle of the hemicycle. The sides of this base are six palms and a span. Upon the top step of the cavea or gallery, at each angle of the theatre, open six arched windows, three in each. What to let in air? Truly I follow no one, if any one can tell me their use, I should be very much obliged to him. Upon the portico also four steps are placed. But to what order? Truly the senatorian sat in the orchestra, the equestrian in the fourteen, the plebeian in the cavea. What is left besides? When I revolve the steps in my mind, I am almost cast down from my step. Yet if in an affair so obscure I may conjecture, I shall have believed that the servants, freedmen, courtezans, and others of that sort of shameless vulgar rabble, were spectators from those distant steps, to the end that filth of that sort might not be joined with the more honest order of the plebeians. The structure of the upper degree helps my opinion, for it is the widest of all, although you bring in to the reckoning the precincts themselves, which I think was done for this reason, that there might be a place in the plain for setting forms for the seat of the women: for, by the decree of Augustus, it was not lawful for them to

be spectators but from the upper place, where also the most despicable men stood leaning upon the wall, and

The rabble mob, in fordid vestments,  
stood

Among the wenches' seats, and pastimes  
view'd,

as Calpurnius says. From the lictors' seats into this top gradation, certain rises afford ascent as well to the two horns of the theatre, as in the middle, that by them the officers might run in time, if by chance their help should be wanted, into those seats of the rabble. What ascent and what entrances were these? The best truly, and disposed with a certain proper design; for there are certain ladders behind the top portico thrown backward and forward, standing against the mountain, which lead to certain little arched doors in the wall's extremity, of which only one remains. In the back part of this mutilated wall certain of them are prominent, separate from one another by the space of ten palms and a half in a square form, two palms on every side. To the explanation of which you ought to know, that formerly unbrellas were wont to be superinduced as well to theatres as amphitheatres, for keeping off the heat and sun, which were bound to poles, set up under them extending transverse with ropes, that they might not flutter by hanging loose: therefore those poles being thrown across through round holes excavated in the upper stones, or tied with ropes, for both used to be done, they were received by those stays, in the middle of which, for the sake of firmness, certain little grooves were dug, lest by the slipperiness of the stone, the cords slipping and unfirm should give way.

The.

The party wall rising over these steps is by the injury of time destroyed, and a very little part of it remaining, and that indeed without ridge or coping. The degrees of seats are higher than master workmen allow for a model; for they have two palms and a quarter, far otherwise than Vitruvius has prescribed. The breadth answers exactly to Vitruvius's rule, for it is of three palms and a quarter: you would wonder at such an effuse breadth, nothing truly more of use to the sitters; to wit, lest the spectators in the next seat above should be troubled with the continual compression and retraction of their legs, or those beneath them be offended with their feet: perhaps also that the passage behind might open, if any should rise up or enter late.—The height of the precinct or partition is twofold, according to prescription of art, for it is of four palms and a span. Also the breadth six palms and a quarter. Into these seats a passage opens through many doors, which the vulgar called vomitories; from whence men entering in a crowd, pour themselves into the seats as though they were vomited. Into these porticos two passages lead: one above and uncovered, of which we have said enough: the other beneath, creeping through the hidden bowels of the mountain, in the manner of a coney burrow, and receiving light from those very doors; unless you had rather call this a vault than a portico, which is nine palms and a quarter broad and twelve high; a preposterous structure, when indeed the breadth ought to exceed the height for that reason which we alleged when we treated of the dimension of the other portico: but what could the archi-

test do, the mountain resisting? He was driven by a certain necessity of the place to that strait. For lest you should be ignorant, this work was wrought from the caved rock: from whence it runs not in equal breadth, but in bending form, and on both sides is by degrees narrowed and straitened. In each horn of the theatre there remain many vestiges, but which have suffered much by the injury of so many ages, but which abundantly testify the majesty of the work. In which various arches are to be seen, some half ruined, some still remaining, which sustained the co-operture of the scene, to make use of Vitruvius's expression, by a certain malignant fate destroyed, nor in any place appearing. The whole gradation of this theatre (at a moderate computation, not reckoning man by man and span by span, and excluding all the stairs and passages which were vacant for ascent and descent) was capable of containing seven thousand four hundred and twenty-six men; to which ought to be added those who sat in the upper degree over the portico, or in chairs placed there, or who were standing spectators leaning upon the party wall, which I judge to be about a thousand.—Also there was very ample order in the orchestra, the ambit of the hemicycle whereof seemed to me to admit six hundred seats in its embrace, which, being collected together, renders the sum total of men nine thousand and twenty-six; and these particulars for explaining the aspect of the theatre at this day, I thought was proper for me to take notice of in the most brief and exact manner, passing by those things which seemed to pertain rather to ornament and show of learning than

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my purpose. Now then let us speak of the front of the theatre. In that is the proscene, stage, and scene: they call that space the proscene which is extended before the scene in which the stage was raised, whereon the actors of the play came forth. Nothing in our theatre is left of the stage, besides the foundation of the wall, which is distant about twelve palms from the orchestra; the height of which wall, according to the architect rule, seems to have been only five feet or six palms of our \* measure, and two-thirds; so that those who sat in the orchestra might see the gesture of the actors: therefore the stage was lower than the scene, which is also to be found in our theatre. They called all that by the way of scene which spread out from the bounds of the theatre between its two horns; the length whereof to the diameter of the orchestra was double, as appears by the writings of the ancients. That in our theatre is almost totally fallen, except only the running out party wall, which was the limit between the scene and the stage, and reached to the angles of the theatre. From the orchestra to the scene are 28 palms and a half, twelve of which were vacant for the proscene, the rest assigned to the stage: therefore the breadth of the stage was sixteen palms and a half, which space seemed convenient for the scenical actions. In the middle of this party wall, which respects the centre of the orchestra, remains a semicircular plain, from whose testudinary or convex bending arises a wall, which is hollowed in manner of a shell, that they called the royal valves from its or-

nament and amplitude; on both were several doors of the same form, but the lesser, which they called the strangers' doors, because they were destined for guests and strangers coming into the scene, certain vestiges of which are remaining in the scene; especially those on the left of it, as may be seen by its rotundity: that on the right has entirely perished; unless that the relics of each wall shew some marks at the angles of a lateral opening. In each of their little areas were placed triangular machines turning on axles, on the fronts of which were depicted occasionally the plays which they acted, to wit, a comic scene for comedies, a tragic for tragedies, a satiric for satire; which sorts of scenes were ornamented to a nicety by a different and various design; to wit, the tragic with columns, ensigns, head-pieces, and other things raised with royal magnificence; but the comic with private buildings and walls and windows, shewing the species of common houses; and the satiric had trees, caves, mountains, and other things of that rustic sort, drawn in arbour-work: therefore those machines were suddenly turned round for the argument of the play, and thereupon shewed another face of picture.—From these machines the gods spoke. Behind the scene remain many walls half ruined, of which that which supports the little areas exhibit certain grooves or furrows, in which I judge were inserted ductile beams to be drawn upward to the scaffolds. In the rest of the party walls I judge were built those places from whence the gods appeared to

\* Spanish.

peak from on high over the scene. There was a high turning machine like a watch tower, from whence Jupiter fulminated. Another place was behind the scene, in which with bladders filled with pebbles, and turned by the air, they imitated the breaking of thunders. Add to these the dressing rooms, in which there was chiefly need of room and space when they prepared for the choruses, and there were kept the scenical dresses, and the rest of the instruments and furniture of the scene; for, from thence were brought forth all necessaries for the plays: even at this day we enjoy a remaining part of these dressing rooms at the left side of the scene; and the reason why this theatre is situated on the declivity of the mountain is, because it had streams of water running down, by the torrent and force of the fall whereof it would have grown old in a short time. There are walls placed higher, extending in the manner of wings, which to this edifice were as a bank, and, as I may say, hedged and defended it against the incursions of the waters, by the repulse of which the streams of water being broken and separated, were turned off with a harmless fall through the broken precipices of the mountain;

but those waters which rained in showers, falling into the sewer of the orchestra, went under through the proscene stage, beneath what was their privy, which received all that flood, and remains still. The investigation whereof I willingly underwent, together with Vincentius Turresius, a most accomplished youth, and in strictest friendship with me, who also was my helper in measuring this work, and in bringing out the truth from its ruins and vestiges almost abolished.

These are what from my poor store you, worthy sir, are welcome to for illustrating the vestiges of the theatre of Saguntum. In which I doubt not there may be many things which may little please your clear judgement, which I pray and beseech you earnestly you would render more correct; for I know how knowing your countrymen are of this sort of antiquities; neither am I ignorant how much you are bent upon those studies: from whence I have held the city and Italy to be the mistress of all things: Italy the nurse of literature and studies, the top column of learning, and the most fertile of all countries in the production of wits.—Farewell.

*From my Study,  
6th January, 1709.*

## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*Of the Prose style introduced by Addison and his Contemporaries; extracted from an Essay on the Variations of English Prose, from the Revolution to the present time, by Thomas Wallace; from the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.*

WITH Addison and his contemporaries, says Mr. Wallace, originated the first variation that occurred, subsequent to the revolution, in the composition of English prose. Though the diffuse style still continued to prevail, it was no longer the loose, inaccurate and clumsy style by which the compositions of his predecessors were disgraced. So great, indeed, was the improvement, and so striking the variation introduced by Addison, that he who compares the productions of this elegant writer with those of the best writers of 1688, will find it difficult to avoid surprise, how, with such precedents before him, he could have risen at once to a degree of excellence in style, which constitutes him a model for imitation. The forced metaphor, the dragging clause, the harsh cadence, and the abrupt close, are all of them strangers to the works of Addison. In the structure of his sentences, though we may sometimes meet marks of negligence,

yet we can seldom find the unity of a sentence violated by ideas crowded together, or the sense obscured by an improper connection of clauses. Though, like his predecessors, he frequently uses two words to express one idea, yet, in this instance, he is less faulty than they; and, among the variations introduced by him, we must reckon a more strict attention to the choice of words, and more precision in the use of them.

Of figurative language, Addison has always been acknowledged the most happy model. He was, indeed, the first of the English prose writers who were equally excellent in the choice and in the management of their figures. Of those who preceded him, it has been observed that they were frequently unhappy in both instances; that their metaphors either were such as tended rather to degrade their subject than to give it dignity and elevation; or that when they were well chosen, they were spoiled by the manner in which they were conducted, being detained under the pen until their spirit evaporated, or traced until the likeness vanished. Addison avoided both faults: his metaphors are selected with care and taste, or rather seem to spring spontaneously from his subject; they are exhibited to the mind but for a moment, that  
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the leading traits of similitude may be observed while minute likenesses are disregarded—like those flashes of electric fire which often illumine a summer's night, they shed a vivid, though a transient lustre, over the scene, and please rather by the brightness with which they gild the prospect than the accuracy with which they shew its beauties.

Should it be doubted, whether the improvement of style, which took place in the time of Addison—that variation which substituted uniform and correct neatness in composition, for what was loose, inaccurate and capricious,—be justly attributed to him—the doubt will vanish when it is remembered that in no work prior to his time is an equal degree of accuracy or neatness to be found, and even among those periodical papers to which the most eminent of his contemporary writers contributed, the *Clio* of Addison stands eminently conspicuous. It was, indeed, from the productions of that classic and copious mind that the public seems to have caught the taste for fine writing which has operated from that time to the present, and which has given to our language perhaps the greatest degree of elegance and accuracy of which it is susceptible; for if any thing is yet to be added to the improvement of the English style, it must be more nerve and muscle, not a nicer modification of form or feature.

— *scissantem levia, nervi*  
*Deficiunt animique:*

While Addison was communicating to English prose a degree of correctness with which it had been,

till his time, unacquainted, Swift was exemplifying its precision and giving a standard for its purity. Swift was the first writer who attempted to express his meaning without subsidiary words and corroborating phrases. He nearly laid aside the use of synonyms in which even Addison had a little indulged, and without being very solicitous about the structure or harmony of his periods, seemed to devote all his attention to illustrate the force of individual words. Swift hewed the stones, and fitted the materials for those who built after him; Addison left the neatest and most finished models of ornamental architecture.

Of the character which is here given of these two writers it is unnecessary to give proof by quoting passages from their works, for two reasons; the one is, that their works are in the hands of every body; the other, that the qualities which we attribute to their style are so obvious that it were superfluous to illustrate them.

Besides those first reformers of the style of 1688, there were others, contemporary with them, who contributed to promote the work which they did not begin. Bolingbroke and Shaftsbury, like Addison, were elegant and correct, and seem from him to have derived their correctness and elegance. Of this, so far as it concerns Shaftsbury, there is a most remarkable proof.\* His tract, entitled "An Enquiry concerning Virtue," was in the hands of the public in 1699, in a state very different indeed from that in which his lordship published it, in the year 1726. It partook of all the faults which were prevalent in the style of that

\* See Blair's *Lectures*.

day, but particularly in the length of its periods, and the inartificial connection of them. In the edition of 1726 those errors were in a great measure corrected; the sentences are broken down, and molded with much elegance into others less prolix; and sharing in some degree all the beauties of Addison's style, except those which perhaps his lordship could not copy, its ease and simplicity. Indeed Shaftsbury, in the form in which we now have him, appears to be more attentive than Addison to the harmony of his cadence, and the regular construction of his sentences; and certainly if he has less simplicity has more strength. Bolingbroke, too, participating in correctness with Addison, has some topics of peculiar praise; he has more force than Addison, and, what may appear strange, when we consider how much more vehement and copious he is, has more precision. The nature of the subjects on which Bolingbroke and Shaftsbury wrote naturally tended to make them more attentive to precision than Addison. These subjects were principally abstract morality and metaphysics—subjects of which no knowledge can be attained but by close and steady thinking, or communicated but by words of definite and constant meaning. The language of Addison, however elegant in itself, or however admirably adapted by its easy flow to those familiar topics which are generally the subject of diurnal essays, was too weak for the weight of abstract moral disquisition, and too vague for the niceties of metaphysical distinction. It was fitted for him whose object was to catch what floated on the surface of life; but it could not serve him who was to enter into the

depths of the human mind, to watch the progress of intellectual operation, and embody to the vulgar eye those ever fleeting forms under which the passions vary.

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*Propriety in Females. From Mrs. Mores Strictures on Female Education.*

**P**ROPRIETY is to a woman what the great Roman critic says action is to an orator: it is the first, the second, and the third, requisite. A woman may be knowing, active, witty, and amusing; but without propriety she cannot be amiable. Propriety is the centre in which all the lines of duty and of agreeableness meet. It is to character what proportion is to figure, and grace to attitude. It does not depend on any one perfection; but it is the result of general excellence. It shows itself by a regular, orderly, undeviating course; and never starts from its sober orbit into any splendid eccentricities; for it would be ashamed of such praise as it might extort by any aberrations from its proper path. It renounces all commendation but what is characteristic; and I would make it the criterion of true taste, right principle, and genuine feeling, in a woman, whether she would be less touched with all the flattery of romantic and exaggerated panegyric, than with that beautiful picture of correct and elegant propriety, which Milton draws of our first mother, when he delineates

*"Those thousand decencies which daily flow  
From all her words and actions."*

To place a just remark, hazarded by the diffident, in the most advantageous

lugeous point of view; to call the attention of the inattentive to the observation of one, who, though of much worth, is perhaps of little note: these are requisites for conversation, less brilliant, but far more valuable, than the power of exciting bursts of laughter by the brightest wit, or of extorting admiration by the most poignant sallies.

For wit is of all the qualities of the female mind that which requires the severest castigation; yet the temperate exercise of this fascinating quality throws an additional lustre round the character of an amiable woman; for to manage with discreet modesty a dangerous talent, confers a higher praise than can be claimed by those in whom the absence of the talent takes away the temptation to misemploy it. But to women, wit is a peculiarly perilous possession, which nothing short of the sobermindedness of Christianity can keep in order. Intemperate wit craves admiration as its natural aliment; it lives on flattery as its daily bread. The professed wit is a hungry beggar that subsists on the extorted alms of perpetual panegyric; and, like the vulture in the Grecian fable, its appetite increases by indulgence. Simple truth and sober approbation become tasteless and insipid to the palate, daily vitiated by the delicious poignancies of exaggerated commendation.

But if it be true that some women are too apt to affect brilliancy, and display in their own discourse, and to undervalue the more humble pretensions of less showy characters; it must be confessed also, that some of more ordinary abilities are now and then guilty of the opposite error, and foolishly affect to value themselves on not making use of

the understanding they really possess. They exhibit no small satisfaction in ridiculing women of high intellectual endowments, while they exclaim with much affected humility, and much real envy, that "they are thankful they are not geniuses." Now, though one is glad to hear gratitude expressed on any occasion, yet the want of sense is really no such great mercy to be thankful for; and it would indicate a better spirit, were they to pray to be enabled to make a right use of the moderate understanding they possess, than to expose with a too visible pleasure the imaginary or real defects of their more shining acquaintance. Women of the brightest faculties should not only "bear those faculties meekly," but consider it as no derogation, cheerfully to fulfil those humbler duties which make up the business of common life, always taking into the account the higher responsibility attached to higher gifts. While women of lower attainments should exert to the utmost such abilities as providence has assigned them; and while they should not deride excellencies which are above their reach, they should not despond at an inferiority which did not depend on themselves; nor, because God has denied them ten talents, should they forget that they are equally responsible for the one he has allotted them, but set about devoting that one with humble diligence to the glory of the giver.

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*Female Sensibility. From the same.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all the fine theories in prose and verse to which this topic has given birth,

birth, it will be found that very exquisite sensibility contributes so little to happiness, and may yet be made to contribute so much to usefulness, that it may, perhaps, be considered as bestowed for an exercise to the possessor's own virtue, and as a keen instrument with which he may better work for the good of others.

Women of this cast of mind are less careful to avoid the charge of unbounded extremes, than to escape at all events the imputation of insensibility. They are little alarmed at the danger of exceeding, though terrified at the suspicion of coming short of what they take to be the extreme point of feeling. They will even resolve to prove the warmth of their sensibility, though at the expense of their judgement, and sometimes also of their justice. Even when they earnestly desire to be and to do right, they are apt to employ the wrong instrument to accomplish the right end. They employ the passions to do the work of the judgement; forgetting, or not knowing, that the passions were not given us to be used in the search and discovery of truth, which is the office of a cooler and more discriminating faculty; but that they were given to animate us to warmer zeal in the pursuit and practice of truth, when the judgement shall have pointed out what is truth.

Through this natural warmth, which they have been justly told is so pleasing, but which, perhaps, they have not been told will be continually exposing them to peril and to suffering, their joys and sorrows are excessive. Of this extreme irritability, as was before remarked, the ill-educated learn to boast as if it were an indication of superiori-

ty of soul instead of labouring to restrain it as the excess of a temper which ceases to be interesting when it is no longer under the control of the governing faculty. It is misfortune enough to be born more liable to suffer and to sin, from this conformation of mind; it is too much to allow its unrestrained indulgence; it is still worse to be proud of so misleading a quality.

Flippancy, impetuosity, resentment, and violence of spirit, grow out of this disposition, which will be rather promoted than corrected, by the system of education on which we have been animadverting; in which system, emotions are too early and too much excited, and tastes and feelings are considered as too exclusively making up the whole of the female character; in which the judgement is little exercised, the reasoning powers are seldom brought into action, and self-knowledge and self-denial scarcely included.

The propensity of the mind which we are considering, if unchecked, lays its possessors open to unjust prepossessions, and exposes them to all the danger of unfounded attachments. In early youth, not only love, but friendship, at first sight, grows out of an ill-directed sensibility; and in afterlife, women under the powerful influence of this temper, conscious that they have much to be borne with are too readily inclined to select for their confidential connections, flexible and flattering companions, who will indulge and perhaps admire their faults, rather than firm and honest friends, who will reprove and would assist in curing them. We may adopt it as a general maxim, that an

an obliging, weak, yielding, complaisant friend, full of small attentions, with little religion, little judgement, and much natural acquiescence and civility, is a most dangerous, though generally a too much desired confidant: she soothes the indolence, and gratifies the vanity of her friend, by reconciling her own faults, while she neither keeps the understanding nor the virtues of that friend in exercise. These obsequious qualities are the "soft green" on which the soul loves to repose itself. But it is not a refreshing or a wholesome repose: we should not select, for the sake of present ease, a soothing flatterer, who will lull us into a pleasing oblivion of our failings, but a friend, who valuing our soul's health above our immediate comfort, will rouse us from torpid indulgence to animation, vigilance, and virtue.

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*Miscellaneous Thoughts, by Montequieu; translated from his Posthumous Works, just published at Paris.*

**T**O take delight in reading, is to have the power of changing those moments of lassitude that visit every man, for the most delicious moments of life.

What an unfortunate necessity is it in the constitution of man, that his understanding is scarcely matured when the organs of his body begin to fail!

A celebrated physician was asked—If the commerce of the sexes was prejudicial to health—"No," said he, "if provocatives are not used." But I should rank variety among provocatives.

It is a proof that merit is of the highest kind, when it continues to shine with accustomed lustre, although merit of as high a rank is in its presence.

I call genius a secret gift of the Deity, which the possessor displays unknown to himself.

He who runs after wit is apt to embrace folly.

I once said to Madam du Châtelet—"You postpone your sleep to read the philosophers; you should read the philosophers, to hasten your slumbers."

Hope is the link that unites all our pleasures.

The interval is too short between the time of our being too young and too old.

It demands a great deal of study to acquire moderate knowledge.

Of those who make companions of their servants, I have only to say, that vice is its own punishment.

Men of talents govern fools; and some fool or other often governs a man of talent.

When I reflect on our discoveries in natural philosophy, I think we have gone very far for human beings.

Idleness ought to have been ranked among the punishments of hell; and most people place it among the joys of heaven.

On friends that are tyrannical though useful to us, my observation is—that love has compensations which friendship has not.

Ordinary graces lose part of their beauty by being set in competition with each other: graces of the highest rank acquire a brighter lustre when opposed to each other.

Most virtues are relative to individuals, or to parts of the whole: such are friendship, love of one's

country,



country, compassion. But justice is relative to the whole; and when any action interferes with that, it is vice, though ranked among the virtues.

The success of most enterprises depends upon knowing how much time is necessary to their success.

That ought never to be attempted by the laws, which can be effected by the customs and manners of a people.

I have remarked that, to succeed in the world, one must have a vacant air with a subtle head.

One's dress should be a little inferior to one's condition.

Supper destroys one half of Paris, and dinner the other.

I hate Versailles, because every body is little and mean there; but Paris I love, for there one finds great men.

If we were content to be happy, that would not be difficult; but we are ambitious to be more happy than others, and that is difficult, because others appear to be happier than they really are.

Some people hate digressions; but I think he who understands their use is like one with long arms: he has more objects within his reach.

Men are of two sorts: those who think, and those who amuse themselves.

A fine action is one that is beneficial to man, and whose accomplishment requires talent.

The common people have generally good intentions and vicious manners.

Histories are romances founded on facts.

A work gives celebrity to a man's name, and after that, his name gives celebrity to his works.

It is a nice point to know when to quit a company: an accurate knowledge of the world gives a readiness in perceiving it.

Bravery and a love of glory are declining among us: it is of little moment to our happiness to belong to one master or to another; but formerly, defeat in the field, or the reduction of a man's country, was the loss of all that was dear to him, his country, family, and friends.

We shall never arrive at principles in finance, because we never know more than that we do something, and never what it is we do.

We do not now call a minister great, when he is an intelligent administrator of the public revenue, but when he is fertile in expedients to increase the revenues, and indefatigable in their application.

People love their grand-children better than their children, and it is because they can estimate tolerably well the worth of the latter; but their knowledge of the former being less perfect, they flatter themselves with vain hopes respecting them.

The reason why fools so often succeed in their plans is, that never distrusting themselves, they always persevere.

It is worthy to be observed, that the greater part of our pleasures are unreasonable.

Old men, who have studied in youth, need only resort to the memory for pleasure or use, when others are obliged to begin to study.

Merit is a consolation in every affliction.

A figurative style is so far from difficult, that a nation emerging from ignorance first employs the figurative and swelling style, and afterwards acquires the simple.

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The difficulty of simplicity is, that it borders on the mean, although in itself most expressive and beautiful; while there is a wide distance between a figurative style and bombast.

There is very little vanity in feeling a necessity for rank or important station to attract notice.

The heroism that results from just morals interests few; the heroism that is most destructive, is the admiration of the multitude.

Aristotle and Horace have told us of the virtues of their forefathers, and the degeneracy of their own times; and authors, from age to age, have done the same; but if they had spoken the truth, men at this day would be degenerated into brute animals.

Raillery is a panegyric on the speaker's wit, at the expense of his humanity.

People whose minds are never profoundly occupied, are generally great talkers.

Obscure people, who are ambitious of making a large fortune, are only preparing for the moment when they will be in despair for their want of birth.

A greater number of vices are occasioned by our not sufficiently esteeming ourselves, than from a too high opinion of our merit.

In the whole course of my life, I never saw any persons universally despised but such as universally kept bad company.

Experiments make the history of physics, and theories its fables.

Every nation and every man ought to be civilized; but every nation and man ought also to be free.

Modesty becomes every one; but though we should give it a

place in our minds, we should keep it in subjection to greater qualities.

Be singular, if you will; but let it be in the elevation of your thoughts. He that can distinguish himself no otherwise than by his dress, is a despicable creature in every country.

I once had the curiosity to keep an account of the number of times I heard a story repeated, that never deserved to have been related; during three weeks that it occupied the polite world, I heard it told two hundred and twenty-five times, which I thought quite sufficient.

Modesty is a species of fund that brings its owner great interest.

I visited the galleys, and saw not one unhappy face; here, I see many unhappy faces, whose owners are seeking to be happy in the pursuit of blue ribbands.

This is a fine saying of Seneca—*"Sic presentibus utaris voluptatibus, ut futuris non noceas."*—"Enjoy the present hours, so as not to injure those that follow."

There is an error which pervades the whole of the Greek philosophy; its physics, morals, and metaphysics, were incorrect for want of the distinction between positive and relative qualities. Thus Aristotle falls into mistakes, speaking of heat and of cold; and Plato and Socrates, of the beautiful, the good, the great, and the perfect. It is a great discovery, that there are no positive qualities. The terms, beautiful, good, great, &c. are attributes of objects relative only to the beings that contemplate them. This principle is a sponge to wipe away almost every prejudice. The dialogues of Plato are a tissue of sophisms, wove through ignorance of this principle. Malebranche committed

mitted a thousand mistakes from the same cause.

Never did a philosopher make men more perfectly feel the sweetness of virtue, and the dignity of their nature, than Marcus Antoninus; he touches the heart, elevates the mind, enlarges the soul!

We must read the politics of Aristotle, and the two republics of Plato, to have a just idea of the laws and manners of the ancient Greeks. To look for those in their historians, is as fruitless as to look for French laws and customs in the history of Lewis the Fourteenth's wars.

The republic of Plato is not more chimerical than that of Sparta.

To judge justly of men, we must overlook the prejudices of their times.

Our comedies begin to degenerate, because our writers are in fear of the ridiculous in the passions, instead of the ridiculous in manners: the passions are not ridiculous in themselves.

If I were to give the character of our poets, I would compare Corneille to Michael Angelo; Racine to Raphaël; Marat to Correggio; La Fontaine to Titian; Despreaux to Dominichino; Crebillon to Guerchino; Voltaire to Guido; Fontenelle to Bernini; and La Motte to Rembrandt.

I have seldom given my opinion of any authors but those I admire, having as seldom as possible read any authors but the best.

Fanaticism will find reasons to justify a bad action, that an honest man could not find.

Priests are the sycophants of princes when they cannot be their masters.

The English esteem but two things—wealth and merit.

The English are too much employed to be polished.

The pride of ordinary people is quite as well founded as that betrayed by the cardinal de Polignac one day that I dined with him. He took the hand of the duke d'Elbeuf, heir of the house of Lorraine; and when the prince had retired, he gave me his hand. When he gave me his hand, it was a mark of his superiority; when he took the hand of the prince, it was an expression of his esteem. It is in the same spirit that princes are familiar with their inferiors: these think it a proof of their regard; it is connected with no idea but of their condescension.

I confess my partiality for the ancients. I am ready to say with Pliny—"You are going to Athens, once the residence of the gods."

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*Thoughts on Education, by Michael de Montagne and others; from Seward's Biographiana.*

**T**HERE is not, perhaps, a country in Europe where education costs so much as in England, and where it is attended with so little advantage to those on whose account the money is expended. The plan of it is indeed excellent, but it is not suited to every disposition of mind. The classical page is in vain opened, the thoughts and the actions of the Greek and Romans are in vain inculcated, to those who have no relish for their energies and their grandeur; and there occasionally appear minds upon which the most excellent instruction is thrown away, as there are soils upon which the highest culture has no operation.

tion.\* "Montagne, in his 'Essay upon the Education of Children,' addressed to the countess of Foix, says very forcibly, "If your pupil be of so perverse a disposition, that he had rather hear one of Mother Goose's Tales, than the relation of an interesting voyage, or a wise saying; if, at the sound of the drum, which animates his young companions to arms, he flies off to that which announces the tricks of a merry andrew; if in his heart he is not better pleased returning home covered with dust, and victorious, from a battle with the trophy of his success, than if he had gained the prize at a tennis match, or at a ball, there seems to be nothing better to do with him, than to make him a pastry-cook in some provincial town (even if he was the son of a duke); according to that excellent observation of Plato, that children should be educated, not according to the situation of their father, but according to their own degree of understanding."

"It is now," adds he, "an opinion commonly received, that it is a foolish thing to bring up a child at his mother's† apron-string. Her natural affection (however wise she may be) renders her too tender of her son, and makes her cocker him too much. She is incapable of correcting his faults, and cannot bear to see him fed hardly, and by chance, as he ought to be. She cannot bear to see him sweating and covered

with dust after his exercise; sometimes drinking hot, sometimes drinking cold; nor to see him ride a horse without a saddle; nor to attack a strong sencer with his foil in his hand, nor let off his first gun. There is, indeed, no remedy for this; and whoever wishes to have his son spirited and manly must spare him in nothing, and often run counter to the rules of medicine.

*Vitamque sub dâo & trepidis agat  
In rebus:*

Teach him fatigue and labour to despise,  
Nor heed or boisterous winds or frowning  
skies.

"You must not stiffen his mind, but his muscles. The mind is too hard pressed if it is not assisted, and has too much to do if it alone is to supply the duty of both. I know but too well how much my mind suffers by keeping company with a body, so tender, so susceptible, and that possesses so little power of resistance."

The education of Montagne was so well conducted in the opinion of Buchanan himself, who assisted in it, that when he saw his old pupil many years after, he told him, "that he was writing on education, and should make that of Montagne his model."

"Greek and Latin," adds Montagne, "are great ornaments to the understanding, but you may buy them too dear. I will mention my

\* Doctor Johnson said one day, in talking of the difference between English and Scotch education, "that if from the first he did not come out a scholar, he was fit for nothing at all; whereas," added he, "in the last, a boy is always taught something that may be of use to him; and he who is not able to read a page of Tully, will be able to become a surveyor, or to lay out a garden."

† "An infancy of indulgence," says the learned master of an English great school, "produces a youth of dissipation, a manhood of insignificance, and an old age of contempt." Dr. Vincent's Sermon before the Philanthropic Society.

manner of getting them at a cheaper rate, for the sake of those who may wish to make use of it. My father, having made all the inquiries that a man could possibly make of men of sense and learning, respecting the best method of education, was well apprized of the inconvenience of the common method, and was told that the length of time which we take to learn the languages of the ancients (that cost them hardly any pains) was the only reason why we did not obtain the greatness of mind and extent of knowledge which they possessed. (In my opinion, however, it is not the only reason). The first expedient my father made use of was when I was in the nurse's arms, and almost before my tongue was cut, was to intrust me to the care of a German, who is since dead, a famous physician in France, entirely ignorant of the French language, and an excellent Latin scholar.

"This person, who was hired on purpose, and at a great expense, had me continually in his arms. He had two persons of less learning than himself to attend upon me, and to assist him, who understood no other language but Latin. With respect to the rest of the family, it was an invariable rule that neither my father

nor my mother, nor any of the lacqueys, or the chambermaids, ever spoke in my presence any other words than a few Latin ones, which they had got by heart. It is astonishing what a progress every one made in that language. My father and my mother learned Latin enough to understand it, and acquired it sufficiently to make use of it upon occasion, as did all the servants who came more particularly in my way.\* In fact, among us we Latinized every thing so much, that words in that language had even reached the neighbouring villages (where they still remain), and where many Latin names of trades and of tools have gained ground. With respect to myself, I was more than six years of age before I understood any more French, or the *patois* of my country (that of Perigord), than I did of Arabic; and without pains, without reading any books, without grammar, without rules, without a rod, and without tears, I learned Latin as well as my school-master could teach me; for I had no opportunity of changing it or of mixing it with any other language. Whenever I had a theme set me (as they do in colleges, where it is given in French), to me they gave it in bad Latin to turn it into good;

\* "Montagne," says M. D'Argenson (dans les Loixirs d'un Ministre,) "had been taught Latin, if not entirely without a master, yet without the grammar, by practice and by use. In my time, the Jesuits obliged their pupils to speak Latin to the servants and the attendants of their colleges, when they wanted any of them. The Latin indeed that was gabbled upon these occasions was very bad, it went by the name of Latin de Cuisine (Scullion Latin); but such as it was, it begot a habit of speaking that language. They have since left off this custom, under a pretence that it taught young folks to speak Latin ill and ungrammatically. I have, however, often observed how useful this habit of speaking Latin was to those persons, who, having occasion to travel in Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, were obliged to have recourse to it to make themselves understood." The habit they had acquired from their childhood made it very easy to them, whilst those persons in our times who have been at college, however well they have been able to translate, and though they have made rhymes and verses in that language, have been very much embarrassed when they attempted to speak it."

and Nicolas Gronchi, who wrote de Comitibus Romanorum; William Gronchi, one of the commentators upon Aristotle; George Buchanan, that great Scotch poet; Marc Antony Muret, (that both France and Italy esteemed the most eloquent men of our times), my private tutors, have often assured me, that in my infancy I had Latin so readily and so fluently, that they were afraid to speak to me in that language. With respect to the Greek language (of which I knew little or nothing), my father intended that I should learn it by art, by a new method, as a matter of sport and pastime. We used to talk about our declensions like those who learn arithmetic and geometry by a backgammon table. For, besides other things, he had been advised to make me have a taste for knowledge and for my duty, by my own free will and my own desire, and to cultivate my understanding without constraint, and with perfect freedom. Indeed, he carried this so very far, that because some persons have supposed that it hurts the tender brains of children to wake them in a morning hastily and to drag them out of their sleep (into which they are more deeply plunged than we are) of a sudden and by violence, he caused me to be awakened by the sound of some musical instrument, and was never without a person for that purpose. This one example will suffice for the rest, and will evince the providence

and the affection which my kind father ever shewed to me\*.

Montagne, as a man who thought more than he acted, was subject to that affection of the stomach which is known by the name of the hypochondriacal disease; he therefore says feelingly, that he was never so well as when he was on horseback.\*

Montagne, like our doctor Johnson, seems to have had the extremest horror of that contemptible and pernicious vice, lying.

"Lying," says he, "is indeed a scoundrel vice. We are men only, and we are connected one with the other only by the gift of speech. If we did but consider the enormity and the pernicious effects of this vice, we should condemn a liar to death oftner than most other criminals.

"One is sorry to see how often foolish parents correct their children for innocent errors, and that they chastise them for rash actions that are of no consequence, and are attended with no ill effects. Lying alone, and perhaps in a certain degree obstinacy, seem to me to be two vices of which we ought to have every instance to withstand the birth and the progress. They are continually on the increase; and it is astonishing when the tongue has acquired a habit of lying, how impossible it is for it to break it off. Indeed it often happens that men, whom you observe men of honour

\* The great observer of nature Sydenham says, "That were a man possessed of a remedy that would do equal good to the human body as riding slowly on horseback twice a day, he would be in possession of the philosophers stone. Yet how is this salutary remedy abused! How many hectical persons are sent out of the world by the use of it in their particular complaints by the ignorance of those who do not know that every thing in this world is relative, and that there is nothing so dangerous, as well in medicine as in every thing else, as the improper application of excellence itself."

In every other respect, become subjected and enslaved to this vice. If, indeed, like truth, a lie had but one face, we should be upon better terms with it, for we should then take for certain the direct contrary of what the liar said. But the reverse of truth has a hundred thousand faces, and is indefinite. The Pythagoreans tell us that good is certain and finite, evil infinite and uncertain. A thousand roads divert from the right way, one only can reach it. I really do not think that I could bring myself to tell a formal and an impudent lie to procure my deliverance from a great and imminent danger. One of the ancient fathers of the church tells us, that we are more pleased with the company of a dog with whom we are acquainted, than with that of a man whose language we do not understand; and how less agreeable to the nature of man is an untruth than absolute silence?" \*

Montague, speaking rather what he thought than what he read, has an energy of thought, and a raciness and force of expression that we but rarely meet with in any of our essay writers, except Jeremy Collier. His essays would well

bear another translation than that which Cotton made of them, in whose flimsy language the spirit and nerve of the honest and spiritless Gascon lose all their strength and effect.

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*Account of Elizabeth Woodcock, who remained buried in the Snow, without Food, for eight Days; from Annals of Medicine.*

A Remarkable and well-authenticated case, of a woman surviving nearly eight days buried in the snow, without food, has occurred this spring, near Impington, in Cambridgeshire. An account of it has been published by Mr. Oke, surgeon, from which we extract the following particulars: Elizabeth Woodcock, aged forty-two, of a slender delicate make, on her return from Cambridge, on the evening of the 2d of February, being fatigued and exhausted with running after her horse, which had started from her, and becoming incapable of proceeding, from the numbness of her hands and feet, sat down on the ground. At that time but a small quantity of the snow had drifted

\* The following account of the mischiefs of telling an untruth was given to the compiler by Daniel Braithwaite, esq. of the post-office:

A banknote had been stolen out of a letter; it was traced to the Bank, the clerks of which said they had paid it to a young man that very much resembled a person who was observed to have been present when the letter was delivered at the General Post-office. This was strong presumption; to make it, however, much stronger, the character of the young man was inquired into, and it appeared by the evidence of his brother clerks at the office, that he lived in a manner superior to what they could afford, and that he had often told them that they did not live well enough for him. This had great weight with the jury; he was convicted and executed. It appeared unfortunately soon after his execution, that the young man had lived in the most frugal manner to support his aged and distressed mother; and that, to prevent his being teased by his young friends for not living in the way they did (which would have completely put a stop to his pious exertions in favour of his mother), he had recourse to an untruth, which terminated so fatally and so disgracefully a virtuous, useful, and benevolent life, tainted only by a little foolish vanity.

near her, but it began to accumulate very rapidly; and when Cherterton bells rang, at eight o'clock, she was completely inclosed and hemmed in by it. To the best of her recollection, she slept very little during the first night, or indeed any of the succeeding nights or days, except Friday the 8th.

On the morning of the 3d, the first after her imprisonment, observing before her a circular hole in the snow, about two feet in length, and half a foot in diameter, running obliquely upwards through the mass, and closed with a thin covering of ice or snow, she broke off a branch of a bush that was close to her, and with it thrust her handkerchief through the hole as a signal of distress.

In consequence of this, the external air being admitted, she felt herself very cold. On the second morning, the hole was again closed up, and continued so till the third day, after which time it remained open. She heard distinctly the ringing of the village-bells, noises on the high-way, and even the conversation of some gypsies who passed near her, but could not make herself heard. She easily distinguished day and night, and could even read an almanack she took from her pocket. The sensation of hunger ceased almost entirely after the first day. Thirst was throughout her predominant feeling; and this she had the plentiful means of allaying, by sucking the surrounding snow. She felt no gratification from the use of her snuff.

On Friday the 8th, when a thaw took place, she felt uncommonly faint and languid, her clothes were wet quite through by the melted snow, and the aperture became en-

larged, and tempted her in vain to attempt to disengage herself.

On Sunday, the 10th, a little after mid-day, she was discovered. A piece of biscuit and a small quantity of brandy were given her, from which she found herself greatly recruited; but she was so much exhausted, that on being lifted into the chaise, she fainted.

Mr. Okes saw her that day on her way home. He found her hands and arms sodden, but not very cold, and her pulse did not indicate the great debility which might have been expected. Her legs were cold and her feet in a great measure mortified. She was directed to be put into bed without delay, and to take some weak broth occasionally, but no strong liquors, and not to be brought near the fire. Next day she was affected with symptoms of fever, her pulse was rising, her face was flushed, and her breathing short, occasioned probably by having taken too much food, and being incommoded by the crowd of visitors. Her feet were also in a complete state of mortification, her ankles cold and benumbed, and the integuments puffy. Cloths wetted with brandy were applied to her feet, some antifebrile remedies and a little opium were given her. The mortification, however, proceeded; and on the 17th of March, all her toes were removed, and both ossa calcis were bare in many parts. On the 17th of April, the date of the last report, the sores were free from sloughs, and diminishing daily in size; her appetite was become tolerably good; and her health was improving. Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, we find her death announced in the public prints of September, 1799.



*Defence of the City.*

Mr. Editor,

**A**S I find by the papers that one of our corps has written a letter, in which he complains that no two corps belonging to the city have been drilled in the same manner; and proposes therefore, that we should be incorporated into one grand body under the same discipline, you will permit me, I hope, to make some remarks on the scheme which strikes at the independence of the city corps, as well as at their usefulness.

It is very certain, sir, that no two companies or associations have been drilled in the same manner; but this letter-writer ought to have known that no two companies have the same duty to perform. Does he really think that the gentleman-like tactics necessary for the preservation of Broad-street Ward, the emporium of Russia merchants and bankers, would answer any purpose in the narrow defiles of Thames-street, or among the tortuosities of Dowgate or St. Mary Hill? Does he imagine that the changes of position necessary in Cripplegate could be effected by the hollow square in Walbrook; or that, though an oblique alinement may be wanted in Crooked-lane, the same motion would be expedient in the heights of Castle Baynard?

Believe me, sir, this gentleman has very strangely mistaken the matter. Each of our corps has a certain property to defend of a certain species, and has accordingly been drilled for that purpose, and no other. It would have been perfectly unnecessary for those who are to defend the grain in Mark-lane to

be taught the same manœuvres that will be practised in defending the Tower. And undoubtedly those brave men who may be posted in the narrow passes of Walling-street may perform the duty intrusted to them, although they have not been taught the more roomy manœuvres of Threadneedle-street.

The burthen, as we say in the city, is fitted to the back; and, if each ward and parish is defended in its own way, of what consequence is it that the whole corps have not been taught the same discipline? Surely, if it were necessary to multiply instances, I might ask whether the same skill that might be successfully employed against the enemy in Cheap-side would be any protection in 'Change-alley? or, whether those who had gained vast credit on the Royal Exchange might not be in danger of tarnishing their glories in Leadenhall-street?

It is impossible, Mr. Editor, that one set of manœuvres would answer for the whole city. You might as well endeavour to raise a corps of one height, one age, or one face. The great advantage of the variety of our discipline is, that every corps defends that in which it is most interested, and which it best understands. The same discipline that would suit a square would be lost in an alley; and a thoroughfare would require a degree of military experience superior to a halfpenny-hatch. Besides, sir, let us only consider the vast advantage we have over the enemy by knowing exactly every inch of the ground. Hence it will be found that the oldest inhabitants of every parish have been most distinguished for their skill in positions; some recommending to fortify the vestry, and others

others to keep a strong detachment in the public house.

I hope therefore, sir, that we shall hear no more of this grand incorporation plan. We might thereby be all taught alike; but I shrewdly suspect we should be all alike ignorant of our more immediate duties. Love of our country is, I grant, a general principle; but it is too general for actual service. It gives way to love of our city, and that to love of our ward, of our parish, and lastly, of our house and shop. Now, sir, in tracing this backwards, we cannot go farther than our ward; and there, I presume, for all necessary purposes, we ought to stop.

Not that I would have you to suppose that our discipline is so very discordant that we have nothing in common. I wish to obviate this prejudice. On the contrary, our shoulders are all equally square—our heels are all in a line and closed—our knees strait without stiffness—the like hath not been seen in London before! our toes are turned out, so that the feet of every parishioner (who is a house-keeper) forms an angle of 60 degrees; our arms hang near the body; the flat of our hands (where we used to take the money) touches the thigh; and our thumbs are all as far back as the seams of our small-clothes. To this let me add, sir, that our heads are erect, and neither turned to the right nor left; and, when you consider that this is the case with every man paying scot and lot, you must allow we have made no small proficiency in uniformity of discipline.

I have only to add one argument in favour of our being differently drilled; and it is this, that the more various our manœuvres are,

the more chance there is that some of them are right. I am, sir,

Your humble servant,

Orderly-room, Capt. Shandy.  
*St. Magnus.*

*A Letter from the Pepper-box to the Salt-box; from the Gentleman's Magazine.*

*Kitchen-dresser, Sept. 12, 1798.*

My dear Sal,

NOT having an opportunity of approaching near enough yesterday, during either dinner or supper, to speak to you, I have prevailed upon the coal-box, who has formed a coal-ition with the grate, and is now going to mend the parlour fire, to deliver this letter into your saline hands. Its purpose is to congratulate you on your promotion from this scene of drudgery and pestilence to the exalted station you now hold on the chimney-piece, whence you can look down upon the fire-shovel, tongs, and poker, lolling at their ease on the back of the fender with all the contempt that such iron-ical sloth and luxury can inspire, proceeding generally from such polished persons. As to my own part, I feel a sad reverse: clad in my humble suit of tin, I stand upon the kitchen shelf with my hand upon my side, subservient to the will of every menial servant; and, although I stare at them with all my eyes (which you know are pretty numerous), and very frequently shake my head at them in a very violent and significant manner, yet they regard me not, but rattle me about, till I am almost induced to cry out, 'Seven's the main.' These insults generally commence about one o'clock, and continue un-

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till

til four, when I am dressed in a transparent suit of cloths with a silver cap, and put to stand round a maypole with five or six people of known taste, clad in like manner, but of various properties and dispositions. The first is a Mr. Mustard, who, though esteemed rather thick and clumsy, and somewhat difficult of access, is nevertheless a sharp pungent sort of fellow at bottom, so much so, that he has been known to take people by the nose who were not well-bread to it. One day, on his return from the dinner-table, he presumed to bung up seven or eight of my eyes with the dirt of his coat, upon which I sneezed in his face, and mustered up courage, and challenged him to box (for I was then at all in the ring); but he thought fit to send an apology the next morning by the spoon. The latter is one of his chief leaders, and his mother's name was Pearl. The next to him is a Mr. Vinegar, a sharp crabbed fellow; I wish he was mum. The next is a gentleman I know little about, though I hear he is connected with my family, as well as that of the latter gentleman. He possesses two very extraordinary qualities, that of being hot and chilly at the same time. The next is a Mr. Sugar-caster (not Pollux), a hypocritical coxcomb, having a powdered head, with his eyes placed on the top, and generally bowing to ladies and children; of an apparently sweet disposition, but in reality acid at bottom, and one who, vinegar-like, sometimes creates intestine divisions.

Miss Oil, the last in rotation, is of a quiet gentle disposition, and no ways related to the family of the Casters, being derived from a branch of the Olives, who I wish were bet-

ter known in Europe. Thus, my dear Sal, have I endeavoured to describe to you my situation; and cannot help admiring you, who are resorted to by all persons of taste, and without whose assistance every thing is insipid. To be sure, the tax laid upon you lately was rather a partial and *Pitti*-ful measure; but you may be assured that it will only serve to make you more dear to the farmer as well as the public in general. Adieu, my once crystalized love! I hope we shall soon mingle over the blade-bone of a shoulder of mutton, and, making a devil of the cares of this life, crackle many an hour together on the gridiron of felicity. Mr. Black and Mr. Cayenne sent their redhot loves; and I remain yours, with the greatest warmth, and at all seasons,

Pepper-box.

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*The Universality of Genius; from the St. James's Chronicle, Feb. 11.*

Mr. Editor,

HOW fortunate must it be, that, surrounded as we are by "wars and rumours of wars," we have leisure to contemplate the vast increase of genius, which is obvious in every company and society with which we may happen to mix. For my own part, I am almost tired of seeing so many geniuses, and heartily wish we had a peace on the continent, that I might retire to some quarter where I could meet with a few plain, dull fellows like myself, and not run the risk of being knocked down by a genius in every turning.

It was but the other day that I happened to call at my shoemaker's for a pair of list shoes, to preserve my old bones. "Pray," says I,

"Mr.

" Mr. Solem, what do you intend to do with your son there? He is old enough now for some business."

—" Why, master, I means to bind him to my own trade, for he has a great genius for it."

I have likewise the honour to employ a carpenter, who was recommended to me as a great genius in fitting up a room; and he very naturally introduced a painter, another prodigious genius at a varnish.

Do we look at the fine arts, how immense the concourse for geniuses at one exhibition of paintings! The papers, indeed, do not treat them all with equal respect; but what does that signify? If a boy can daub something like a blue boar, or a red cow, or a golden lion, do not all his friends let him down for a genius; and does he not commence gentleman on the strength?—As to music, the whole nation may be deemed geniuses, from the blind fiddler at the corner of the street, up to Cramer. What immense numbers of geniuses may be heard piping, fiddling, and fluting, every night, in hopes that one day or other, they may *preside*\* at their own benefit with tickets ten shillings and sixpence each! I have a neighbour who had the honour of two musical sons, both eminent vocal performers; the one took his degrees in music at the Horseshoe, and the other at the Goose and Gridiron. Flattered by the encouragement of such reputable academies, and having received diplomas from the "Odd Fellows, the Free and Easy, and the Jolly Friars," they commenced their career as geniuses,

and undoubtedly would have risen to envied stations in our most fashionable orchestra's, had not the eldest been murdered one morning, as he was stepping out of Mr. Kirby's house, in the Old Bailey, by a gang of twelve fellows, who had conspired together for that purpose; and the youngest, I know not why, went twice over to America, where he remained on the first visit seven years, and on the second fourteen; after which, his parents received no tidings of this genius.

If we proceed to the sister art, poetry, I am certain we shall find the proportion considerably increased, especially as it unfortunately happens, that it is much easier to handle the pen than the bow or the brush, as poets are a kind of a people who do not wait until others call them geniuses, but consider themselves in that light from the moment they have tagged two lines together.

I heartily wish that something could be done to reduce the number of geniuses, otherwise we shall certainly be very soon in want of artificers and handicraftsmen of all descriptions. It is wonderful how much genius stands in the way of trade. I am obliged to send three or four sheets off for my rolls in a morning, because my baker has a genius for agriculture; and I seldom get a suit of clothes from my tailor, without perceiving that he has been employing his genius upon metaphysics. My worthy opposite neighbour, an eminent merchant, is perpetually complaining of having an enlightened counting-house.—

\* *Opus est interpretare.* *Preside* is the word now applied—not to the leader of the band, but to some distinguished performer—as, "Mr. — will *preside* at the harpsichord." Dr. Johnson did not live long enough to infer this meaning of the word, or to inquire whether it had any?

" I have not a clerk," says he, " who is not fit for every thing but what I employ him on. I am in perpetual danger of having my invoices written in rhyme; my answers to foreign correspondents would do credit to the University of Oxford; my book-keeper enters a room as if he were to speak a prologue; and I have a clever young dog, who collects bills, but who is so intent upon your answers to correspondents, that I can seldom get any to mine."

And lastly, Mr. Editor, even in

domestic matters, we have the advantage of being attended by geniuses. My dame is always telling me what a genius our daughter is at mince-meat—and persuaded me to allow my son to venture his neck on the Serpentine canal last frost, because he was a genius at skating. Pray, sir, let your correspondents take this matter into consideration, and propose some scheme for the reduction of genius, that business may not stand still.

Yours, &c.

No Genius.

# POETRY.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1799. By Henry James Pye, Esq. *Poet Laureat.*

## I.

**T**HOUGH the dun mist and driving rack  
 Awhile may hide the orb of day,  
 Aloft he keeps his radiant track,  
 Burning with undiminish'd ray;  
 And soon before his gorgeous fire  
 The evanescent clouds retire,  
 Then bursting forth, to mortal sight  
 His glories flash with keener blaze,  
 Dim with their force the dazzled gaze,  
 Sowing with flame divine the empyreal fields of light.

## II.

So while the lowering clouds of fate  
 O'er Europe's torpid regions spread,  
 They seem'd enthron'd in gloomy state,  
 To hang o'er Albion's drooping head;  
 Supreme in glory yet she stood  
 Superior to the vapoury flood.  
 And soon, before her kindling eye,  
 The scatter'd clouds dispersing fly,  
 In awful glory while appear,  
 Red with vindictive flame, the terrors of her spear.

## III.

Around her coast, fenc'd by her guardian main,  
 Around Ierne's kindred shores  
 Hark! loud invasion to her baffled train  
 In yells of desperation roars.  
 Along the hostile deep they vainly try  
 From Britain's thundering barks to fly;  
 Their fleets, the victor's trophy, captur'd ride,  
 In future battles doom'd to combat on our side.

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IV. Seas

## IV.

Seas where deathless bards of yore,  
 Singing to the silver tide,  
 Wafted loud from shore to shore  
 Grecian art and Roman pride.—  
 Say, when Carthage learn'd to vail,  
 To mightier foes her lofty sail;  
 Say when the man of Athens broke,  
 With daring prow the Median tyrant's yoke,  
 Saw ye so bold, so free a band,  
 As Nelson led by Nilus' strand;  
 What time, at George's high behest,  
 Dread in terrific vengeance dress'd,  
 Pierce as the whirlwind's stormy course  
 They pour'd on Gallia's guilty force;  
 And Egypt saw Britannia's flag unfurl'd,  
 Wave high its victor cross, deliverer of the world?

## V.

See floating friendly in the wind,  
 The Russian eagle with the crescent join'd,  
 And shall on earth Rome's cowering eagle lie  
 With ruffled plumage and with languid eye?  
 Imperial Austria rouse! While Albion's fleet  
 Sweeps stern Oppression from the main,  
 Send forth thy legions on the embattled plain,  
 Till savage inroad turn to foul defeat;  
 Strike with united arm the blow,  
 Lay the gigantic boaster low;  
 O'er your astonish'd fields who trod,  
 Deforming nature, and defying God!  
 So shall returning peace again  
 Delight the renovated plain;  
 Peace, on the basis firm of faith restor'd,  
 Wrung from Oppression's arm by Valour's conquering sword.

ODE for his Majesty's BIRTH-DAY, June 4, 1799. By Henry James  
 Pyc, Esq. Poet Laureat.

**S**TILL shall the brazen tongue of war  
 Drown every softer sound!  
 Still shall Ambition's iron car  
 Its crimson axles whirl around!  
 Shall the sweet lyre and flute no more  
 With gentle descant sooth the shore;  
 Pour in melodious strain the votive lay,  
 And hail, in notes of peace, our monarch's natal day?

O! seraph peace! to thee the eye  
 Looks onward with delighted gaze,  
 For thee, the nation breathes the sigh,  
 To thee their vows the virgins raise;  
 For thee the warrior cuts his course  
 Through armies rang'd in martial force.  
 Though distant far, thy holy form is seen,  
 And mountains rise, and oceans roll between;  
 Yet every sword that war unsheathes,  
 And every shout that conquest breathes,  
 Serve but to make thy blest return more sure,  
 Thy glorious form more bright, thy empire more secure.

When northward from his wintry gaol  
 Returns the radiant god of day,  
 And, climbing from th' antarctic pole,  
 Pours every hour a stronger ray;  
 Yet as he mounts through vernal signs,  
 Oft with diminished beams he shines,  
 Arm'd with the whirlwind's stormy force,  
 Rude March arrests his fiery course,  
 Sweeps o'er the bended wood, and roars  
 Infuriate round the wave-worn shores.  
 O'er the young bud while April pours  
 The pearly hail's ungenial show'rs,  
 Yet balmy gales and cloudless skies  
 Shall hence in bright succession rise.  
 Hence Maia's flowers the brow of Spring adorn,  
 Hence Summer's waving fields, and Autumn's plenteous horn.

From climes where Hyperborean rigours frown,  
 See his bold hands the warlike veteran bring,  
 Rous'd by the royal youth's renown,  
 Loud Austria's eagle claps his vigorous wing;  
 Mid fair Hesperia's ravag'd dales  
 The shouts of war the Gallic plunderers hear,  
 The avenging arm of justice learn to fear,  
 And low his crest the insulting despot veils,  
 While their collected navy's force  
 Spreads o'er the wave its desultory course,  
 From Britain's guardian fleet receding far,  
 Their proudest wreath to 'scape, nor meet the shock of war.



## HORACE'S ODE to THALIARCHUS, by Anna Seward.

**I**N dazzling whiteness, lo, Soraëte towers,  
 As all the mountain were one heap of snow;  
 Rush from the loaded woods the glitt'ring snows—  
 The frost-bound waters can no longer flow!

Let plenteous billets on the glowing hearth  
 Dissolve the ice-dart ere it reach thy veins;  
 Bring mellow wines, to prompt convivial mirth—  
 Nor heed th' arrested streams or slipp'ry plains!

High heav'n, restless in his varied sway,  
 Speaks!—The wild elements contend no more;  
 Nor then, from raging seas, the foamy spray  
 Climbs the dark rock, or curls upon the shore!

And peaceful then yon aged ash shall stand,  
 In breathless calm the dusky Cypress rise;  
 To-morrow's destiny the gods command;  
 To-day is thine—enjoy it, and be wise.

Youth's radiant tide too swiftly rolls away!—  
 Now, in its flow, let pleasures round thee bloom;  
 Join the gay dance, awake the melting lay  
 Ere hoary tresses blossom for the tomb!

Spears, and the steed, in busy camps impel;  
 And, when the early darkness veils the grove,  
 Amid the leafless boughs let whispers steal,  
 While frolic beauty seeks the near alcove.

Soft as thy tip-toe step the mazes rove:  
 A laugh half-smother'd thy pleas'd ear shall meet,  
 And sportive in the charming wiles of love,  
 Betray the artifice of coy retreat!

And then the ring, or from her snowy arm  
 The promis'd bracelet, may thy force employ:  
 Her feign'd reluctance, height'ning ev'ry charm,  
 Shall add new value to the ravi'd toy!

A PERSIAN KING to his SON; *from a Prose Translation in Sir William Jones's Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations.*

*By Anna Seward.*

GUARD thou, my son, the helpless and the poor;  
Nor in the chains of thine own indolence  
Slumber enervate, while the joys of sense  
Engross thee, and thou say'st—"I ask no more."  
Wise men the shepherd's slumber will deplore,  
When the rapacious wolf has leap'd the fence—  
And ranges through the fold! My son, dispense  
Those laws that justice to the wrong'd restore.

The common-weal should be the first pursuit  
Of the crown'd warrior; for the royal brows  
The people first enwreath'd—they are the root,  
The King the tree. Aloft he spreads his boughs  
Glorious:—but learn, impetuous youth, at length,  
Trees from the root alone derive their strength.

VERSES on his own BIRTH-DAY, *written by the Hon. Charles James Fox, addressed to a Lady.*

OF years I have now half a century past,  
And none of the fifty so bless'd as the last,  
How it happens my troubles thus daily should cease,  
And my happiness still with my years should increase,  
In defiance of Nature's more general laws  
You alone can explain, who alone are the cause.

A NEGRO SONG; *from an Event that occurred in Mr. Mungo Park's Travels in Africa. The Words by the Dukes of Devonshire.*

THE loud wind roar'd, the rain fell fast,  
The white man yielded to the blast:  
He sat him down, beneath our tree,  
For weary, sad, and faint, was he;  
And ah, no wife, or mother's care,  
For him the milk or corn prepare.

*Chorus.*

*Chorus.*

The white man shall our pity share;  
 Alas, no wife or mother's care,  
 For him the milk or corn prepare.

The storm is o'er, the tempest past;  
 And Mercy's voice has hush'd the blast.  
 The wind is heard in whispers low;  
 The white man far away must go;—  
 But ever in his heart will bear  
 Remembrance of the negro's care.

*Chorus.*

Go, white man, go;—but with thee bear  
 The negro's wish, the negro's pray'r;  
 Remembrance of the negro's care.

## EPILOGUE to the Play of PIZARRO; written by the Hon. Mr. Lapie

ERE yet suspense has fill'd its throbbing fear,  
 Or melancholy wip'd the graceful tear,  
 " While e'en the miseries of a sinking state,  
 " A monarch's danger and a nation's fate,  
 " Command not now your eyes with grief to flow,  
 " Lost in a trembling mother's nearer woe;"  
 What moral lay shall poetry rehearse,  
 Or how shall elocution pour the verse  
 So sweetly, that its music shall repay  
 The lov'd illusion which it drives away?  
 Mine is the task, to rigid custom due,  
 To me ungrateful, as 'tis harsh to you,  
 To mar the work the tragic scene has wrought,  
 To rouse the mind that broods in pensive thought,  
 To scare reflection, which in absent dreams  
 Still lingers musing on the recent themes,  
 " Attention, ere with contemplation tir'd,  
 " To turn from all that pleas'd, from all that fir'd,  
 " To weaken lessons strongly now impress,  
 " And chill the interest glowing in the breast—  
 " Mine is the task; and be it mine to spare  
 " The souls that pant the griefs they see to share;"  
 Let me with no unhallow'd jest deride  
 The sigh that sweet compassion owns with pride—

The sigh of comfort, to Affliction dear,  
 That Kindness heaves, and Virtue loves to hear,  
 E'en gay Thalia will not now refuse  
 This gentle homage to her sister-muse.  
 O! ye, who listen to the plaintive strain,  
 With strange enjoyment, and with rapturous pain,  
 Who erst have felt the Stranger's lone despair,  
 And Haller's settled, sad, remorseful care,  
 Does Rolla's pure affection less excite  
 The inexpressive anguish of delight?  
 Do Cora's fears, which beat without controul,  
 With less solicitude engross the soul?  
 Ah, no! your minds with kindred zeal approve  
 Maternal feeling, and heroic love.  
 " You must approve;—where man exists below,  
 " In temperate climes, or midst drear wastes of snow,  
 " Or where the solar fires incessant flame,  
 " Thy laws, all-powerful Nature, are the same—  
 " Vainly the sophist boasts he can explain  
 " The causes of thy universal reign—  
 " More vainly would his vain presumptuous art,  
 " Disprove thy general empire o'er the heart."  
 A voice proclaims thee, that we must believe,  
 A voice that surely speaks not to deceive;  
 That voice poor Cora heard, and closely prest  
 Her darling infant to her fearful breast;  
 Distracted dared the bloody field to tread,  
 And sought Alonzo through the heaps of dead,  
 " Eager to catch the music of his breath,  
 " Though faltering in the agonies of death,  
 " To touch his lips, though pale and cold, once more,  
 " And clasp his bosom, though it stream with gore;"  
 That voice too Rolla heard, and, greatly brave,  
 His Cora's dearest treasure died to save,  
 Gave to the hopeless parent's arms her child,  
 Beheld her transports and expiring smil'd.  
 That voice ye hear—O! be its will obey'd,  
 'Tis Valour's impulse, as 'tis Virtue's aid—  
 It prompts to all benevolence admires,  
 To all that heav'nly piety inspires,  
 To all that praise repeats through lengthen'd years,  
 That honour sanctifies, and time reveres.

N. B. For the Prologue to Pizarro, we refer our readers to the first  
 thirty lines of that to the "Miniature Picture" which we gave in our  
 Register for the year 1780.

SONG.

SONG in PIZARRO, *Sung by Mrs. Jordan, in the character of Cora:  
the Words by Mr. Sheridan.*

YES, yes, be merciless thou tempest dire,  
Unaw'd, unshelter'd I thy fury brave,  
I'll bear my bosom to thy forked fire,  
Let it but guide me to Alonzo's grave.

O'er his pale corse then while thy lightnings glare,  
I'll press his clay cold lips and perish there.

But thou wilt wake again my boy,  
Again thoult rise to life and joy,  
Thy Father never!  
Thy laughing eyes will meet the light,  
Unconscious that eternal night,  
Veils his for ever!

On yon green bed of moss there lies my child,  
O safer lies from these chill'd arms apart;  
He sleeps, sweet lamb, nor heeds the tempest wild,  
O sweeter sleeps than near this breaking heart!

Alas, my babe, if thou would'st peaceful rest,  
Thy cradle must not be thy mother's breast;

Yet thou wilt wake again my boy  
Again thoult rise to life and joy,  
Thy Father never!  
Thy laughing eyes will meet the light,  
Unconscious that eternal night  
Veils his for ever!

PIZARRO: *An excellent New Song.*

AS I walk'd through the Strand so careless and gay  
I met a young girl who was wheeling a barrow:  
"Choice fruit, sir," said she—"and a bill of the play?"  
So my apples I bought, and set off for Pizarro.

When I got to the door I was squeez'd, and cried "dear me  
 " I wonder they made the entrance so narrow!"  
 At last I got in, and found every one near me  
 Was busily talking of Mr. Pizarro!

Lo, the hero appears (what a strut and a stride!):  
 He might easily pass for Marshal Suwarrow!  
 And Elvira so tall, neither virgin nor bride—  
 The loving companion of gallant Pizarro!

But Elvira, alas, turn'd so dull and so prosy,  
 That I long'd for a hornpipe by little Del Caro;  
 Had I been 'mong the gods, I had surely cried—"Nafs,"  
 "Come play up a jig; and a fig for Pizarro!"

On his wife and his child his affection to pay,  
 Alonzo stood gazing, as straight as an arrow:  
 Of him I have only this little to say—  
 His boots were much neater than those of Pizarro!

Then the priestess and virgins, in robes white and flowing  
 Walk'd solemnly on—like a sow and her farrow,  
 And politely inform'd the whole house they were going  
 To entreat heav'n's curses on noble Pizarro!

Then at it they went. How they made us all stare!—  
 One growl'd like a bear, and one chirp'd like a sparrow  
 I listen'd; but all I could learn, I declare,  
 Was, that vengeance would certainly fall on Pizarro!

Rolla made a fine speech, with such *logic* and *grammar*  
 As must sure rouse the envy of *Counsellor Garrow*—  
 It would sell for five pounds, were it brought to the hammer;  
 For it rais'd all Peru against valiant Pizarro!

Four acts are told—!—but the fifth's my delight,  
 Where hist'ry's trac'd with the pen of a Varro;  
 And Elvira in black and Alonzo in white  
 Put an end to the piece, by killing Pizarro!

I have finish'd my song. If it had but a tune  
 (*Nancy Dawson* won't do, nor the sweet *Braes of Yarrow*),  
 I vow I would sing it from morning to noon—  
 So much am I charm'd with the play of Pizarro!

## ODE to the GERMAN DRAMA; by the late Mr. Seward.

## I.

DAUGHTER of night, chaotic queen !  
 Thou fruitful source of modern lays;  
 Whose subtle plot, and tedious scene  
 The monarch spurn, the robber raise—  
 Bound in thy necromantic spell,  
 The audience taste the joys of hell;  
 And Britain's sons indignant groan .  
 With pangs unfelt before, at crimes before unknown.

## II.

When first, to make the nations stare,  
 Folly her painted mask display'd,  
 Schiller sublimely mad was there,  
 And Kotz'bue lent his mighty aid—  
 Gigantic pair! their lofty soul,  
 Disdaining Reason's weak controul,  
 On changeful Britain sped the blow,  
 Who, thoughtless of her own, embrac'd fictitious woe.

## III.

Aw'd by the frown tremendous, fly  
 Fair Comedy's theatric brood;  
 Light satire, wit, and harmless joy,  
 And leave us, dungeons, chains, and blood;  
 Swift they disperse, and with them go  
 Mild Otway, sentimental Rowe,  
 Congreve averts the indignant eye,  
 And Shakspeare mourns to view th' exotic prodigy.

## IV.

Ruffians in regal mantle dight,  
 Maidens immers'd in thought profound,  
 Spectres that haunt the shades of night,  
 And spread a waste of ruin round:  
 These form thy never-varying theme,  
 While buried in thy Stygian stream,  
 Religion mourns her wasted fires,  
 And Hymen's sacred torch low hisses and expires.

## V.

O mildly o'er the British stage,  
 Great Anarch, spread thy sable wings;  
 Not fired with all the frantic rage,  
 With which thou hurl'st thy darts at kings,  
 (As thou in native garb art seen)  
 With scatter'd tresses, haggard mien,  
 Sepulchral chains, and hideous cry,  
 By despot arts immur'd in ghastly poverty.

## VI.

In specious form, dread queen, appear,  
 Let falsehood fill the dreary waste,  
 Thy democratic rant be here,  
 To fire the brain, corrupt the taste.  
 The fair, by vicious love misled,  
 Teach me to cherish, and to wed,  
 To low born arrogance to bend,  
 Establish'd order spurn, and call each outcast friend.

*Extract from the PLEASURES of HOPE, a Poem; by Thomas Campbell!*

DEPARTED spirits of the mighty dead!  
 Ye that at Marathon and Leucira bled!  
 Friends of the world! restore your swords to man,  
 Fight in his sacred cause, and lead the van!  
 Yet for Sarmatia's tears of blood atone,  
 And make her arm puissant as your own:—  
 Oh! once again to Freedom's cause return  
 The patriot Tell—the Bruce of Bannockburn!

Yes! thy proud lords, unpitied and! shall see  
 That man hath yet a soul—and dare be free!  
 A little while, along thy saddening plains,  
 The starless night of desolation reigns;  
 Truth shall restore the light by nature giv'n,  
 And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of heav'n!  
 Prone to the dust oppression shall be hurl'd,  
 Her name, her nature, wither'd from the world!

Ye that the rising morn invidious mark,  
 And hate the light—because your deeds are dark;  
 Ye that expanding truth invidious view,  
 And think, or with the song of Hope untrue;

Perhaps



Perhaps your little hands presume to span  
 The march of genius, and the pow'rs of man;  
 Perhaps ye watch, at Pride's unhallow'd shrine,  
 Her victims, newly slain, and thus divine:—  
 "Here shall thy triumph, Genius, cease, and here  
 Truth, Science, Virtue, close your short career."

Tyrants! in vain ye trace the wizard ring;  
 In vain ye limit mind's unwearied spring;  
 What! can ye lull the winged winds asleep,  
 Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep?  
 No:—the wild wave contemns your scepter'd hand;—  
 It roll'd not back when Canute gave command!

Man! can thy doom no brighter foil allow?  
 Still must thou live a blot on Nature's brow?  
 Shall War's polluted banner ne'er be furl'd?  
 Shall crimes and tyrants cease but with the world?  
 What! are thy triumphs, sacred Truth, belied?  
 Why then hath Plato liv'd—or Sydney died?

Ye fond adorers of departed fame,  
 Who warm at Scipio's worth, or Tully's name!  
 Ye that, in fancied vision, can admire  
 The sword of Brutus, and the Theban lyre!  
 Wrapt in historic ardour, who adore  
 Each classic haunt and well-remember'd shore,  
 Where Valour tun'd, amid her chosen throng,  
 The Thracian trumpet and the Spartan song;  
 Or, wand'ring thence, behold the later charms  
 Of England's glory, and Helvetia's arms!  
 See Roman fire in Hampden's bosom swell,  
 And fate and freedom in the shaft of Tell!  
 Say, ye fond zealots to the worth of yore,  
 Hath Valour left the world—to live no more?  
 No more shall Brutus bid a tyrant die,  
 And sternly smile with vengeance in his eye?  
 Hampden no more, when suffering Freedom calls,  
 Encounter fate, and triumph as he falls?  
 Nor Tell disclose, through peril and alarm,  
 The might that slumbers in a peasant's arm?

Yes! in that generous cause, for ever strong,  
 The patriot's virtue and the poet's song  
 Still, as the tide of ages rolls away,  
 Shall charm the world, unconscious of decay!

Yes! there are hearts, prophetic hope may trust,  
That slumber yet in uncreated dust,  
Ordain'd to fire th' adoring sons of earth  
With every charm of wisdom and of worth;  
Ordain'd to light, with intellectual day,  
The mazy wheels of nature as they play,  
Or, warm with Fancy's energy, to glow,  
And rival all but Shakpeare's name below!

*The Hopes of Love; from the same Poem.*

WHO that would ask a heart to dulness wed,  
The waveless calm, the slumber of the dead?  
No; the wild blis of nature needs alloy,  
And fear and sorrow fan the fire of joy!  
And say, without our hopes, without our fears,  
Without the home that plighted love endears,  
Without the smile from partial beauty won,  
Oh! what were man?—a world without a sun!

Till Hymen brought his love-delighted hour,  
There dwelt no joy in Eden's rosy bow'r!  
In vain the viewless seraph ling'ring there,  
At starry midnight, charm'd the silent air;  
In vain the wild-bird carol'd on the steep,  
To hail the sun, slow-wheeling from the deep;  
In vain, to soothe the solitary shade,  
Aerial notes in mingling measure play'd;  
The summer wind that shook the spangled tree,  
The whispering wave, the murmur of the bee—  
Still slowly pass'd the melancholy day,  
And still the stranger wist not where to stray—  
The world was sad!—the garden was a wild!—  
And man, the hermit, sigh'd—till woman smil'd!

True! the sad power to generous hearts may bring  
Delirious anguish on his fiery wing!  
Barr'd from delight by Fate's untimely hand,  
By wealthless lot, or pitiless command:  
Or doom'd to gaze on beauties that adorn  
The smile of triumph, or the frown of scorn;  
While memory watches o'er the sad review  
Of joys that faded like the morning dew;  
Peace may depart—and life and nature seem  
A barren path—a wildness, and a dream!

VOL. XLI.

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But,

But, can the noble mind for ever brood,  
 The willing victim of a weary mood,  
 On heartless cares that squander life away,  
 And cloud young genius bright'ning into day !—  
 Shame to the coward thought that e'er betray'd  
 The noon of manhood to a myrtle shade !—  
 If hope's creative spirit cannot raise  
 One trophy sacred to thy future days,  
 Scorn the dull crowd that haunt the gloomy shrine  
 Of hopeless love, to murmur and repine !  
 But, should a sigh of milder mood express  
 Thy heart-warm wishes true to happiness,  
 Should heav'n's fair harbinger delight to pour  
 Her blissful visions on thy pensive hour,  
 No tear to blot thy memory's pictur'd page,  
 No fears but such as fancy can assuage ;  
 Though thy wild heart some hapless hour may miss  
 The peaceful tenor of unvaried bliss,  
 (For love pursues an ever devious race,  
 True to the winding lineaments of grace) ;  
 Yet still may hope her talisman employ  
 To snatch from heaven anticipated joy,  
 And all her kindred energies impart  
 That burn the brightest in the purest heart !

*Apophthegm to the Poets of the Age. From the ANTIJACOBIN Newspaper.*

**B**UT say,—indignant does the muse retire,  
 Her shrine deserted, and extinct its fire—  
 No pious hand to feed the sacred flame,  
 No raptur'd soul a poet's charge to claim ?  
 Bethink thee, Gifford, when some future age  
 Shall trace the promise of thy playful page ;  
 \* The hand which brush'd a swarm of fools away  
 Should rouse to grasp a more reluctant prey !  
 Think then, will pleaded indolence excuse  
 The tame secession of thy languid muse ?  
 Ah ! where is now that promise ? why so long  
 Sleep the keen shafts of satire and of song ?  
 Oh ! come, with taste and virtue at thy side,  
 With ardent zeal inflam'd, and patriot pride ;  
 With keen poetic glance direct the blow,  
 And empty all thy quiver on the foe :—

\* See the motto prefixed to " The Baviad," a poem, by W. Gifford, esq.

No pause—no rest—'till weltering on the ground  
The poisonous hydra lies, and pierc'd with many a wound.

Thou too!—the \* nameless Bard, whose honest zeal  
For law, for morals, for the public weal,  
Pours down impetuous on thy country's foes  
The stream of verse, and many languaged prose;  
Thou too!—though oft thy ill-advis'd dislike  
The guiltless head with random censure strike,—  
Though quaint allusions, vague and undefin'd,  
Play faintly round the ear, but mock the mind;  
Through the mix'd mass yet truth and learning shine,  
And manly vigour stamps the nervous line;  
And patriot warmth the generous rage inspires,  
And wakes and points the desultory fires!

Yet more remain unknown:—for who can tell  
What bashful genius, in some rural cell,  
As year to year, and day succeeds to day,  
In joyless leisure wastes his life away?  
In him the flame of early fancy shone;  
His genuine worth his old companions own;  
In childhood and in youth their chief confess'd,  
His master's pride, his pattern to the rest, †  
Now, far aloof retiring from the strife  
Of busy talents, and of active life,  
As, from the loop-holes of retreat, he views  
Our stage, verse, pamphlets, politics, and news,  
He loaths the world, or with reflection sad  
Concludes it irrecoverably mad;  
Of taste, of learning, morals, all bereft,  
No hope, no prospect, to redeem it left.

Awake! for shame! or e'er thy nobler sense  
Sink in th' oblivious pool of indolence!  
Must wit be found alone on Falsehood's side,  
Unknown to Truth, to Virtue unallied?  
Arise! nor scorn thy country's just alarms;  
Wield in her cause thy long-neglected arms:  
Of lofty satire pour th' indignant strain,  
Leagued with her friends, and ardent to maintain,  
'Gainst Learning's, Virtue's, Truth's, Religion's foes,  
A kingdom's safety, and the world's repose.

If vice appal thee, if thou view with awe  
Insults that brave, and crimes that 'scape the law;  
Yet may the specious bastard brood, which claim  
A spurious homage under Virtue's name,

\* Author of "Pursuits of Literature."

† Some particular person is evidently here alluded to.

Sprung from that parent of ten thousand crimes,  
 The *new philosophy* of modern times;  
 Yet, these may rouse thee!—with unsparing hand  
 Oh, lash the vile impostures from the land!

First, stern philanthropy:—not she, who dries  
 The orphan's tears, and wipes the widow's eyes;  
 Not she, who, faintest charity her guide,  
 Of British bounty pours the annual tide:—  
 But French philanthropy;—whose boundless mind  
 Glows with the general love of all mankind;—  
 Philanthropy, beneath whose baneful sway  
 Each patriot passion sinks, and dies away.

Taught in her school t' imbibe the mawkish strain,  
 Condorcet, filter'd through the dregs of Paine,  
 Each pert adept disowns a Briton's part,  
 And plucks the name of England from his heart.

What, shall a name, a word, a sound controul  
 Th' aspiring thought, and cramp th' expansive soul?  
 Shall one half-peopled island's rocky round  
 A love, that glows for all creation, bound?

And social charities contract the plan  
 Fram'd for thy freedom, *universal man*?  
 —No—through th' extended globe his feelings run,  
 As broad and general as th' unbounded sun!  
 No narrow bigot *he*;—his reason'd view  
 Thy interests, England, ranks with thine, Peru!  
 France, at our doors, *he* sees no danger nigh,  
 But heaves for Turkey's woes th' impartial sigh;  
 A steady patriot of the world alone,  
 The friend of every country—but his own.

Next comes a gentler virtue—Ah! beware  
 Lest the harsh verse her shrinking softness scare.  
 Visit her not too roughly;—the warm sigh  
 Breaths on her lips; the tear-drop gems her eye.  
 Sweet sensibility, who dwells enshrin'd  
 In the fine foldings of the feeling mind;  
 With delicate *Mimosa's* sense endu'd,  
 Who shrinks instinctive from a hand too rude;  
 Or, like the *Anagallis*, precient flow'r,  
 Shuts her soft petals at th' approaching show'r.

Sweet child of sickly Fancy!—her of yore  
 From her lov'd France Rousseau to exile bore;  
 And, while 'midst lakes and mountains wild he ran,  
 Full of himself, and shunn'd the haunts of man,  
 Taught her, o'er each lone vale and Alpine steep, -  
 To list the story of his wrongs, and weep;

Taught her to cherish still in either eye,  
 Of tender tears a plentiful supply,  
 And pour them in the brooks that babbled by ;—  
 Taught by nice scale to meet her feelings strong,  
 False by degrees, and exquisitely wrong ;  
 —For the crush'd beetle, *first*—the widow'd dove,  
 And all the warbled sorrows of the grove ;  
 Next for poor suffering *guilt* :—and, *last* of all,  
 For parents, friends, a king and country's fall.  
 Mark her fair votaries, prodigal of grief,  
 With cureless pangs, and woes that mock relief,  
 Droop in soft sorrow o'er a faded flow'r ;  
 O'er a dead jack-als pour the pearly show'r :  
 But hear, unmov'd, of Loire's ensanguin'd flood,  
 Choak'd up with slain ;—of Lyons drench'd in blood ;  
 Of crimes that blot the age, the world with shame,  
 Foul crimes, but sicklied o'er with Freedom's name ;  
 Altars and thrones subverted, social life  
 Trampled to earth,—the husband from the wife,  
 Parent from child, with ruthless fury torn,  
 Of talents, honour, virtue, wit, forlorn,  
 In friendless exile,—of the wife and good  
 Staining the daily scaffold with their blood—  
 Of savage cruelties, that scare the mind,  
 The rage of madness with hell's lusts combin'd—  
 Of hearts torn reeking from the mangled breast,  
 They bear—and hope, that *all is for the best*.

SIMPLICITY, or the CURATE ; from Peter Pindar's *Nil Admirari, or a Smile at a Bishop*.

HOW difficult, alas ! to please mankind !  
 One or the other every moment mutters :  
 This wants an eastern, that a western wind ;  
 A third, petition for a southern, utters.  
 Some pray for rain, and some for frost and snow ;  
 How can heav'n suit all palates ?—I don't know.

Good Lamb, the curate, much approv'd,  
 Indeed by all his flock belov'd,  
 Was one dry summer begg'd to pray for rain :  
 The parson most devoutly pray'd—  
 The pow'rs of pray'r were soon display'd ;  
 Immediately a torrent drench'd the plain.

It chanc'd that the churchwarden, Robin Jay,  
 Had of his meadow not yet sav'd the hay :  
 Thus was his hay to health quite past restoring.  
 It happen'd too that Robin was from home ;  
 But when he heard the story, in a foam  
 He fought the parson, like a lion roaring.

" Zounds ! parson Lamb, why, what have ye been doing ?  
 " A pretty storm indeed ye have been brewing !  
 " What ! pray for rain before I sav'd my hay.  
 " Oh ! you're a cruel and ungrateful man !  
 " I that for ever help you all I can ;  
 " Ask you to dine with me and Mrs. Jay,  
 " Whenever we have something on the spit,  
 " Or in the pot a nice and dainty bit.

" Send you a goose, a pair of chicken,  
 " Whole bones you are so fond of picking ;  
 " And often too a cag of brandy !  
 " You that were welcome to a treat,  
 " To smoke and chat, and drink and eat ;  
 " Making my house so very handy !

" You, parson, serve one such a scurvy trick !  
 " Zounds ! you must have the bowels of old nick,  
 " What ! bring the flood of Noah from the skies,  
 " With *my* fine field of hay before your eyes !  
 " A numscull that I wern't of this aware !  
 " Curse me, but I had stopp'd your pretty pray'r !"

" Dear master Jay (quoth Lamb), alas ! alas !  
 " I never thought upon your field of grafs."  
 " Lord ! parson, you're a fool, one might suppose,  
 " Was not the field just underneath your *nose* ?  
 " This is a very pretty losing job !"—  
 " Sir," quoth the curate, " know that Harry Cobb,  
 " Your brother warden joined, to have the pray'r."—  
 " Cobb Cobb ! why, this for Cobb was only *sport* :  
 " What doth Cobb own that any rain can *hurt* ?"  
 Roar'd furious Jay, as broad as he could stare.

" The fellow owns, as far as I can *larn*,  
 " A few old houses only, and a barn ;  
 " As that's the case, zounds ! what are show'rs to *him* ?  
 " Not Noah's flood could make *his* trumpery swim.

" Besides

" Besides—why could not you for *drizzle* pray ?  
 " Why force it down in buckets on the hay ?  
 " Would I have play'd with your hay such a freak ?  
 " No ! I'd have stopped the weather for a week."

" Dear mister Jay, I do protest  
 " I acted solely for the best ;  
 " I do affirm it, mister Jay, indeed  
 " Your anger for this *once* restrain,  
 " I'll never bring a drop again  
 " 'Till you and all the parish are *agreed*."

VERSES, *written, during a Fit of Sickness, by John Lord Hervey.*  
 (*Now first published.*)

EACH hour my spirits and my strength decay,  
 Each hour my cares and all my ills increase ;  
 In pain and lassitude I drag the day,  
 Bankrupt of Joy, and stranger ev'n to Ease.

And when the world's great Æsculapius, Sleep,  
 His hallowed balm distils through ev'ry breast,  
 Forbids Calamity a while to weep,  
 And gives Despair herself a transient rest ;

My eyes alone, rebellious to his power,  
 Refuse his friendly edicts to obey ;  
 At night the rigour of my fate deplore,  
 Long for the dawn, yet dread the coming day !



## Account of Books for 1799.

*A Voyage round the World, in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, by J. F. G. de la Pérouse : published conformably to the Decree of the National Assembly, of the 22d of April, 1791, and edited by M. L. A. Milet Mureau, Brigadier-General in the Corps of Engineers, Director of Fortifications, Ex-constituent and Member of several Literary Societies at Paris. Translated from the French. In three Volumes, 8vo. With an Atlas.*

NEITHER length of time, nor the quick succession of events the most important and the most universally interesting, seem to have diminished the eagerness of expectation for the account of the labours of this enterprising but unfortunate navigator ; to whose great care and foresight the world are indebted for any advantages which they may obtain from the results of his researches ; as he seized every opportunity of sending, successively, his journals and observations to Europe. The editor justly regrets the want of diligence in the other scientific persons embarked with their worthy commander ; who, if they had exerted themselves in the like manner, might have prevented the total loss of many articles and branches of important information.

Yet it appears that those gentlemen were not all alike negligent, as the last volume is in a great measure composed of notes and detached pieces, forwarded to government by the men of science employed in the expedition.

About two years after the time at which M. de la Pérouse had been expected to return to France, it was proposed and decreed by the national assembly, (their attention having been drawn to the subject by a petition from the society of Natural History at Paris, January 22, 1791,) that two ships should be sent in search of him : the last accounts, which he had transmitted home, giving a clue to form an opinion of the route that he had intended to pursue. The ships were accordingly dispatched, under the command of M. d'Entrecasteaux : but the search was not attended with success at all proportioned to their active and humane endeavours ; and no new certain information was procured respecting the fate of M. de la Pérouse and his companions.

By a decree of the same assembly, it was likewise directed that the accounts and charts, which this lamented navigator had sent home, should be printed and engraved at the national expense ; and the profits were assigned to his widow.

Both

Both the decrees manifest much regard and attention for M. de la Pérouse and his associates, and are expressed with that degree of feeling which the circumstances must naturally excite.

The preparation of the materials which had been received, for the press, was at first intrusted to the care of M. Fleurieu, minister of the marine: but circumstances having obliged this gentleman to relinquish the undertaking, it was put into the hands of the present editor, M. Milet Mureau, ex-constituent, and a brigadier-general in the engineers. He offers an apology for having fixed the title of a voyage round the world; which we think very allowable, as all the route of importance to discovery was completed, and the return from China to Europe only was wanting.

The editor also gives some particulars of the life of la Pérouse;—which, from the age of 15, when (in the year 1756) he first entered into the French marine, to the time of his death, was a life of almost constant hard service. He was in several actions against our countrymen. The following is the character given of him by M. Mureau:

‘Uniting in himself the vivacity peculiar to the inhabitants of warm climates, with an agreeable wit, and an equal temper, his mildness and his amiable gaiety made his company always sought after with eagerness: on the other hand, matured by long experience, he joined to uncommon prudence a firmness of character, which is the characteristic of a strong mind, and which, increased by the hardships of a seaman’s life, rendered him qualified to attempt, and to conduct the greatest enterprizes with success.’

The most honourable testimony to his character, however, and to which is given the evidence of our own countrymen, is his humane conduct when sent to destroy the English settlements in Hudson’s Bay, in the year 1782. Knowing that at his approach the English had fled into the woods, and that at his departure, on account of the destruction of their settlements, they would be exposed to the danger of perishing with hunger, or of falling defenceless into the hands of the savages, he had the singular humanity and generosity to leave them provisions and arms.

In a preliminary discourse by the editor, a plan is suggested for the perfection of geography, by establishing a congress composed of astronomers, hydrographers, navigators, &c. and it is recommended that each of the maritime nations should contribute a proportion to the expense of expeditions, planned by and under the instructions of the congress, &c. This design requires a time of perfect peace and good neighbourhood.

The meridians in the voyage before us are throughout reckoned from Paris: on which head the editor remarks the inconvenience of calculations from many different meridians, and proposes, in order to obviate disputes for pre-eminence, to establish, as the first meridian that ‘remarkable peak which nature seems to have placed in the middle of the seas to serve as a beacon for navigators,’ i. e. the peak of Teneriffe. This new meridian, he observes, would leave our immense materials of geography in their full value; and he adds that it is with regret that he rejects, for the present, the plan which has  
been

been recommended by Borda, and other learned men, for adopting a decimal division of the circle and of time: as it would almost destroy the value of the old materials in astronomical science, and for a great length of time occasion much perplexity.

The history of the voyage commences with copies of the instructions given to the commander; to which is prefixed a note from the French king (Louis XVI.), under whose particular patronage the expedition was designed and executed. They are divided under distinct heads.

The plan of the voyage, according to these directions, appears to us too extensive: for more was undertaken than a single expedition could well accomplish. The time requisite, according to the calculation of those who formed the design, exceeded four years; and allowances must always be made, in such long voyages, for accidents which are not to be foreseen or prevented, but which must be expected. Of this circumstance, indeed, they were not unmindful, for the orders are qualified by giving to M. de la Pérouse a considerable degree of discretionary power, relying on his abilities and on his zeal for the service in which he was engaged.

Many parts of the instructions are drawn up with great judgment. The acquirement of information respecting the interests of commerce is an object not neglected. The navigator was directed to inquire into the American fur-trade, and likewise into the particulars of the concerns of the Dutch and English in the Molucca and Spice islands; with other matters of a

politico-commercial nature. The interests of general knowledge and humanity are likewise objects of attention. Kindness and moderation are in the strongest manner recommended to be observed in all intercourse with Indians; with this addition, "his majesty will look upon it as one of the most successful parts of the expedition, should it be terminated without costing the life of a single man:" this is highly commendable, in every view!

The general interest which was excited by this undertaking appears in many instances; and in the equipment, the ships were most liberally provided with every thing that could be thought useful.

It has been mentioned that no step was taken towards publication, till the return of the ships began to be considered as almost hopeless. M. de la Pérouse, in a letter which he had written to a friend, had desired that, if his journal should be printed before his return, it might be trusted to the direction of a man well versed in mathematical knowledge, and not to one who was merely a man of letters. In their appointment of an editor, the French government seem to have coincided in opinion with the lamented navigator; and the charts have been executed under the direction of M. Buache, hydrographer of the marine.

The first paper presented to the reader, from the materials sent home by M. de la Pérouse, is a narrative of a voyage made in a Spanish frigate, *la Princesa*, commanded by Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle, from Manilla to San Blas in New Spain. This narrative was translated from the Spanish original by A. G. Pingré; and is accompa-

nied

nied with a chart constructed by Buache. The voyage, by the addition of some newly-discovered islands, assists, in some degree, towards completing the geography of the South Seas: but the situations given by the Spanish commander appear not always worthy of reliance; and the translator complains that the original journal was, in some places, unintelligible. The track and the narrative likewise disagree, though Buache has taken considerable pains in endeavouring to reconcile them.

We have here also other accounts of voyages of the Spaniards, to explore the N. W. coast of America, but unaccompanied with charts.—They differ from our discoveries in their account of the longitudes, and there is nothing peculiarly interesting in the occurrences. With these accounts, what the editor calls the preliminary part concludes; and we now enter on the subject of M. de la Pérouse's voyage.

On the 1st of August, 1785, the two frigates *la Boussole*, and *l'Astrolabe*, the latter commanded by M. de Langle, but both under the orders of M. de la Pérouse, sailed from Brest Road. They touched at Madeira and at Teneriffe; at the first of which places they experienced much kindness and attention from Mr. Johnson, an English merchant, and from Mr. Murray the British consul.

October the 15th. They saw the island of Trinidad, which, since it has been forsaken by the English, has been occupied by the Portuguese, as M. de la Pérouse conjectures, from no other motive than lest some other European nations should avail themselves of the vic-

page, and carry on a contraband trade with the Brasils.

After having quitted Trinidad, they endeavoured to find the island Ascension, but missed it; which, with what the commodore afterwards heard at St. Catherine's, made him conclude that no such island exists. On the 6th of November, they anchored at the island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brasil; which is described as a convenient and excellent place for all necessary refreshments. In prosecuting their route from this place towards the south, they searched for the *île Grande de la Roche*, but without success. The editor is of opinion that M. de la Pérouse too hastily pronounces against the existence of lands which he cannot find in the positions assigned for them. He observes:

'It would be dangerous to the progress of navigation, and fatal to navigators, to adopt the method of expunging islands formerly discovered from the charts, under the pretence of their having been sought for in vain, or of their position being at any rate uncertain, in consequence of the want of means to lay them down with precision upon the charts, at the time of their discovery.

'I have the greater right to express my disapprobation of such a method, as, a few pages back, I have proved that Ascension really exists, and that those who should expunge an island from the globe, would be in a manner responsible for the risks to which navigators who might fall in with it would be exposed by the false security inspired by the charts; while its being laid down, even in an uncertain manner, by keeping  
alive

alive the attention of mariners, may render the finding of it again a matter of greater facility.

In the course of 66 days, in these latitudes, they experienced only 18 hours of easterly wind: but the weather being moderate, they with little difficulty rounded Cape Horn. On the 9th of February they were abreast of the Straits of Magellan in the South Seas; and on the 24th they anchored in the bay of Conception, on the coast of Chili: the crew being in so good a state of health, that in the two ships there was not a single man on the sick list. The Bay of Conception is here described to be one of the most commodious harbours that can be found in any part of the world. The old city was destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1751, or rather swallowed up by the sea. The new city is three leagues distant from the site of Old Conception, and is of greater extent, because the houses are built only one story high, that they may be the better able to resist the earthquakes that happen every year. M. de la Pérouse says of this part of Chili, that 'there is not in the universe a soil more fertile.— Corn yields sixty for one; the vineyards are equally productive; and the plains are covered with innumerable flocks which multiply beyond what can easily be imagined, though abandoned entirely to themselves.' The climate is remarkably healthy; and he found here, then living, several persons who had completed a century: yet, with all these advantages, this is not a thriving colony; which he attributes principally to the prohibitive regulations that exist from one end of Chili to the other. Eu-

ropean goods pay immense duties: first at Cadiz, then at Lima, and lastly on their entering Chili. The administration of justice is likewise very defective. The character given of the common people is that they are a mongrel race, much addicted to thieving, and the women exceedingly easy of access. The country M. de la Pérouse observes, unfortunately produces a small quantity of gold.

'Almost all the rivers being auriferous, the inhabitant by washing the earth can earn, it is said, half a dollar a day; but as provisions are very abundant, he has no real want to incite him to labour.— Without communication with foreigners, and unacquainted with our luxury and arts, he can desire nothing with sufficient energy to overcome his sloth.'— Sloth, still more than credulity and superstition, has peopled this country with nuns and monks.'

However, he praises the inhabitants of the first class, and gives them the character of being remarkably polite, obliging, and hospitable.

Having said thus much of the inhabitants of Conception, we will present our readers with the more curious and interesting description of the native Indians:

'The Indians of Chili are no longer those Americans who were inspired with terror by European weapons. The increase of horses, which are now dispersed through the interior of the immense deserts of America, and that of oxen and sheep, which has also been very great, have converted these people into a nation of Arabs, comparable in every respect to those that inhabit the deserts of Arabia. Constantly

on horseback, they consider an excursion of two hundred leagues as a very short journey. They march, accompanied by their flocks and herds; feed upon their flesh and milk; and sometimes upon their blood; \* and cover themselves with their skins, of which they make helmets, cuirasses, and bucklers.—Hence it appears that the introduction of two domestic animals has had a decisive influence upon the manners of all the tribes which inhabit the country from St. Jago to the Straits of Magellan. All their old customs are laid aside; they no longer feed on the same fruits, nor wear the same dress; but have a more striking resemblance to the Tartars, or to the inhabitants of the banks of the Red Sea, than to their ancestors, who lived two centuries ago.

‘It is easy to conceive how formidable such people must be to the Spaniards. How is it possible to follow them in such long excursions? How is it possible to prevent assemblages which bring together in a single point nations scattered over four hundred leagues of country, and thus form armies of thirty thousand men?’

Major-general Higuins, an Irish gentleman, in the king of Spain's service, and who was commandant of the troops in this province, succeeded in gaining the good-will of these Indians, rendering thereby ‘the most signal service to the nation that has adopted him.’

The *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* sailed from Conception to Manila, which place they left on the 9th of April, 1787, though the N. E. monsoon was not yet terminated. In passing

the island of Formosa, they saw a Chinese fleet, in which was an army sent against the Formosans, who had renounced their subjection to the Chinese.—Our voyagers now made the best of their way towards the Japan islands. On the 5th of May, they were visited by some canoes from an island which M. de la Pérouse conjectures to be that which is named *Kumi*, in the chart of Father Gaubil. The men in the canoes at first approached with great circumspection, and with signs of distrust, like people unused to the sight of Europeans; but, by tokens of peace, and the sight of some stuffs, two of the canoes were induced to come alongside. ‘These islanders are neither Japanese nor Chinese, but, situated between these two empires, they seem to partake of both people. Their covering was a shirt, and a pair of cotton drawers. Their hair, tucked up on the crown of the head, was rolled round a needle, which seemed to us to be gold: each of them had a dagger, the handle of which was gold also.’ M. de la Pérouse wished to have landed on this island, which was not more than 3 or 4 leagues in circumference, but the currents set him so far to leeward that he was obliged to relinquish his intention. The islanders invited them by signs to stay; promising that the canoes should return to them with provisions.

The ships passed several small islands, and had foggy weather till the 21st, when they made the island *Quelpaert*, the south end of which lies in 33° 14' N. latitude. The

\* ‘I have been assured that they sometimes bleed their oxen and horses, and drink the blood.’

appearance of this island is mentioned as very inviting. With glasses, they could perceive the division of fields, 'parcelled out; which is the strongest proof of a great population. The very varied gradation of colours, from the different states of cultivation, rendered the view of this island still more agreeable.' After this description, we cannot help feeling concern that such an island, situated so immediately midway between China and Japan, should have been passed, and 'in the finest possible weather,' without any knowledge being obtained of the inhabitants, or of the country, except what a very distant view afforded. M. de la Pérouse, however, seems to have been deterred from attempting any intercourse with these people, by the narrative of the treatment experienced by the crew of a Dutch ship, wrecked on this coast so long ago as the year 1635. 'Unfortunately (says he) it belongs to a people who are prohibited from all communication with strangers, and who detain in slavery those who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked on their coasts. Some of the Dutchmen of the ship Sparrow-hawk, after a captivity of eighteen years there, during which they received many bastinadoes, found means to take away a bark, and to cross to Japan, from whence they arrived at Batavia, and afterwards at Amsterdam. This history, the narrative of which is now before us, was not calculated to induce us to send a boat on shore.' Besides the length of time which has elapsed since the shipwreck here mentioned, it is not by the treatment which wrecked seamen experience, who are wholly defence-

less, that the welcome to ships qualified to defend themselves can be calculated; and in this instance we are not told that the crew of the Dutch ship were put to death, though in other respects they were said to have been hardly used.

On the 25th of May, they saw part of the western coast of Japan, and passed the strait of Corea. They sailed nearest to the continent, and could see the houses and towns on the sea-shore. On the tops of some mountains, they observed 'fortifications exactly resembling those of European forts,' which they conjectured to have been erected for defence against the Japanese. The habitations on this part of the coast were very numerous. 'We counted a dozen of shampans or junks sailing along the coast; these vessels did not appear to differ in any respect from those of China; like these their sails were made of mats. The sight of our ships did not appear to cause much fear in them.' None of the vessels came near enough to speak with the ships: Towards noon, two boats put off from the shore to reconnoitre, but did not come within less than a league of the ships, and, after having followed them for two hours, returned to the shore. In the afternoon, fires were seen lighted on all the promontories.

On the 29th, the ships passed an island about 20 leagues distant from the coast of Corea, of little more than 3 leagues in circumference, which was steep, and covered with trees from the sea-shore to the summit. In the creeks of this island, the navigators saw a number of boats building; but most of the workmen fled into the woods,

woods, and hid themselves, till the ships were past.

The wind settling at S. S. East, M. de la Pérouse steered to the eastward, for the coast of Japan. On the 2d of June, they saw two Japanese vessels; of which a drawing is given with the narrative. The ships hailed one of them, and an answer was returned: but neither side understood the other.

'We passed so near to this vessel (says M. de la P.), that we observed even the countenances of individuals. They were expressive of neither fear nor astonishment. It had a crew of 20 men, all clad in blue cassocks, made like those of our priests.'

On the 6th of June, they saw part of the coast of Japan, which M. de la P. judged to be Cape Noto. Having determined the latitude and longitude of this cape, and the weather becoming foggy, they steered for the shore of Tartary.

While near the coast of Japan, they observed several Chinese vessels, and some Japanese; and on an island near the coast, they saw the houses and other edifices, but had no communication with the inhabitants. They fell in with the coasts of Chinese Tartary in about  $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N. latitude; and they ran to the northward, along a great extent of coast, destitute of inhabitants, and where only bears and stags were seen, passing quietly along the sea-shore.

On several parts of this coast on which they landed, they saw marks of people having been lately there. They also found a Tartarian tomb on the bank of a rivulet, of which a curious description is given; and at one place they saw

some skins stretched by the side of a small cabin, which they conjectured to have been erected for the convenience of hunters. As they advanced to the northward, they found themselves in a channel, formed by the coast of Tartary on one side, and the island of Sagaleen on the other. On these coasts, they caught fish in prodigious plenty, particularly cod and salmon.

In a bay of the island of Sagaleen, where the ships anchored, the navigators saw some of the inhabitants, who are described as very superior to any whom they had before visited in the course of the voyage; and from them they learned that the land on which they were was an island, separated from the continent to the northward by a narrow channel. These people seemed to set a value only on things which were useful. They were armed with pikes, with bows, and with arrows, tipped with iron. Some of their clothes were of blue nahkeen quilting, and the form of their dress differed little from that of the Chinese. Their manner of communicating information, shewed great intelligence. On being desired to describe the position of the coasts, 'one of the old men rose up, and with the end of his staff sketched the coast of Tartary to the west, running nearly north and south. To the east, opposite, and in the same direction, he represented his own island, and placing his hand upon his breast, he gave us to understand, that he had just then sketched his own country: he had left a strait between his island and Tartary, and turning towards our ships, which were visible from the shore, he marked, by a touch of a pencil, that they might pass into it. To the south of this island



island he represented another, and left a strait at the same time, signifying that there was still a course for our ships.' The manners of these people, M. de la Pérouse says, 'were solemn, noble, and very striking. They are in general well made, of a strong constitution, very agreeable countenance, and bearded in a remarkable manner. Their stature is low. I did not perceive any of them to be above 5 feet 5 inches; and several of them were less than 5 feet.' They had silver trinkets, but of small value. Some Chinese, who were on board the ships, did not understand a word of the language here spoken; but afterward, farther to the northward, on the coast of Sagaleen island, they met with a party of Tartar hunters, who had come over from that coast in four canoes; and with these the Chinese could converse.

M. de la Pérouse now proceeded northward, towards the channel between the coast of Tartary and the island; but, as he advanced, the depth of water gradually decreased, and he found that the channel was not navigable for ships. While the boats were examining this channel, the ships anchored in a bay on the coast of Tartary, in the latitude of  $51^{\circ} 29'$  N. where they found a village, the inhabitants of which are thus described:

'The naughtiness and stench of this people are disgusting. There is not perhaps any where a race of people more feebly constituted, or whose features are more different from those forms to which we attach the idea of beauty; their middle stature is below four feet ten inches, their bodies are lank, their voices thin and feeble, like that of children; they have high cheek bones, small

blear eyes, placed diagonally; a large mouth, flat nose, short hair, almost beardless; and an olive-coloured skin; varnished with oil and smoke.'

On leaving this place, the ships made all possible haste in getting to the southward, out of the gulph in which they were embayed, the prevailing winds being from the south. On the 11th of August, they had reached the south end of Sagaleen island; and they soon afterwards passed through a strait formed by that and land to the south, which they supposed to be the island of Jesso. In this strait, to which the editor has given the name of *La Pérouse*, some canoes from Sagaleen island came to them. The inhabitants of this part of the island had much the advantage of position over those to the northward, but they were by no means equal to them in disposition; endeavouring, by continual importunity, to obtain new presents. 'All the dresses of these islanders are woven by their own hands; their houses display an elegance and neatness far surpassing those of the continent: their furniture is of excellent workmanship, and almost all of Japanese manufacture.'

As M. de la Pérouse was not, at first, certain of a clear sea to the eastward, he sent a boat on shore with instructions to examine, from a high point of land, in that direction. The officer of this boat, before his return, visited the habitations of the natives, from whom he met with a very kind reception. He made some exchanges with them for salmon. The houses were decorated in the inside with large varnished vessels from Japan. A sabre and a linen dress of the coun-

try were bought of these people, who expressed much regret that the ships were not to remain longer.

Leaving these straits, they sailed to the eastward till they had passed the land named Company's Island, when they steered for the coast of Kamtschatka, and anchored in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the 6th of September.

At Kamtschatka, the business of the two ships was to refit, and, after so many fatigues, to prepare for new expeditions. While they remained here, an excursion was undertaken to visit the volcano, near the bay of Avaticha, by Messrs. Bernizet, Mongés, and Receveur; who, with great labour, reached the lower edge of the crater. 'All the substances, of which the mountain is composed, are lavas more or less porous, and almost in a state of pumice-stone.' According to calculations, from the weight and temperature of the air, the elevation to which they ascended was 1500 toises. The treatment of the French navigators, by the Russians, at St. Peter and St. Paul, was not inferior to the hospitality with which captain Cook was received by major Behm, then governor of the province. Here M. de la Pérouse had the satisfaction of receiving packets from France; by which he was informed of his having been promoted to the rank of commodore, *chef d'escadre*; which event, as soon as it came to the knowledge of Mr. Kasloff, the governor, was celebrated by a discharge of all the artillery in the place.

The Russians continue (it should seem, leisurely enough,) to prosecute discoveries in the northern seas.

VOL. XLi.

An Englishman, Mr. Billings, who had sailed with captain Cook, and has been several years in the service of the Russian navy, was, at this time, at Okhotsk, building two vessels for the purpose of navigating these seas.

The Kurille islands are distinguished, among the Russians, by numbers, instead of their former names. 'They now call them No. 1, No. 2, &c. as high as 21, which last terminates the pretensions of Russia.' Of these twenty-one, four only are inhabited, the 1st, 2d, 13th, and 14th. The others are merely occasionally visited, in order to hunt foxes and otters. The population of the four inhabited islands is reckoned at fourteen hundred persons.

From St. Peter and St. Paul, the commodore sent M. de Lesseps to France, with copies of his journals, &c. Mr. Kasloff, the Russian governor, received M. de Lesseps as his aid-de-camp till he should arrive at Okhotsk, whence he undertook to furnish him with the means of proceeding to Petersburg.

On the 30th of September, the ships sailed from Kamtschatka, and steered to the S. E. in search of land, laid down in the chart, in 37° 30' N. and 165° E. longitude. They observed flights of duck and small land-birds, which are certain indications that land is not far distant; yet they saw none. (The French editor is of opinion, that the land in question might be found a degree more to the south.) They crossed the equinoctial line without meeting any land, till the 6th of December, when they got sight of the most easterly island of those named, by Bougainville, Navigators Islands. In running past this island,

island, they saw a considerable groupe of Indians sitting in a circle under cocoa-nut trees, and appearing quietly to enjoy the sight afforded them by the frigates. Some canoes afterwards put off from a smaller island, and joined eleven others from the easternmost island. They approached the ship, at first, with great fear and caution, and without arms: nevertheless, when they at length ventured to exchange a few cocoa-nuts, they did not like to part with them before they had received the price, and frequently paddled away without fulfilling their part of the agreement. The first, or eastern island, is described as high and steep, and covered with large trees; having also several spots of cultivated ground and houses built half way down the declivity; yet, on the whole, the island did not appear fertile.

By the 8th of this month, (December) the ships were near the island of Maouna, and, on the next morning, were surrounded by 'innumerable canoes,' laden with hogs, cocoa-nuts, and other fruit. It is remarkable that, both at the former island and at this, the natives disregarded axes and iron, and preferred glass beads to whatever else was offered to them. Water was seen 'falling in cascades from the tops of the mountains to the bottom of the villages.'

On the afternoon of the 9th, the ships found anchorage, a mile from the land, in 30 fathoms depth. On the same evening, M. de Langle, captain of the *Astrolabe*, with some other officers, went on shore; and, after an hour's stay, having been received in the most friendly manner, they returned on board. Early in the next morning, 200 canoes,

full of different kinds of provisions, came off to the ships; and the people would receive nothing but beads; every thing else being refused with disdain. Above five hundred hogs were thus procured, besides a great number of fowls and pigeons. The boats also went on shore, and were employed in filling water, which was performed with very little disturbance. While this service was executing, M. de la Pérouse relates:

'I thought I might venture to the distance of two hundred yards to visit a charming village, situated in the midst of a wood, or rather of an orchard, all the trees of which were loaded with fruit. The houses were placed upon the circumference of a circle of about a hundred and fifty toises in diameter, the interior forming a vast open space, covered with the most beautiful verdure and shaded by trees, which kept the air delightfully cool. Women, children, and old men, accompanied me and invited me into their houses. They spread the finest and freshest mats upon a floor formed of little chosen pebbles, and raised about two feet above the ground, in order to guard against the humidity. I went into the handsomest of these huts, which probably belonged to a chief; and great was my surprize, to see a large cabinet of lattice-work, as well executed as any of those in the environs of Paris. The best architect could not have given a more elegant curve to the extremities of the ellipsis that terminated the building; while a row of pillars, at five feet distance from each other, formed a complete colonnade round the whole. The pillars were made of trunks of trees, very neatly wrought, and

between

between them were fine mats, laid over one another, with great art, like the scales of a fish, and drawing up and down with cords, like our Venetian blinds. The rest of the house was covered with leaves of the cocoa-palm.

'The inhabitants of these islands were so rich, and had so few wants, that they disdained our instruments of iron and our cloth, and asked only for beads. Abounding in real blessings, they were desirous of obtaining superfluities alone.

'They had sold, at our market, more than two hundred wood-pigeons, which would only eat out of the hand, and a number of the most beautiful turtle-doves and paroquets, equally tame. What cold imagination could separate the idea of happiness from so enchanting a place? These islanders, said we a hundred times over, are, without doubt, the happiest beings on earth. Surrounded by their wives and children, they pass their peaceful days in innocence and repose.'

This visit passed without any dispute that could lead to disagreeable consequences, though the natives began to shew great confidence in their large stature and personal strength. 'Their height of above 5 feet 10 inches, and their muscular limbs of colossal proportion, gave them an idea of their own superiority, which rendered us by no means formidable in their eyes.' About noon, the boats all returned from the shore; and, in the afternoon, the ships got under sail, their place of anchorage having been much exposed and rendered unquiet by the swell of the sea. It appears to have been M. de la Pérouse's intention not to have remained longer at Maouna: but

M. de Langle had discovered a landing place, which he thought an excellent harbour for the boats, and he prevailed on the commodore to remain off the island, for the purpose of getting more fresh water on board, the next day; and thus was a dreadful scene of disaster preparing for the unfortunate navigators! To a chief, who visited the ship, M. de la Pérouse made a number of presents: but, says he, 'wishing, at the same time, to inspire him with a high opinion of our power, I ordered several experiments, on the use of our weapons, to be made in his presence: but their effect impressed him so little, that he seemed to think them only fit for the destruction of birds.'—'When the natives compared their bodily strength to ours, they laughed at our threats and made a jest of our sentinels;' though the presence of the chief, above-mentioned, rendered them less insolent.

The ships stood off and on during the whole night, and, in the next forenoon, four boats, (the barge and long boat of each ship) under the command of M. de Langle, the whole party, including officers, amounting to sixty-one persons, set off from the ships. On arriving near the shore, the landing-place appeared very different from what it had been deemed the day before, the tide having fallen several feet. M. de Langle, greatly surprized, was about to quit the creek and to repair to the place at which, on the preceding day, the boats had watered: 'but the air of tranquillity and good humour of the crowd, waiting for him upon the beach, with an immense quantity of fruit and hogs,' and the ap-

pearance

pearance of the women and children among the Indians, determined him on landing here. The canoes were accordingly put on shore. M. de la Pérouse thus relates the melancholy sequel:

'The number of canoes, which had traded with us in the morning, was so considerable, that we scarcely perceived its diminution in the afternoon; and I gave myself credit for keeping them employed on board, in hopes that our boats would be so much the quieter on shore. Great was my mistake! M. de Langle's situation became every moment more and more embarrassing. He found means, however, with the assistance of messieurs de Vanjuas, Boutin, Colinet, and Gobien, to ship his water; but the bay was almost dry, and he could not hope to get the long-boats off before four in the afternoon. He stepped into them however, as well as his detachment, and took post in the bow with his musket and musketeers, forbidding any one to fire before he should give the word. He began, however, to be sensible that he should soon be forced to do so. Already the stones began to fly, and the Indians, who were only up to their knees in water, surrounded the long-boats at less than six feet distance, the soldiers, who were embarked, making vain efforts to keep them off. If the fear of commencing hostilities, and of being accused of barbarity, had not withheld M. de Langle, he would doubtless have given orders to fire a volley of musketry and swivels, which would not have failed to put the multitude to flight; but he flattered himself that he should be able to keep them in check without effusion of blood; and sell the victim of his

humanity. In a very short time a shower of stones, thrown from a small distance with as much force as from a sling, struck almost every one of those who were in the long-boat. M de Langle had only time to fire his two shot, when he was knocked down, and unfortunately fell over the larboard side of the boat, where more than two hundred Indians immediately massacred him with clubs and stones. When he was dead they tied him by the arm to one of the row-locks of the long-boat, in order, no doubt, to make sure of their spoil. The long-boat of the Bouffole, commanded by M. Boutin, was aground at two toises from that of the Astrolabe, leaving in a parallel line between them a little channel unoccupied by the Indians. It was by that channel that all the wounded, who had the good fortune not to fall on the other side, saved themselves by swimming. They got on board the barges, which, having most fortunately been kept afloat, were the means of saving forty-nine persons out of the sixty-one, of which the party consisted.'

In less than five minutes, not a single man remained in either of the long-boats; all who were able having made their escape to the barges, which were afloat. The water-casks were thrown overboard to make room for the additional numbers, and to render the boats more manageable. The ammunition being all exhausted, the two barges retreated from the shore, and at five o'clock returned to the ships. No suspicion had been there entertained of what was transacting on shore; and when the boats arrived, there were still more than a hundred canoes close to the frigates.

M. de

M. de la Pérouse found some difficulty in restraining the vengeance of his crew, who, of their own accord, began to cast loose the guns: but he confined the manifestation of his anger to the firing of a great gun, loaded only with powder, over the canoes, as a warning for them to depart. A small boat likewise came off from the shore, which doubtless informed them of what had happened; for, in a short time afterwards, not a canoe remained in sight.

This event, considering all the circumstances, is as extraordinary as any that we find in history. That sixty-one armed Europeans, in a situation in which they could not be surrounded, should be completely overcome by a savage multitude, armed only with clubs and stones, who had never before seen fire-arms, and who were wholly ignorant of their use and effect, is really surprising. It is not to be doubted that the ignorance of the Indians, in this respect, was one of the principal causes of the success of their attack, indeed of the attack itself; for it must greatly have prevented their dread of consequences. Many of the Indians must have fallen by the fire-arms, (M. de la Pérouse, in his correspondence, says 30,) but the knowledge of this could not be sufficiently spread to have had much effect during the battle. The great forbearance of M. de Langle, and his companions, was likewise another cause of their defeat; and it is peculiarly to be lamented, when men fall a sacrifice to their own virtue. It had been, and very humanely, a system which these commanders had prescribed to themselves, that not a single Indian should lose his life by their means,

while they could avoid measures of offence; the consequence of which humane determination, in this instance, was that it gave the Indians an opportunity of approaching so close before any attempt was made to repel them, that the means of resistance lost the greater part of their efficacy. Yet it should have been considered that the confidence, which the Indians had shewn in the superiority of their bodily strength, rendered it the more necessary to resent the very first aggression.

The narrative of M. de Vaujuas, an officer who accompanied M. de Langle, says, that the casks were filled with water, and put quietly into the boats: that M. de Langle intended to have remained a little longer to traffic for provisions: but that, the natives becoming more troublesome, he gave orders to reembark. In the mean time, (and this, M. de Vaujuas thinks, was the first cause of the misfortune,)

"He made a present of a few beads to a sort of chiefs, who had helped to keep off the inhabitants. We were, however, certain, that this police was a mere mockery, and that, if these pretended chiefs had really any authority, it extended to a very small number of individuals. The captain's presents, distributed to five or six persons, excited the discontents of all the rest. From that moment a general clamour arose, and we were no longer able to keep them quiet. They suffered us, however, to get into our boats; but a part of them stepped into the water in pursuit of us, while the others picked up stones upon the beach.

"As the long-boats were aground at a little distance from the strand,

strand, we were obliged, in our way to them, to pass through the water up to our waists; and in so doing several of the soldiers wetted their arms. It was in this critical situation that the horrible scene began which I am about to narrate. Scarcely were we in the long-boats, when M. de Langle gave orders to shove them off, and to weigh the grappel; but this several of the most robust islanders opposed, by laying hold of the rope. The captain, witness of their resistance, seeing the tumult increase, and perceiving the stones reach him, tried to intimidate the savages, by firing a musket in the air; but, so far from being frightened, they made it the signal of a general attack. Immediately a shower of stones, hurled with equal force and celerity, came pouring upon us; the fight began on both sides, and soon became general. Those whose muskets were in a servicable state brought several of the infuriated Indians to the ground; but the others were by no means dismayed, and seemed to combat with redoubled vigour. A part of them came close up to the long-boats, while the rest, to the number, of six or seven hundred, continued to stone us in the most dreadful and murderous manner."

Besides the twelve persons who were killed, twenty others were wounded, none of them dangerously. M. de Lamanon, naturalist, was among the slain. During the two following days, M. de la Pérouse remained off Maoua, in search of anchorage, but could not find any near enough to the shore to protect the boats in an attempt to land: for without the support of the ships, the remaining boats (the

lanchnes being both lost) were not sufficient to carry, at one time, a party large enough to make good a landing, if opposed.

On the 14th, they stood towards Ojolava, another island, in sight of Maoua, to the W. N. W. As they approached, great numbers of canoes came to the ships, bringing provisions for exchange. These people had the same partiality for glass beads, that had been manifested by those at the island of Maoua.

The natives of the Navigators' Islands resemble, in many respects, the Friendly Islanders. The custom of cutting off two joints of the little finger, M. de la Pérouse says, in one part of the narrative, 'is utterly unknown at the Navigators' Islands:' but in a preceding part, he had said, 'in the islands of Navigators, I only perceived two individuals who had suffered that operation.'—The language he observed to be a 'dialect of the same, and derived from the Malay.'

The unfortunate transaction at Maoua occasioned a slight alteration in M. de la Pérouse's plans. On leaving the Navigators' islands, he determined not to anchor any where until he arrived at Botany-Bay, where he proposed to put together the frame of a new long-boat, which he had brought with him from France. They now passed in sight of Traitor's island, of the Friendly islands, and others; and the commodore settled the position of some which were not before well ascertained, but had no intercourse with the natives, except that a few canoes visited the ships. At Norfolk-island, the surf was too great for his boats to land. On the 23d of January, 1788, he made the coast of

New

New Holland, and on the 26th anchored in Botany-Bay; at the very time that governor Phillip, with the whole colony embarked under his direction, was sailing out of the bay, in order to occupy the present station of the settlement at Port Jackson.

Here finishes all that has been received of the Journal of M. de la Pérouse; but from extracts published from his correspondence with the minister of the marine, and with M. Fleurieu, we may collect the plan which he proposed to pursue on leaving Botany-Bay. In a letter, dated September 21, 1787, from Avatscha, he writes that his purpose was to be at New Zealand by the 20th of January, 1788: thence to sail to the northward, to visit New Caledonia, the *Terre des Arfacides*, and other islands. 'At the end of July, (says he,) I shall pass between New Guinea and New Holland, by a different channel from that of the Endeavour; provided, however, that such an one exist. During the months of August, September, and part of October, I shall visit the gulph of Carpentaria, and the coast of New Holland, but in such a way that it may be possible for me to get to the northward, and to arrive at the beginning of December, 1788, at the Isle of France.' In a letter of a posterior date, having received orders from France, he says that he shall make no other alteration in the before-mentioned plan, than that of going to Botany Bay in New Holland, instead of going to New Zealand. From Botany Bay, in February, 1788, he wrote, that the misfortune at Navigators' islands should occasion no change in the plan of the remainder of the voyage. 'I

have still (says he) a great many interesting things to do, and very mischievous people to visit. I shall sail from Botany-Bay on the 15th of March, and shall take care to lose no time till the month of December, when I expect to arrive at the Isle of France.' There is little probability that it will ever appear to the world, how much of this plan the unfortunate officer was permitted to execute, after his departure from Botany Bay.

The latter half of the 3d and last volume is occupied by supplementary memoirs, which consist of detached papers on various subjects, that had been transmitted home by the commodore, and by different scientific men who accompanied him in the voyage. Of these, are written by M. de la Pérouse, besides his correspondence, a memoir concerning Manilla and Formosa; and one concerning the fur-trade.—What is said concerning Manilla is principally designed to demonstrate the great ease with which it might be taken from the Spaniards; and the following curious fact is stated in this memoir: 'It is computed, that Luconia contains no more than 1200 Creolian or European Spaniards; and it is remarkable, that not a single Spanish family has lasted four generations, whilst the population of the natives has increased since the conquest.' Respecting Formosa, M. de la P. writes with the same views. He thinks that the English would derive the greatest advantage from making themselves masters of that island; and that it would give them great influence over the Chinese; whereas, considering the present state of our tea-trade, he says, 'I should not be surprised to see these Europeans (the



English) in a short time reduced in China to the same condition that the Dutch are in Japan.—Formosa is garrisoned by ten thousand Tartars, who 'are not so inferior to Europeans in courage as in their mode of fighting.' The memoir on the fur-trade contains the following remarkable information: 'that it is the plan of the viceroy of Mexico, to reserve to government the exclusive trade of otter-skins;' and in a letter addressed to the minister of the marine, he states, 'that the most northern of the Spanish factories furnishes ten thousand sea otter skins yearly; and if they continue to be sold advantageously in China, it will be easy for Spain to procure as many as fifty thousand, and by that means to give a mortal stab to the trade of the Russians.'

The small remainder of these supplementary memoirs contains descriptions in botany, and other parts of natural history; accounts of chymical experiments; geographical and political remarks on the places at which the ships touched during the voyage; and various other scientific matters.

The reader of these volumes will see, among the other valuable qualities of M. de la Pérouse, a mildness of character without affectation: yet there is sometimes occasion to remark, that he speaks of his intentions with the confidence of certainty, making no allowance for the probabilities of disappointment from accidents: perhaps it is not very unfair to say of this sanguine manner of speaking, that it is a national characteristic. As a navigator and a discoverer, his character will always stand high: though the visit which he made to the west coast of North America has been

rendered of less consequence than it would otherwise have been, by the subsequent voyage of captain Vancouver. If some part of what M. de la Pérouse discovered, during the short time which he passed on the American coast, has escaped the observations of his successor; yet, in this part of the voyage, where differences appear in the accounts, it must be presumed that in most cases the preference ought to be given to that of the English navigator; whose labours, for three successive seasons, were directed to the single object of examining the American coast. We have already noticed that the plan of instructions given to M. de la Pérouse kept him in a continual state of hurry, having always more in contemplation than he had time to perform; notwithstanding that, in several instances, he made free use of the discretionary power allowed him, to vary, as he should see occasion, from the plan chalked out. Parts of the plan were directed to objects of no great importance; such as visiting Easter island, the Society and Friendly islands; places already well known, and at which M. de la Pérouse thought it so little necessary to touch, that in one of his letters he expresses his satisfaction that in 'so large a voyage, he shall have no occasion to put in at those everlasting Society islands.' In one of the more interesting objects of the voyage, that which respected Japan, the alteration made by M. de la Pérouse, of inspecting the western instead of the eastern coast, which latter was recommended in the instructions, was perhaps the reason why the most material part of that article was not accomplished.—"With regard to Japan," say the instructions,

instructions, " he will endeavour to reconnoitre and inspect the north-east and the east coast, and go on shore in some of its ports, in order to satisfy himself whether its government in reality opposes any invincible obstacle to the introduction of commerce or barter with Europeans, &c. Perhaps the prohibitory laws of this empire, which all the accounts of this country speak of as so severe, are not in force on the coasts to the north-east and east, with so much rigour as at Nangasaki and the south coast, places too near the capital to expect any relaxation in them." To which it may be added that the western coast is probably more populous, and better cultivated, if not more civilized, on account of the nearness of communication with the Chinese, than the eastern coast; which has for its boundary only an immense open sea.

The discoveries of this highly-lamented navigator on the eastern coast of China, and in the seas between that and Japan, are justly entitled to be considered as entirely new, and as forming a most valuable acquisition to geography.

On the whole, indeed, it may be pronounced that few accounts of voyages can be ranked with this in entertainment and interest, and that still fewer are so replete with valuable information. May no other ever have so melancholy a termination!

*Surgeon. With an Appendix, containing Geographical Illustrations of Africa, by Major Rennell, 4to. 1799.*

THE tract of land in which Mr. Park pursued his laborious journey is not very extensive; it is bounded by the parallels of latitude  $12^{\circ} 20' N.$  and  $15^{\circ} 10' N.$  and the meridians  $16^{\circ} 30'$  and  $1^{\circ} 30'$  west longitude; the most distant point that he arrived at from the western sea is nearly 1100 English miles from Cape Verd. If we compare the magnitude of this tract of land with that of the whole continent, our expectations may be disappointed; but, as here are the bounds of Moorish ferocity and Mahometan superstition, as well as of the knowledge which the ancients possessed of Africa, the travels, considered with a view either to the state of manners in half-uncultivated minds, or to a better idea of the knowledge of the ancients than some are inclined to entertain of it, are highly interesting.

My instructions (says Mr. Park) were very plain and concise. I was directed, on my arrival in Africa, " to pass on to the river Niger, either by the way of Bambouk, or by such other route as should be found most convenient. That I should ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of that river. That I should use my utmost exertions to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Tombuctoo and Houssa; and that I should be afterwards at liberty to return to Europe, either by the way of the Gambia, or by such other route, as, under all the then existing circumstances of my situation and prospects,

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*Travels in the interior Districts of Africa, performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797; by Mungo Park,*

prospects, should appear to me to be most advisable."

These instructions were not completely fulfilled, but the mission of Mr. Park is not therefore to be deemed fruitless. Those who sent him were aware that many difficulties were likely to attend the undertaking: but the obstacles of penetrating into Africa might possibly have been exaggerated, or a fortunate combination of circumstances might diminish them; in which cases, the adventurer must be provided with instructions to direct his farther researches. Tombuctoo and Houssa were, if possible, to be visited: but, if that were impracticable, the undertaking was not to be supposed to have failed: They were rather proposed as terms or limits to the expedition; sufficiently distant indeed under the most fortunate union of circumstances. Of the rise, course, and termination of the Niger, the course only has been ascertained; and a most important determination it is, confirming the assertions of ancient writers, and preventing all farther controversy.

The narrative of Mr. Park is simple: he seems to have described things as he saw them, and to have consulted his senses rather than his imagination; he is unwilling to glut credulity by the narration of wonders; he draws no exaggerated picture of his sufferings and dangers; nor does he ascribe to his own sagacity any event which resulted from chance or accident. The manners, dispositions, and customs of the people are detailed fully and (we believe) faithfully: for if what is described be not real, at least that which is invented is probable, since we discover no remarkable devia-

tion from the manners which have been observed to prevail among other people in like circumstances:—they are what we should have supposed them to be, from the light which former travels afford. Human nature, in its general characters, is nearly the same in all times and in all places; admitting modifications from the influence of climate, and from arbitrary regulations, which it is the business of the traveller to note; and which Mr. Park has noted. Those readers, then, who seek in the present work for what is marvellous and anomalous, will seek in vain. The author found, on the borders of the desert and on the banks of the Niger, what has been found in all countries, a mixture of good and evil; he saw no people exempted from the influence of passion, and solely guided by a predominating reason; no consummate polity and pure religion: but forms of government, weak, imperfect, or oppressive; the wildest fanaticism and the most debasing superstition. The inhabitants of Africa, possessing few arts, could have few of the conveniences of life; and without books, they must be without any stores of imagery, principles of science, and comprehension of knowledge. Their wants were found to be few, yet their means scarcely adequate to supply them; and their vices and virtues were gross, simple, and circumscribed in their operation. Their schemes of invention, and their scenes of happiness, are beneath the envy or the imitation of an European. Human nature is shewn in Africa nearly in its lowest scale; and, after having learnt what its inhabitants think, enjoy, and can do,

do, we must exclaim, with Kaffra the slave-driver, "Black men are nothing."\*

Two descriptions of readers, however, may possibly complain of disappointment, after the perusal of Mr. Park's travels: but they are such as no author will be very ambitious to satisfy; the one, those who purposely ask too much; the other, those who are indefinite in the object of their expectations, and know not what it is which they demand. To all other persons, who, by a sense of the obstacles and the means of combating them, tempered the zeal of hope; or who saw a distinct object in it, by the light of other travels; the present work will appear important, as having considerably augmented the knowledge of what its most learned commentator calls the moral and physical geography of Africa.

The instructions given to Mr. P. have already been mentioned. In consequence of them, he left England for Africa, 22d May, 1793, and arrived at Pisania, a British factory on the river Gambia, 5th July. The first object of the author, on his arrival at this place, was to learn the Mandingo language, as being generally spoken in the parts through which he was to travel. On the 2d of December, he left Pisania, accompanied by a negroe servant who spoke both the English and the Mandingo tongues, and by a negroe boy who spoke the language of the Serawoolies, an inland people. His baggage consisted of provisions for two days, linen, a small assortment of beads, amber, and tobacco, an umbrella, a pocket sextant, a magnetic compass, a thermo-

meter, two fowling pieces, two pair of pistols, and other small articles. His course was easterly towards the kingdom of Woolli; the capital of which, Medina, he reached on the 5th December. He stopped here a day, and was kindly treated by the king, who tried to dissuade him from the journey; warning him of the fate of major Houghton. On the next day, however, having procured a guide, the traveller pursued his journey, and on the 8th reached Kolor. On the 9th he proceeded, and on the 11th he arrived at Koojar, the frontier town of Woolli. Here he drank a liquor resembling beer, and in fact made from corn previously malted, with bitter roots instead of hops.—To reach the kingdom of Bondou, he was obliged to pass a wilderness of two days journey; in crossing which he was accompanied by three negroes, elephant hunters. On the 13th he reached Tallika the frontier town of Bondou, the inhabitants of which are Mohammedan Foulahs; one of the four great classes into which the inhabitants on the banks of the Gambia are divided. At Fatacondia, the capital of Bondou, where Mr. P. arrived on the 21st of December, he was introduced to the king Almami, who had behaved unkindly to major Houghton. The ignorance and cunning of this prince are thus related:

'We found the monarch sitting upon a mat, and two attendants with him. I repeated what I had before told him concerning the object of my journey, and my reasons for passing through his country. He seemed, however, but half satisfied. The notion of travelling for curio-

\* See Travels, p. 359.

sity, was quite new to him. He thought it impossible, he said, that any man in his senses would undertake so dangerous a journey; merely to look at the country, and its inhabitants: however, when I offered to shew him the contents of my portmanteau, and every thing belonging to me, he was convinced; and it was evident that his suspicion had arisen from a belief, that every white man must of necessity be a trader. When I had delivered my presents, he seemed well pleased, and was particularly delighted with the umbrella, which he repeatedly furled and unfurled, to the great admiration of himself and his two attendants; who could not for some time comprehend the use of this wonderful machine. After this I was about to take my leave, when the king, desiring me to stop a while, began a long preamble in favour of the whites; extolling their immense wealth, and good dispositions. He next proceeded to an eulogium on my blue coat, of which the yellow buttons seemed particularly to catch his fancy; and he concluded by entreating me to present him with it; assuring me, for my consolation under the loss of it, that he would wear it on all public occasions, and inform every one who saw it, of my great liberality towards him. The request of an African prince, in his own dominions, particularly when made to a stranger, comes little short of a command. It is only a way of obtaining by gentle means, what he can, if he pleases, take by force; and as it was against my interest to offend him by a refusal, I very quietly took off my coat, the only good one in my possession, and laid it at his feet.

Leaving Bondou, Mr. Park proceeded to the kingdom of Kajaaga; the inhabitants of which are called Serawollies; a trading people, and deriving considerable profit from the sale of salt and cotton cloths. At Joag, the frontier town, he was ill-treated, and robbed of half his effects by order of Batcheri, king of Kajaaga. Here he embraced a favourable opportunity of prosecuting his journey to the kingdom of Kasson, under the guidance of Demba Sego, the king's nephew: to pay for whole protection, he was plundered of half of his remaining effects by Demba and his father. Eager to quit people who sold their kindness at so dear a rate, Mr. Park, on the 10th of January, 1796, left Tesse, the frontier town of Kasson, on his way to Kooniakary, the capital.

At Kooniakary, the author was treated kindly by the king, who had seen major Houghton and had presented him with a horse. On account of an impending war, which was likely to involve the kingdoms of Kasson, Kajaaga, Kaarta, and Bambarra, the traveller remained in Kasson till the 3d of February, when he resumed his journey, and arrived on the 12th at Kemmo, the capital of Kaarta. Here he was introduced to the king, Dassy: who advised him to return to Kasson, or, if he was determined to proceed, to take a circuitous route through the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar, into Bambarra. From Kaarta to Bambarra he could not immediately proceed, without the danger of being apprehended as a spy. As Mr. Park was unwilling to spend the rainy season in the interior, he resolved to follow the route through Ludamar, which Dassy

fy prescribed; and accordingly, on the 13th of February, he left Kemmoo, and arrived on the 14th at Marina.

On the 18th, Mr. Park arrived at Simbing, the frontier town of Ludamar. It was from this village, he says, that major Houghton, deserted by his negroe servants, wrote his last letter with a pencil to Dr. Laidley.

'This brave but unfortunate man, having surmounted many difficulties, had taken a northerly direction, and endeavoured to pass through the kingdom of Ludamar, where I afterwards learned the following particulars concerning his melancholy fate. On his arrival at Jara, he got acquainted with certain Moorish merchants who were travelling to Tisheet (a place near the salt-pits in the Great Desert, ten days journey to the northward) to purchase salt; and the major, at the expense of a musket and some tobacco, engaged them to convey him thither. It is impossible to form any other opinion on this determination, than that the Moors intentionally deceived him, either with regard to the route that he wished to pursue, or the state of the intermediate country between Jarra and Tombuquo. Their intention probably was to rob and leave him in the desert. At the end of two days he suspected their treachery, and insisted on returning to Jarra. Finding him persist in this determination, the Moors robbed him of every thing he possessed, and went off with their camels; the poor major being thus deserted, returned on foot to a watering place in possession of the Moors, called Tarra. He had been some days without food, and the unfeeling

Moors refusing to give him any, he sunk at last under his distresses. Whether he actually perished of hunger, or was murdered outright by the savage Mahommedans, is not certainly known; his body was dragged into the woods, and I was shewn at a distance, the spot where his remains were left to perish.'

The war which obliged Mr. Park to deviate into Ludamar, arose from the circumstance of a few bullocks having been stolen from the Banbarran by the Moors, and sold to the dooty, or chief man of a town in Kaarta; the cattle were claimed, but in vain; and in his method of declaring war, and of announcing the fate of his enemy, the king of Bambarra resembled the Scythians who sent to Alexander a mole and a bundle of arrows, as emblems of their arts and prowess:

'With this view he sent a messenger and a party of horsemen to Daisy, king of Kaarta, to inform him that the king of Bambarra, with nine thousand men, would visit Kemmoo in the course of the dry season; and to desire that he (Daisy) would direct his slaves to sweep the houses, and have every thing ready for their accommodation. The messenger concluded this insulting notification by presenting the king with a pair of iron sandals; at the same time adding, that "until such time as Daisy had worn out these sandals in his flight, he should never be secure from the arrows of Bambarra."

On Mr. Park's arrival at Jarra, the frontier town of the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar, he solicited by presents the leave of Ali, the king, to pass, through his territories; which was granted. The author accordingly left Jarra on the

27th of February; and here began his misfortunes. The Moors, unfeeling, proud, ignorant, and fanatical, hissed, shouted at, and abused him; they plundered him, and openly; for it was lawful, they said, for a Mohammedan to plunder a Christian. Mr. Park, however, pursued his journey, and on March 14th reached Sampaka, a large town; where he lodged at the house of a negroe who made gunpowder.

At the village of Samee, Mr. Park was seized by a party of Moors, and conducted back to Benown, the residence of Ali. He suffered here all that religious hatred and sportive cruelty could inflict; solitude and confinement were punishments too light for a forlorn traveller and a Christian; and except the persecution was continual, the malice of the Moors was not satisfied. His eyes were to have been put out merely because they looked like cat's eyes, and he escaped death only by the circumstance of a pistol twice missing fire.

At length, after a variety of hardships, Mr. Park was fortunate enough, on the 2d of July, to escape from the Moors. Traversing the wilderness, in which he suffered exceedingly from hunger and thirst, on the 5th of July, he reached a negroe town, called Wawra, belonging to Mansong, king of Bambarra. Continuing his journey from this place, in company with some inhabitants of Kaarta, he passed through several towns of Bambarra; and on the 21st of July, he came in sight of Sego, and of the great object of his mission; the long fought-for

Niger, glittering to the morning-sun, as broad as the Thames, at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward.\* 'I hastened to the brink,' says Mr. Park, 'and, having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer, to the great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success.'

The city of Sego, the capital of Bambarra, consists of four distinct towns, two on the northern and two on the southern side of the Niger. These are surrounded with high mud walls; the houses are built of clay, and are of a square form, with flat roofs: the number of inhabitants is nearly thirty thousand. The boats here used for crossing the Niger, or Joliba (great waters), are composed of the trunks of two large trees joined together, not side by side, but endways. Mr. Park was prevented from crossing over to the southern bank of the Niger, by an order from Mansong, king of Bambarra, and was advised to spend the night in a distant village. At this village, however, no one would receive him; and he was preparing to pass the night on the branches of a tree, in hunger and amid a storm, when he was relieved by a woman who was returning from the labours of the field. It was at the hut of this female that his wants were relieved and his sorrows sung.\*

The king of Bambarra having heard, from the Moors of Sego, unfavourable reports of Mr. Park, sent him a bag containing five thousand kowries, † and an order to quit

\* The words related by Mr. Park were verified by the dukes of Devonshire, and we have given them under the head of Poetry in this volume.

† Kowries, or small shells, 250 of which are nearly equal in value to a shilling.

Sego; in consequence of which, the traveller proceeded eastward along the banks of the Niger.

Pursuing his course along the banks of the Niger, which are very delightful, Mr. Park passed through the towns of Modiboo and Kea, and reached Moorzan; here he crossed the Niger to Silla, the end of his journey eastward. The reasons which determined him to proceed no farther are sufficient to justify him; he was worn down by sickness, hunger, and fatigue; he was without any article of value to procure provisions; the king of Bambarra's kowries were nearly spent; if he were to subsist by charity, he must rely on Moorish charity; if he continued his journey, it must be through a country subjected to the power of Moors, and he had experienced the Moors to be merciless fanatics: he might gain no new information; and what he had gained might perish with him. Before he left Silla, however, he inquired from Moorish and negro traders, the course of the Niger, and the countries situated in its vicinity.—The information which he received will be found in p. 213—217. We had designed to extract it, but we perceive that our limits will not admit so large a quotation. As to the extent of the Niger, Mr. Park's best informants were ignorant of its termination; describing the amazing length of its course only in general terms, and saying that they believe it runs to the world's end.

Owing to the swamps on the southern bank of the Niger, Mr. Park was obliged to return westward on the northern bank. He avoided Sego; and, instead of retracing his former route, he continued his journey along the Niger;

depending for a precarious subsistence, and for accommodation, on the charity of the negroes, and sometimes purchasing relief by writing saphies, or charms to procure wealth and avoid misfortunes. In these saphies, both the Mohammedan and pagan natives place a superstitious confidence.

At a town called Bammakoo, Mr. Park quitted the Niger, and proceeded to Sibidooloo, the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding. After having remained here a few days, he pursued his journey to Kamalia, where he was kindly received by a Bushreen named Kafra Taura. Kafra informed Mr. Park that it was impossible to pass the Jalonka wilderness at that season of the year: he offered to lodge and subsist him till the time when the rivers should be fordable and the grass burnt; and finally to take him along with the caravan to Gambia. Influenced by the kindness of Kafra, and by the prospect of dangers which awaited him, if he immediately pursued his journey, Mr. Park remained at Kamalia from the 16th of September to the 19th of April. During this long interval, he was diligent in augmenting his information concerning the climate, the production of the country, the manners, customs, and dispositions of the natives, and the chief branches of their commerce.

Concerning the disposition of the women, Mr. Park's testimony agrees with that of Mr. Ledyard. They are uniformly benevolent.

Among the negroes, plurality of wives is allowed. Although the African husbands possess unlimited authority, they are not cruel, and rarely jealous: instances of conjugal infidelity are not common.



The Africans have no astronomical knowledge; and the little which they pretend to know of geography is false: they imagine that the earth is an extended plain, beyond which is the sea; or river of salt water; and on the farther shores of which are situated two countries called Tobau so-doo and Jong-lang-doo, 'the land of the white people,' and 'the land where slaves are sold.'

In a chapter on the state and sources of slavery in Africa, Mr. Park declines the discussion of the question how far the system of slavery is promoted by the slave traffic carried on by the nations of Europe, and merely expresses his belief that, in the present unenlightened state of the minds of the Africans, 'a discontinuance of the slave-trade would not be attended with such beneficial effects as many wise and worthy persons expect.'

On the 19th of April, Mr. Park with Kakra, four slaves, and the caravan of 27 slaves, left Kamalia, and on the 23d they entered the Jallonka wilderness; which was traversed on foot, and with great expedition, in five days: the distance across the wilderness is a hundred miles. After having crossed the black river, a principal branch of the Senegal, the caravan arrived on May 3d at Malacotta; where Mr. Park obtained information of a war which had happened between the kings of Fouta Torra and of Jaloff.

Without experiencing any extraordinary hardships, or remarkable accidents, the caravan, after a journey of 500 miles, on the 4th of June 1797, arrived at Medina, the capital of the king of Woolli's dominions, which Mr. Park had left in December, 1795. He proceeded

hence to Pisania, and there met with his friend Dr. Laidley, who received him with great joy and satisfaction as one risen from the dead. He had now an opportunity of recompensing his benefactor Kakra, the kind slave-merchant, who parted from him with great regret. On the 17th of June, Mr. Park took his passage on board an American ship which had entered the river Gambia in order to purchase slaves, and in 35 days arrived at Antigua: which port they were obliged to make on account of the leakiness of the vessel. On the 24th of November Mr. Park took his passage in the Chesterfield packet, and arrived in England on the 22d of December, 1797, after an absence of two years and seven months.

The volume concludes with the insertion, entire, of geographical illustrations and maps by major Rennell. A portrait of Mr. Park, and several other plates are also introduced.

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*Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the Year 1792 to 1798. By W. G. Browne. 4to. 1799.*

**A**N adequate knowledge of a country so extensive as Africa, and which it is so difficult to explore, can only be expected from the enterprise and the labours of many travellers. Mr. Park traversed a vast tract, settled some dubious questions in geography, and exhibited a picture of the manners and arts of life among a new people. The travels of the present author had a more contracted range, and add less to the sum of our information concerning Africa:

Africa: yet what he has discovered and observed is not inconsiderable, nor of little value. He has given a full and (we presume) an accurate account of the government and people of Dar-Fûr; \* and to have failed in doing this would have merited censure, since he had time and opportunity to make his observations, and the inhabitants of the country of Dar-Fûr do not exceed two hundred thousand.

Of Egypt and Syria, the public possess many accounts; yet Mr. Browne's remarks and descriptions generally produce entertainment, and not unfrequently communicate instruction. We shall briefly mark his route, and occasionally give extracts.

Mr. B. arrived at Alexandria in 1792, and his first chapter contains a description of this city. One of his primary undertakings was to seek for the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, in which he was unsuccessful. In his next journey from Alexandria to Rashid, † he slightly describes the village of Abûkir; now elevated and dignified in the consideration of the world by two memorable events; the late destruction of the fleet of France, and the murderous defeat of fifteen thousand Turks.

In the chapter concerning Kahira, the author describes the Beys, the Mamlûks, the government of Egypt, and the state of politics while he was there. We do not feel ourselves inclined to give any other extract from this chapter, than a remark concerning Mr.

Gray's poetical description of Egypt during the inundation of the Nile.

Mr. Gray's well-known description of Egypt, as immersed under the influx of the Nile, is exquisitely poetical, but far from just. In Upper Egypt the river is confined by high banks, which prevent any inundation into the adjacent country. This is also the case in Lower Egypt, except at the extremities of the Delta, where the Nile is never more than a few feet below the surface of the ground, and where inundation of course takes place. But the country, as may be expected, is without habitations. The fertility of Egypt arises from human art. The lands near the river are watered by machines; and if they extend to any width, canals have been cut. The soil in general is so rich as to require no manure. It is a pure black mould, free from stones, and of a very tenacious and unctuous nature. When left uncultivated, I have observed fissures, arising from the extreme heat, of which a spear of six feet could not reach the bottom.

In chap. 6. Mr. Browne thus briefly describes the charmer of serpents:

'Romeili is an open place, of an irregular form, where feats of juggling are performed. The charmers of serpents also seem worthy of remark, their powers appearing extraordinary. The serpent most common at Kahira is of the viper class, and undoubtedly poisonous. If one of them enter a house, the charmer is sent for, who utters a certain form of words. I have

\* Instead of the words Cairo, Damietta, and Rosetta, the author uses what he says are the proper names, Kahira, Damiatt, and Rashid.

† For an extract from which see our department of Characters.

seen three serpents enticed out of the cabin of a ship, lying near the shore. The operator handled them, and then put them into a bag. At other times I have seen the serpents twist round the bodies of these Psylli in all directions, without having had their fangs extracted or broken, and without doing them any injury.

At Cobbé, a town in Dar-Für, situated lat.  $14^{\circ} 11'$  long. E. G.  $28^{\circ} 5'$  the author was detained for a long time, by an order from the Sultan Abd-el-rachman-el-rashid; and here he suffered a dangerous illness, and was robbed by the villainy of his agent who attended him from Kahira.

The route of Mr. Browne on his return from Dar-Für was through Kahira, and thence to Damiatt. On the occasion of mentioning this latter place, he relates an anecdote descriptive of the character of the people under the Mamlük government:

'A circumstance had recently occurred, tending to paint the character of the people under the Mamlük government. A cashier, but not of the highest order, under Murad Bey, who had been disgraced a short time before, retired to Damiatt to avoid his master's anger. He had not long resided there, when, having heard more favourable tidings, he made an inquiry for some person, capable of exchanging for him a sum in Turkish money, for the like in that of Europe current in the country. Accordingly three Jews were found, who promised to supply him according to his desire. They went round the city, and borrowed much

in addition to what they already possessed, and at length carried to the cashier to the amount of between five and six thousand patackes. He was no sooner furnished with the money, than he directed the Jews to be murdered, and his boats being ready, caused their bodies to be packed in baskets, and put into a small boat of his train. He then set off for Kahira. On arriving at a village a little way up the river, the baskets were disembarked, and he ordered them to be safely lodged till further directions should be given. It was some time before the villagers took notice of the packages, or dared to open them in the absence of the owner. But at length having observed a quantity of blood near one of them, and entertaining suspicions, they opened the three, and news was immediately carried to Damiatt that the three Jews had been found in this condition. Those under whose cognizance such accidents are, made a memorial of the whole affair to Murad Bey. He replied only by loud laughter, saying, "Are they not three dogs? There is an end of them."

At Damiatt, the author embarked for Yaffé, at which place he arrived after a passage of five days; he visited Jerusalem, Beruth, Naplofa, Nazareth, Acré,\* Tyre, Tripoli, Antioch, Aleppo, Damascus; and from Antioch he proceeded to Constantinople.

At Damascus, the author saw the entrance of the grand caravan from Mecca:

'On the day after my arrival, I was entertained with the entrance

\* We have given under our head of Characters, in this volume, an account of the celebrated Pasha Jezzar of Acré.

of the grand caravan from Mecca. The street was lined for some miles, for such is its length, with innumerable spectators, all impressed with curiosity, some with anxiety to see their friends and relations, many with reverence for the sacred procession. Some of the more opulent Hajaks, or pilgrims, were carried in litters, (*tattarawân*), but the greater number in a kind of panniers, two and two, placed on the back of camels. They did not appear much fatigued, though it was said they had suffered from the want of water.

On the Saturday following, was the entrance of the Pasha of Damascus, who is commonly the *Bmir-el-Hadje*, or chief of the caravan by office. First appeared three hundred dells, or cavalry, mounted on Arabian horses, variously armed and clothed, but on the whole forming no mean display. These were succeeded by fifteen men on dromedaries, with musketoons, or large carbines, placed before them, and turning on a swivel, in every direction. This destructive instrument of war is said to have passed from the Persians to the Syrians. Some of the great officers of the city followed, well mounted, and decently attired. Then came part of the Pasha of Tripoli's Janizaries, well clothed and armed; that Pasha himself, with his officers, and the remainder of his guard. Next was the *tattarawân* belonging to the Pash of Damascus, another body of four hundred dells, a company of thirty musketoons, a hundred and fifty Albanians, in uniform, and marching two and two, like our troops. Before the latter was borne the standard of the prophet, *Senjjak Sherif*, of green silk, with

sentences of the korân embroidered in gold, and the magnificent canopy brought from Mecca, guarded by a strong body of Muggrebins, or western Arabs, on foot. Then passed the pasha's three tails, (generally of white horses) borne by three men on horseback; twelve horses, a (pasha of two tails has only six) richly caparisoned, and each bearing a silver target and a sabre; six led dromedaries, in beautiful housings; numbers of the chief persons of the city followed, among whom were the aga of the Janizaries, the governor of the castle, and the *mo-hassel*. Last came the pasha himself, in a habit of green cloth adorned with fur of the black fox, preceded by his two sons, the eldest about fourteen, all mounted on the most spirited steeds of Arabia, and followed by his household troops, to the number of four hundred, well armed and mounted. More than a hundred camels preceded the rest, bearing the tents and baggage of the Pasha. The whole was conducted without any noise or tumult, to the great credit of the Damascene mob, who had been waiting several hours without their usual repast.

Respecting all works of the nature of that before us, in order to determine the writer's claim to public regard and gratitude, the sum and novelty of the information communicated are principally to be considered. We have already said that Mr. Browne relates many new and important facts: but they might have been told in a narrower compass, and would have been more useful if more methodically disposed. The want of arrangement is indeed a material evil; and if the author confesses this want,

he only shifts, but does not entirely remove, the censure which is to be attached to him. Mental entertainment is an object, we hesitate to say a subordinate one, at which books of travels aim; and although we are not able, perhaps, to exhibit passages which claim the praise of elegance of narration or grandeur of description, still we frequently, during the perusal of the book, found our attention engaged and our curiosity gratified. Yet, if mental entertainment was intended, mental disgust must be the sure consequence of several parts of the work, which are obnoxious to the feelings and opinions of the generality of readers. Some passages, a regard to delicacy should have expunged; and some should have been suppressed from a becoming respect for the prejudices of mankind. The pomp of language but imperfectly conceals the obscenity of ideas; and images of corrupt enjoyment may be seen through the veil of a writer's allusions. Religion, of whatever kind, or denomination, is invaded sometimes by insinuation, and sometimes by direct and open attack. The follower of Mohammed and the disciple of Christ seem to be alike objectionable to Mr. Browne; and he speaks of an infernal hatred which two divinely inspired religions could alone inspire.—His style, comprehending under that term *images* and their *signs*, is open to great reprehension.

Yet, after all abatements have been made from the praise of the author, much must remain to him. As a traveller, he appears to possess many excellent qualities; patience, courage, address, vigilance of observation, and acuteness of discernment. Estimating him as a

writer, we have to wish that, to a mind fraught with knowledge, had been added a better judgement; and that he had formed his style on chaster models. If his language be sometimes nervous, it is seldom pure; when he attempts grandeur, he is only gorgeous; and he is concise and abrupt, without being impressive and energetic.

In a word, had he been less desirous of swelling his volume, he might have made greater additions to the stock of knowledge; and, with a more moderate ambition of saying things splendidly and forcibly, he might have deserved the praise of having adorned and enforced the dictates of truth.

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*The Works of Sir William Jones, in 6 Vols. 4to. 1799.*

THE greater part of the tracts, contained in these volumes, have been in the possession of the public for some years back, and have already received the attention due to productions of their distinguished merit; their value has been too long known, and too justly estimated to require on our part any detailed examination of their respective merits; we shall therefore content ourselves with giving a general account of the several essays, &c. in this work, and with pointing out those more peculiarly deserving notice.

To the first volume, the editor has prefixed the discourse delivered by Lord Teignmouth to the Asiatic Society, on the death of their illustrious president.

This volume contains the whole of sir William's Discourses to the Asiatic Society that are published

in their Researches. In the preliminary discourse, he opens the plan of the institution, by taking a comprehensive view of its nature and object, and by shewing, with equal truth, ability and eloquence, the beneficial effects, which, through industry and perseverance, it would infallibly produce. And it is, perhaps, the highest praise we can bestow on this performance, to say, that the hopes which it expresses are now completely realized.

In the second anniversary discourse, he develops more fully the principles of those subjects which it belonged to the society to investigate, and draws a general and pleasing picture of the state of the arts and sciences in Asia, which he represents as containing many hidden treasures, that, when brought to light, would not only be valuable to philosophy, but serviceable to the political and commercial interests of mankind.

The third anniversary discourse contains an elegant epitome of the natural history of the Hindûs. He commences with a geographical description of India, upon the most enlarged scale, which he considers nearly equal in extent to the continent of Europe. He then proceeds to give a few outlines of the character of the Hindûs, and quotes a beautiful passage from the geographical poem of Dionysius, to prove that this extraordinary people have not changed either in their appearance or manners, during a long course of ages. The learned president next observes, that their civil history, "beyond the middle of the nineteenth century, from the present, is involved in a cloud of fables," and that we possess only four general *media* of satisfying our curi-

osity concerning it, namely, "their languages and letters, their philosophy and religion, their old sculpture and architecture, and the written memorials of their sciences and arts." Of all these, he gives a most learned and interesting account; and from the whole he draws this conclusion, "that the Hindûs had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians; the Phenicians, Greeks, and Tuscans; the Scythians or Goths, and Celts; the Chinese, Japanese, and Peruvians; and that, as no reason appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, it may be fairly inferred, and that they all proceeded from some central country."

The fourth discourse gives a concise account of the Arabs previous to the Mahommedan revolution, together with some admirable philological remarks on their language, and some observations on their ancient religion, monuments, and arts. Of their religion, he observes, "we may safely pronounce, that before the introduction of Mahommedanism, the noble and learned Arabs were Theists, but that a stupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people. That until their emigration, no trace of any philosophy but ethicks, is to be found among them; and that even their system of morals, generous and enlarged as it seems to have been in the minds of a few illustrious chieftains, was on the whole miserably depraved for a century, at least, before Mahommed."—"The distinguishing virtues, which they boasted of inculcating and practising, were, in contempt of riches, and even of death; but in the age



of the seven poets, their liberality had deviated into wild profusion, their courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obstinate spirit of encountering fruitless dangers."

The result of the learned author's inquiries concerning Arabia seems to confirm the hypothesis, that the Hindûs and Arabs are totally distinct races of people; but that a commercial intercourse had subsisted between them from time immemorial.

Tartary, which an elegant writer has, by a strong metaphor, denominated the "foundery of the human race," is the subject of the learned president's fifth discourse. He gives a general but accurate description of that vast region; he takes a view of the manners of its inhabitants; of their languages and letters; of their progress in civilization; of the spirit of their religion and laws; of their civil history; of their ancient monuments; and of their proficiency in arts and sciences antecedent to the age of Zengiz Khân: and the general corollary which he forms from the whole of the facts and circumstances brought forward in this and the two preceding discourses, is to the following effect; namely, "That the far greater part of Asia has been peopled, and immemorably possessed by three considerable nations, called Hindûs, Arabs, and Tartars; each of them divided and sub-divided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them so different in form and features, language, manners, and religion, that if they sprang

originally from a common root, they must have been separated for ages."

In his sixth discourse he describes the ancient empire of Irân, better known by the name of Persia, and gives a deeply-learned and most masterly dissertation on the three dialects of that country, the *Zend*, the *Pahlavi*, and the *Pârsi*. The *Zend* and *Old Pahlavi*, he informs us, "are almost extinct in Irân: for among six or seven thousand gabrs, who reside chiefly at Yeazd, and in Cirmân, there are very few who can read *Pahlavi*, and scarce any who can even boast of knowing the *Zend*; while the *Pârsi*, which remains almost pure in the Shâhnâmâh, has now become, by the intermixture of numberless Arabic words, and many imperceptible changes, a new language exquisitely polished, by a series of fine writers in prose and verse, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in Europe, after the subversion of the Roman empire." This last language, so formed, is that which is written and spoken by the modern Persians; and which is as generally understood in all the polished nations of Asia, but particularly in India, as the French is in Europe: it is the current language of courts, and that in which all state affairs are transacted. The *Zend*, which was the learned language of ancient Persia, and in which the *Zeratushti*, or Zoroaster,\* wrote, sir William Jones, incontestably proves to have been a dialect of the Sanscrêet. And he is decidedly of opinion that the *Pah-*

\* M. Anquetil du Perron, the author of the *Zendavestâ*, which he asserts was written by Zoroaster, but which is, in fact, a mere modern fabrication, has given vocabularies of the *Zend* and *Pahlavi* dialects, that the Parsis at Surat enabled him to compile, and that confirm the opinion of sir William Jones.

*Iau* was derived from the Chal-daick.

Of the primeval religion of *Iran*, he observes, "That it was that which sir Isaac Newton calls the oldest of all religions, namely, "a firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a paternal affection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation."— Nothing surely can be more truly sublime, than such a system of devotion; "a system which," as sir William well observes, "was too pure to be of long duration among mortals." It was succeeded by the theology of Zoroaster, which was, in fact, a corruption of the Brahminical system.

The seventh discourse treats of the Chinese; respecting whom he confines himself to a philosophical inquiry into their origin, which he traces to the same source as that of the Hindûs. And he observes, in our opinion with the most perfect accuracy, that the *Buddha* of the Hindûs, was unquestionably the *Foe* of China. There is indeed sufficient evidence now in our possession, to justify us in saying without reserve, that the religion of the Chinese and Japanese, is, with a few inconsiderable exceptions, the same in its principles, as that of the avowed followers of *Buddha* in the Island of Ceylon, in the Pegue or Burman empire, in Siam, and in Butan and Thibet. This religion is supposed to have been introduced into China about the first century of the Christian æra.

In the eighth discourse he takes

a wide survey of the borderers, mountaineers, and islanders of Asia. He commences in the Red Sea; and, after making some remarks on the *Abyssinians*, and paying a just compliment to the talents and accuracy of the celebrated Mr. Bruce, he encircles all Asia, observing the characters, languages, and religions of the inhabitants of its principal islands and mountains; and concludes with a general description of the ancient Greeks and Phrygians, and the islanders in the Mediterranean.

His ninth discourse, *On the origin of families and nations*, forms a general corollary to the foregoing dissertations, and is certainly the most ingenious, and not the least learned, or finished of his lucubrations on Asiatic literature. But whether his reasoning be as conclusive, as it is splendid and plausible, is a question of too much importance to be lightly discussed, and which we shall therefore postpone until a future occasion. It is sufficient at present to observe, that he endeavours to establish the hypothesis that all the various races of mankind originally migrated from Persia. His concluding paragraph, however, contains so much truth, expressed with so much force and elegance, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of citing it.

"My design," says he, "of tracing the origin and progress of the five principal nations, who have peopled Asia, and of whom there were considerable remains, in their several countries, at the time of Mahommed's birth, is now accomplished; succinctly, from the nature of these essays; imperfectly, from the darkness of the subject, and scantiness of my materials; but



clearly and comprehensively enough, to form a basis for subsequent researches. You have seen as distinctly as I am able to shew, who those nations originally were, whence and when they removed toward their final stations; and in our future annual discourses, I propose to enlarge on the particular advantages to our country and to mankind, which may result from our sedulous and united inquiries into the history, science, and arts of these Asiatic regions, especially of the British dominions in India, which we may consider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true interest; and we shall concur, I trust, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whose manly happiness is our duty, and will of course be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively virtuous without freedom, nor securely free without rational knowledge."

Asiatic history, civil and natural, is the subject of his tenth discourse. He begins, with civil history, contrary to the rule laid down by lord Bacon, and gives a general outline of it. He informs us, with strict truth, "that all our historical researches have confirmed the Mosiac accounts of the primitive world;" and he well observes, "that our testimony on that subject ought to have the greater weight; because, if the result of our observations had been totally different, we should nevertheless have published them, not indeed with equal pleasure, but with equal confidence; for truth is mighty; and whatever be its consequences must always prevail."

The eleventh, and last discourse, which sir William Jones delivered about six weeks before his death,

was on the philosophy of the Asiatics, of which he gives a very full and copious account; but from which we shall not at present make any extracts, because the subject is far too abstruse to be interesting to the great majority of our readers, and because we have not room to comment on it, with that precision and minuteness which it demands.

Upon the whole, these discourses must be esteemed the most valuable of all sir William Jones's writings. Taken collectively, they add largely to the stock of general knowledge; for they contain a variety of new and curious materials, whereby the philosopher may illustrate the history of man, and the politician may advance the wealth, prosperity, and happiness of nations. As to the style of the dissertations, it is always easy, flowing, perspicuous, and highly classical; sometimes rising into eloquence, and never sinking into tameness: yet it is occasionally tedious, owing to an extreme amplification of the periods; a mode of writing in which Cicero indeed excelled, but which is certainly unsuitable to the genius of our language. Even Clarendon's "period of a mile," (as Hayley terms it,) is often feeble, notwithstanding that fire and energy of mind which he unquestionably possessed; and we therefore think sir William judged ill in endeavouring to imitate him. The capacious and associating minds, however, of both these great men, had a natural tendency to lapse into such a style.

The next tract in the first volume of sir William Jones's works, is a dissertation on the orthography of Asiatic

Asiatic words; in Roman letters, a subject that ought to be strictly attended to by students in Oriental literature, as the caprice shewn by different writers in spelling Asiatic words, has occasioned great confusion, and many mistakes.

His next dissertation is on the gods of Greece, Italy, and India; where in he enters into a most learned and ingenious investigation to prove the affinity between the systems of Polytheism that prevailed among the Greeks and Romans, and the popular worship of the Hindûs; and moreover to shew that, in fact, they resemble the strange religions of Egypt, China, Persia, Phrygia, Phenicia, Syria, and, perhaps, some of the islands and northern kingdoms of America: that as to the Gothic system which prevailed in the northern regions of Europe, it was not merely similar to those of Greece and Italy, but almost the same in another dress, with an embroidery of images apparently Asiatic. He then draws a curious parallel between the gods of the Indian and European heathens, and infers from it, that a connection actually subsisted between the old idolatrous nations of Egypt, India, Greece and Italy, "long before they emigrated to their several settlements, and consequently before the birth of Moses; but that the truth of this proposition in no degree affects the truth and sanctity of the Mosaic history, which, if confirmation were necessary, it would rather tend to confirm."

An inquiry into the chronology of the Hindûs comes next; and our author fathoms the subject with great depth of learning as well as with singular ability. He leaves

no part of it unexplored: and he displays a very extensive and accurate knowledge of astronomical science.

A most learned and scientific dissertation on the antiquity of the Indian zodiac follows the above inquiry; and he has demonstrated, in the most satisfactory manner, in confutation of the opinion maintained by the ingenious M. Montúcia, "that the Indian division of the zodiac was not borrowed from the Greeks or Arabs, but has been known by the Hindûs from time immemorial, and was probably invented by the first progenitors of that race, before dispersion."

His next tract is on the literature of the Hindûs, in which he gives a succinct account of the principal books extant among them, taken from a Sanserret book, intitled, a view of learning, communicated to him by a learned Pandit. To this account he has subjoined an interesting commentary, shewing the progress which the Brâhmans have made both in practical and speculative knowledge. Among a variety of very curious facts, he informs us, Mohlani Fani, the author of the Dabistan, describes in his first chapter a race of old Persian sages, who appear, from the whole of his account, to have been Hindûs; and we cannot doubt that the book of Mahabâd or Menu, which was written," he says, "in a celestial dialect, means the Vêda; so that as Zoroaster was only a reformer, we find in India the true source of the ancient Persian religion. From the Vêdas," continues sir William, "are immediately deduced the practical arts of chirurgery and medicine,

more,

music, dancing, and archery, which comprize the whole art of war and architecture, under which the system of mechanical arts is included."

—"Infinite advantage may be derived by Europeans, from the various medical books in Sanscr  et, which contain the names and descriptions of Indian plants and minerals, with their uses, discovered by experience, in curing disorders." Of the Sanscr  et language he observes, "that its profody contains almost all the m  asures of the Greek; and that it is remarkable, that the language of the Br  hmans runs very naturally into Sapphicks, Alcaicks, and Iambicks." Astronomical works in this language are exceedingly numerous: seventy nine of them are specified in one list; and if they contain the names of the principal stars visible in India, with observations on their positions in different ages, what discoveries may be made in science, and what certainty attained in ancient chronology!"

The other tracts in the first volume consist of some remarks on the Second Classical Book of the Chinese; of a Scientific Dissertation on the Lunar Year of the Hind  s; of a Treatise on the Musical Modes of the Hind  s; of a Philological Account of the mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hind  s; of the *Hand of Hinzuan*; of a Conversation with an Abyssinian concerning the City of Gwender and the Source of the Nile; and some Remarks on the Course of the Nile, of a Treatise on the Indian Game of Chess; and of five or six short Miscellaneous Essays on Oriental Subjects. Of these tracts, that on the musical modes of the Hind  s, is the most interesting, and by far

the most elegant; but all of them contain much curious information, and manifest the universal learning and strenuous diligence of their author.

The second volume of these works contains several valuable botanical essays, comprising observations on Indian plants, together with a catalogue of them, giving their Sanscr  et; and as many of their Linn  ean names, as could with any degree of precision be ascertained. After these essays, follows his celebrated grammar of the Persian language, the universally acknowledged merits of which render it altogether usele   to praise. The preface to the grammar is one of the most masterly, spirited, and elegant of all sir William Jones's philological compositions.

To the Grammar, the editor of these works has added, a history of the Persian language, which it was sir William's original intention to have annexed to it in the year 1771, when the grammar was first printed. In this treatise, he takes a comprehensive view of his subject, traces the progress of the Persian language through a period of two thousand years, and relieves the dryness of the narrative by interspersing it with pleasing citations from the poets and moral writers of Persia.

The last tract in this volume is a Commentary on Asiatic Poetry, written in the Latin language, and it is no less distinguished for various and extensive learning, than for pure taste, and correct and elegant composition. Our only material objection to this treatise, is, the language in which it is written. Surely the English tongue is sufficiently copious to express our  
ideas

ideas on any subject whatever. Why then render a work of this nature repulsive to men of the world, by writing in a language in which, it is well known, they are not conversant? It has indeed been said, in defence of the practice of writing on learned subjects in the Latin, that, as it is a general language, it introduces a performance at once into the great commonwealth of letters. But as the French language is universally known throughout Europe, and as most English works of any importance, have, for these twenty years past, been translated into that tongue, we confess we can discover no possible utility in composing interesting works in Latin, especially on Oriental subjects, which it should be our first endeavour to clothe in an agreeable and familiar attire.

In the third volume of these works, we come to the most important and valuable of all sir W. Jones's translation; namely, his *Version of the Institutes of Hindû Law, or, the Ordinances of Menu*, according to the Gloss of Calluca, literally translated from the Sanscrit original. This work is a compendium of that system of duties, religious and civil, and of law in all its branches, which the Hindûs believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of time by Menu, the grandson of Brahmâ, and the oldest and holiest of legislators. According to the calculation of the learned translator, it received its present form about 880 years before the birth of our Saviour, and about 300 years subsequent to the promulgation of the Vêdas, or Hindû scriptures. No production of the present age contains so much new and curious matter. It throws more

light upon the Hindû system than all the publications that have heretofore appeared on the subject; and it proves beyond all dispute that the people of India had made great advances in civilization, at a period when the nations of Europe were in the rudest stage of social life. But it is peculiarly worthy of observation, that in many parts of it we find much of the wisdom, sublimity, and eloquence of the sacred scriptures; and though the text be deformed with innumerable absurdities, it always breathes the spirit of legislation and the fervour of a pious morality.

The last tracts in the third volume are, *The Mahommedan Law of Succession to the Property of Intestates*, in Arabic, from an original manuscript, with a verbal translation, preface, and notes; and, *The Mahommedan Law of Inheritance* from the Arabic text of Sirajiyah, with a preface and commentary. Both these tracts are of the utmost importance towards the due administration of civil justice in India, inasmuch as it regards upwards of three millions of British Mahommedan subjects; and they ought therefore to be studied with the greatest attention, by all gentlemen intending to enter the civil service of the hon. company.

The three remaining volumes, consist of many elegant compositions in Hindû literature, and some interesting translations from the Sanscrit.

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*Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and*

*and Literature, of Asia. Vol. V.  
Printed verbatim from the Calcutta  
Edition. 8vo.*

WHILE we look with satisfaction to the progress of this useful society, we cannot avoid repeating our concern for the loss of the amiable and excellent institutor of so liberal a plan, which has been productive of so much information. The investigations of this society are bound only by the geographical limits of Asia. The field of their researches is not only immense, but fertile in every topic that can excite curiosity or furnish entertainment. The members are not confined to Hindostan, but extend to China, to Japan, to Tartary, to Tibett, to the sterile deserts of Arabia, and to the beautiful provinces of Persia.

A space so unbounded has engaged the attention and care of the Asiatic society since its first institution, and the topics of their inquiry have been vast and without measure. They have examined whatever is performed by men, or produced by nature, within the limits they have prescribed to themselves. They have exhibited accounts of natural productions; have examined the records of empires and states; they have disentangled the perplexities of pure and mixed mathematics;

have speculated on ethics and law; and, to unbend, in the softer amusements of literature, have displayed the beauties of imagery and the charms of invention.

Objects so interesting cannot but excite a desire for a farther acquaintance with them; four volumes\* have been already published, and the fifth now makes its appearance; but the lucubrations of the Asiatic society have not been so widely diffused as their merit deserved. Nearly the whole of the impression is distributed in the East Indies, therefore very few copies reach Europe; and this, amongst other reasons, has given rise to the present re-publication, which contains the whole of the transactions of the society, without abridgement or mutilation.

We cannot dismiss this article without observing that in the five volumes of this work may be found nearly all the truly valuable articles which compose the pompous and expensive work we have just reviewed, that is to say, all those publications of sir William Jones, on subjects connected with Oriental Literature, Natural History, or Antiquities, which received his last corrections, and were presented by him in a finished state to the society, of which he was so distinguished a member.

\* For an account of the third and fourth volumes of this work see our Register for 1797.

# THE CONTENTS.

## HISTORY OF EUROPE.

### CHAP. I.

*A general View of the Year 1799.—Hazardous Situation of Buonaparte, in consequence of the Destruction of the French Fleet.—Present State of Egypt.—Mammalukes.—Beys.—Arabs.—Jews.—Greeks.—Copts.—Force, Land and Marine, under the Command of Buonaparte.—Various Cares of Buonaparte.—Means of maintaining the Army.—And of recruiting and preserving it.—Buonaparte respects himself, and gives Orders to his Officers to respect, the Prejudices of all the Egyptians.—His Proclamation to the People of Egypt.—At great Pains to propagate, in all Mahometan Countries, a Belief of his Veneration for Islamism and the Prophet.—Treachery and Punishment of the principal Sheick, or Shereef, of Alexandria.—Endeavours of Buonaparte to bend and harmonize the French and the Egyptians.—Measures taken for the Accomplishment of that Design.—Grand Feast at Cairo, on the Anniversary of the French Republic.—Great Ceremony at the annual opening of the Grand Canal of Cairo.—Liberality of Buonaparte to the Egyptians.—Useful Institutions.—Government of Egypt attempted to be assimilated to the new Government in France.—Notables.—Departments.—And a general Assembly, or Dizan, in Egypt.—Difficulty of operating and producing any permanent Change in the Minds of Barbarians.—Jealousies of the French.—Discontents.—Murmurs.—And Insurrections.—Particularly at Cairo.—This, with the others, subdued.—A general Amnesty—Murad Bey deserted, with great Loss.—And forced to retreat to the Mountains.—The French, under the Command of Desaix, in Possession of the best Part of Upper Egypt. [1*

### CHAP. II.

*The French keep their Ground in Egypt.—Yet many Causes remain of Alarm.—Means used by Buonaparte, for obviating or encountering these.—An Alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Turks and Russians.—Expedition of the French into Egypt.—Objects of this armed.—Or probable.—Preparations for the Expedition.—Disposition of the Troops.—And March.—Opposed by Mammalukes, Arabs, Samaritans, and other Syrian Tribes.*

## CONTENTS.

*Tribes.—Battle of El-Arish.—El-Arish taken by the French.—Progress of the French Army to Gaza.—Of which it takes Possession without Resistance.—And of Jaffa (the ancient Joppa), after a desperate Resistance.—Importance of Jaffa.—Letter from Buonaparte to Ghezzar, Basha of St. John d'Acre.—Ghezzar's Answer.—March of the French Army along the Roots of Mount Carmel.—Towards St. John d'Acre.—Description and History of Acre.—French encamp before Acre.—And open Trenches against it.—Project, combined by the British and Turkish Governments, for a general Attack on Buonaparte, by Sea and Land.—A French Flotilla, with Battering-cannon, Ammunition, and Stores, taken by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith.—Breach effected in the Wall of Acre.—Repeated Assaults of the French, on Acre, repulsed.—Immense Multitudes assembled on the surrounding Hills, waiting for the Issue of the Contest, with a Determination to join the Victors.—Circular Letter from Sir Sidney Smith to the Princes and Chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon.—Their friendly Answer.—Sallies from the Garrison of Acre.—Account of Ghezzar Basha.—Discomfiture and Retreat of the French from Acre* [20]

### CHAP. III.

*Account of the Siege of Acre, by the English.—And by the French Commanders.—Demolition of Forts.—Contributions.—The French Army re-enters the Desert.—Camps of the Arabs burned.—Arrival of the French Army at Cairo.—Loss of the French Army in the Syrian Expedition.—Interval Dissatisfaction and Commotion in Egypt.—And new Attacks threatened on the Coast and Frontier.—Observations on the different Reports of Sir Sidney Smith and General Berthier.—Proceedings of Buonaparte, after his Return to Egypt.—The Mamelukes, surprised in their Camp, betake themselves to Flight.—A Turkish Army, supported by a Fleet, advances against Aboukir.—Position of the Turks at Aboukir.—And of the Squadron.—Disposition of the French Army, for an Attack on the Turks.—Battle of Aboukir.—Gained by the French.—Declarations by Buonaparte.—Buonaparte, amidst all his Proceedings, military and political, pays constant Attention to the Interests of Commerce, Arts, and Sciences.—A Detachment of the French Army occupies Suez.—Journey to Suez, by Buonaparte.* [31]

### CHAP. IV.

*Object of the French Expedition to Egypt.—Connection between France and the Sultaun of Mysore, in India.—Letter from Buonaparte to Tippoo Sultaun.—Hostilities against the British, in India, concerted between the French Government and Tippoo.—Embassy from Tippoo Sultaun to Zemaun Shah, King of Cabul.—The Kingdoms of Candahar and Cabul described.—Curious Instructions of Tippoo to his Ambassadors.—Plans for hostile Co-operation between Tippoo Sultaun and Zemaun Shah, against the English.—Letter from Tippoo to Zemaun.—Zemaun's Answer.—According with the Wishes of Tippoo.—The Invasion of India concerted between those two Princes, presented*

## CONTENTS.

*vented by the Vigilance and political Address of the Government of Bombay.—British Army assembled on the Coast of Coromandel.—Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Lord Mornington.—Junction between the Nizam's Army and that of Madras.—This united Army marches against Seringapalam on one Hand.—While the Malabar Army advances towards it on the other.—Engagement between the Malabar Army and that of Tippoo Sultaun.—Junction between the Bombay or Malabar and the main Army.—Tippoo abandons the open Country, and takes Refuge in the Fortress of Seringapalam.—Seringapalam taken by Storm.—Tippoo slain.—Distinguishing Features of the House of Hyder.—Acquisitions obtained by the Arts of Peace, contrasted with the Conquests obtained by War.—Prosperity of the British Settlement on Prince of Wales's Island.—The Magnitude, and the Prospects presented by its natural Advantages.* [48

### CHAP. V.

*Determination of the Porte to repel the Invasion of Egypt.—Letter from the Grand Seignior to Tippoo Sultaun, on that Subject.—Tippoo's Answer.—A new Sect of Islamitish Socinians.—Account, by Tippoo Sultaun, of the Christian Domination in India.—Complaints against the English.—Confederacy for exterminating the Christian Infidels from India.—Reflections.—Hypocritical Conduct of the French towards the Turks.—Resentment and spirited Conduct of the Porte.—Alliance between the Porte and Russia.—Change in the Turkish Ministry.—Memorial of the Porte to all foreign Ministers.—Turkish Manifesto, addressed to the British Minister at Constantinople.—Character of the Turks.—Military Preparations of the Porte, Councils and Views of the Russians.—Character and political Conduct of the Russian Emperor, Paul.—Treaty between Great Britain and Russia.—Russian Declaration of War against Spain.—The Emperor of Russia elected, by the dispersed Knights, Grand Master of Malta.—His Munificence to that Order.—New Establishment for its Maintenance, at St. Peterburgh.—A combined Russian and Turkish Fleet sails through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean.—And reduces the Venetian Islands on the Western Coast of Turkey in Europe.—Humane and liberal Conduct of the Conquerors of these to their Prisoners of War.* [66

### CHAP. VI.

*Vicissitudes of Colonization, Commerce, and Arts.—Re-action of the Expedition to Egypt, on the Affairs of Europe.—Internal Policy of France.—Violation of the Freedom of Elections.—Civil Dissentions.—Finances.—Suppression of Newspapers.—Execution of the Laws against Ecclesiastics and Emigrants.—Escape and Return of banished Deputies, from Guiana to Europe.—Law for confiscating the Property of Exiles, in case of their avoiding or quitting the Place of their Banishment.—Debates in both Councils on this Subject.—Military Commissions, Trials, and Executions.—Law for inquiring into all the Attacks that had been made on Persons and Property, from Motives of Enmity to the Public and its Friends.—Dreadful*



## CONTENTS.

*Dreadful Effects of this Law.—Plunder, Profusion, Venality, and Corruption.* [5]

### C H A P. VII.

*Covetousness and Rapacity of the Directors of France, displayed in their foreign Transactions.—Treaty between the Directory and Portugal.—Not ratified by the Court of Lisbon.—Genève becomes a Department of France.—Conduct of the French towards different Nations.—Their continued Menaces against England.—Calumnies.—And malicious Accusations.—These refuted, and retorted by the Publication of Général Hoche's Instructions to Colonel Tate, for carrying on a War, in England, of Plunder and Destruction.—Reflections thereon.—Parties in France.—Policy of the Directory.—Boastings, and vain-glorious Predictions.—Objections on Colonies, and the most proper Places for their Establishment.—Messengers from the Directory, to the Council of Five Hundred, relating to the Toulon Expedition.—Apologies for invading Egypt without a previous Declaration of War.—Joy and Exultation at the Landing of the French in Egypt.—And confident Predictions of great Glory, to be from thence derived, to the French Nation.—And Benefits to all the World.—Intelligence received in France of the Naval Victory of Aboukir.—Effects of this on the French Nation.—This Victory vilified by the French.—New Requisitions of Men and Money.—The Light in which the Directory appeared, throughout France, before the News from Aboukir.—Covetousness and Rapacity of the Directory.—Manner in which they made their Fortune.—The Destruction of the French Fleet, at Aboukir, a new Support, and a new Source of Power, to the Directory.—The Manner in which the Government of France received the Declaration of War by the Turks.—A French Ambassador sent to Constantinople.—French Answer to the Manifesto of the Porte.—Refutation of this, by intercepted Letters of Buonaparte's.—Submissiveness of the French Legislative Councils to the Directory, and Indifference about the Constitution.—The same Requisitions of Men and Money, that were made in France, enforced in the conquered States.—Insurrection in Belgium.—Its Rapidity and Extent.—Subdued.* [99]

### C H A P. VIII.

*Congress of Rastadt.—Description of Germany.—Germanic Constitution.—The Germans, in all Ages, characterized by a Love of Liberty.—States of the Empire.—Three Colleges.—Vicissitudes in the Constitution.—Election of the Emperor.—Geographical Division of the Empire into Circles.—Division of the Empire, founded on Differences of Religion.—Diet of the Empire.—Advices of the Diet.—Decrees of Ratification.—Consensus.—Influence of the Emperor on the Proceedings of the Diet.—And of the King of Prussia.—Deputations of the Empire.—Ordinary and Extraordinary.—Members of the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire assembled at Rastadt.—Their Powers and Functions.—Negotiation between the Parties*

## CONTENTS.

concerned, at Rastadt, carried on without the Intervention of foreign Powers.—Secret Articles in the Treaties of Basle and Campo-Formio.—Violation of the latter, on the Part of the French, complained of by the Imperial Minister.—Basis proposed for a Pacification, by the French Plenipotentiaries.—Counter Propositions, by the Deputation of the Empire.—Continuation of Hostilities by the French.—Disputes concerning the Origin and Commencement of the War.—The Basis proposed by the French Plenipotentiaries agreed on by the secret Articles of the Treaty of Campo-Formio.—Secularizations proposed.—The Deputation agree to the Cession of half the Territory demanded by the French.—Who persist in their first Propositions.—Debates in the Diet of the Empire.—The Cession of the left Bank of the Rhine agreed to, by the Deputation, on certain Conditions.—Private Views of the individual States of the Empire.—The System of Secularization agreed to.—Farther Pretensions of the French.—Objections to these.—Jealousies and secret Views of both the negotiating Parties.—Rapacity and Venality of the French Directory.—Interesting and insidious Intervention of the French Plenipotentiaries, in Favour of certain Imperial Cities.—Relaxed and enfeebled State of the Germanic Constitution.—The German States arranged respectively around Prussia and Austria.—Fresh Pretensions of the French resisted by both these Powers.—Concessions of the French.—And of the Deputation of the Empire.—A Majority of the Deputation agrees to the French Propositions.—Protest in the Diet against their Vote.—Effect produced on the Negotiations at Rastadt, by the Approach of the Russians to Germany.—Concursum of the Diet, on the Subject of the French Propositions, ratified by the Imperial Commissary.—Requisitions of the Deputation of the Empire, for the Relief of the right Bank of the Rhine.—Declaration of the French Plenipotentiaries against the Admission of Russian Troops into the Territory of the Empire.—Referred to the general Diet of the Empire of Ratibon.—Entrance and Progress of the Russians into Germany.—Surrender of the Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein.—The French Army crosses the Rhine.—And penetrates into Suabia.—French Proclamation.—And Address of General Jourdan to his Army, on their Entrance into Germany.—Taken into Consideration by the Deputation of the Empire.—Which recommends to the general Diet the Adoption of Means for a speedy Peace.—The Zeal of the Deputies for Peace, checked by the Imperial Commissary.—Preludes of War.

121

## C H A P. IX.

Attack on the French, by the King of Naples.—Secret Motives assigned for this.—Position of the Neapolitan Troops, after their Repulse from the Roman Territories.—And of the French.—The different Divisions of the French Army draw near to Naples.—Amidst general and constant Insurrections of the Natives of the Country.—Armistice proposed by the Neapolitan to the French General for an Armistice.—Rejected.—Massacres of the French.—Perilous Situation of the French Troops.—Desperate Resolution of Championet.—Unexpectedly relieved from his Embarrassment by an Offer, for the third Time, of an Armistice.—The Neapolitan Troops eva-

## CONTENTS.

evade Capua.—Where they are succeeded by the French Garrison.—Disaffection of the Directory with Championnet.—The Royal Family of Naples at Palermo.—Regency appointed, at Naples, in his Absence.—Championnet's Vindication of his Conduct to the Directory.—Communication between Championnet and the Malcontents of Naples.—Violent Fermentation in Naples.—Contest between the Royalists and Revolutionists.—Retreat of the Viceroy.—Escape of General Mack to Championnet.—Total Disorganization of the Neapolitan Army.—Assassination and Rapine.—Naples shrouded by the French Army.—Obstinately defended by the Lazzaroni.—Momentary Cessation from mutual Slaughter.—Improved by Championnet.—Whole Professions of Humanity and Respect for St. Jannarius drew over the Lazzaroni to the Side of the French.—Miracles.—Advertisement, by the Archbishop, to the Citizens of Naples.—Proclamation of Championnet.—Edict of the Provisionary Government of the Neapolitan Republic.—Under imposing Forms and Names in the Hands of the French General.—Contributions.—Trophies of Victory and Ambassadors sent from Naples to Paris.—The whole public and much of the private Property of Naples claimed, by the Directory, for the French Nation.—Civil Commissaries sent for the Purpose of taking Possession of this.—Ordered, by Championnet, to quit Naples.—The Decree of the Directory, on the Subject of Neapolitan Property, annulled by a Counter-Decree issued by the General.—Indignation of the Directory.—A Decree for arresting Championnet with other Generals, and trying them for Disobedience.—Another for bringing Persons, accused, by public Fame, of Robbery or Dilapidation, to Trial by a Court-Martial.—These Trials prevented by new Struggles and Changes at Paris.—French Invasion of the small Republic of Lucca.—Factions there.—Revolution.—And Contributions.

146

### CHAP. X.

Meeting of the British Parliament.—Speech from the Throne.—Debates thereon in both Houses.—Army, Navy, and other Estimates.—Supplies.—Ways and Means.—Taxes.—New Measure of Finance.—Russian Subsidy.—Debates.—Eulogy on the Russian Emperor.—India Budget.—Amended Bills for the Redemption of the Land-Tax.—Motion by Mr. Tierney, for the Prevention of any Negotiation that might prevent a Peace.—Suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act.—Conversation relating to the Treatment of Persons confined in the New State Prison.

161

### CHAP. XI.

Measures for the external Defence and internal Tranquillity of the British State.—Motion against any Negotiations that might prevent or impede a Negotiation for Peace.—Negatived.—Bills for continuing the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—Digression to the State Prison in Cold-Bath-fields.

195

### CHAP.

# CONTENTS.

## CHAP. XII.

*Union with Ireland.—Message from his Majesty, relative to that Subject.—Resolutions preparatory to an Union. Debates thereon, in both Houses of Parliament.—Conferences between the Lords and Commons.—Joint Address, from both Houses, to his Majesty.—New Arrangements respecting the Militia Volunteers, and Provisional Cavalry.—Slave-Trade.* 202

## CHAP. XIII.

*Treaty of Campo Formio suddenly formed.—Disregarded and mistrusted by both Parties.—Military Preparations.—General Jourdan receives Orders to begin the Campaign.—Immense Scale on which War is now carried on.—Force and Position of the French and the Imperial Forces.—Plans of the French.—Situation and Views of the Austrians.—The French Army occupies Mannheim.—Lays the Palatinate under Contribution.—And advances into Suabia.—Contributions there also.—Jourdan appointed Commander-in-chief of the Armies in Germany and Switzerland. Positions of the Austrians in the Country of the Grisons and in the Vorarlberg.—Massena summons General Auffenberg, and attacks him at the same Time.—And takes him, with the greater Part of his Troops.—The French Masters of Chur, and almost all the Valley of the Rhine.—Plan of the French to complete the Conquest of the Country of the Grisons.—Massena repulsed in the Vorarlberg with much Loss.—The French General, Lecourbe, seizes on the Upper and Lower Engadine.—The French General, Desfolles, attacks and gains the Post at Bormio.—The Army of the Archduke Charles passes the Lech, and advances in Suabia.—Movements and Postings taken by the Austrian and French Armies.—Battle between the Austrians and French.—The French defeated, and forced to repass the Rhine.—The Austrians in Possession of almost all Suabia.* 235

## CHAP. XIV.

*The French pass the Rhine.—Positions of the Austrians in the Country of the Grisons, and in the Vorarlberg.—Complete Conquest of the Country of the Grisons, by the French.—The Austrians, under the Archduke Charles, pass the Lech, and advance into Suabia.—Nearly the whole of which falls into their Possession.—The French fall back to Stock-Ach and Engen.—Are forced to repass the Rhine.—Make themselves Masters of the Vallies of the Inn.—The Inhabitants of the Tyrol take up Arms against the French, who, being defeated, are obliged to evacuate that Country.—Proclamation of the Archduke Charles to the People of Switzerland.—Massena appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Rhine, the Danube, and of Observation.—Breaking up of the Congress at Rastadt.—Insult offered to Bernadotte, French Ambassador, at Vienna.—Conferences at Selz.—Assassination of the French Deputies to the Congress at Rastadt.—General Situation of the Allies.—The French are entirely driven out of the Country of the Grisons, and the Austrians take Possession of the left Bank of the Rhine.* 242

*—Massena*

## CONTENTS.

—Massena evacuates the Eastern Parts of Italy.—General Bellegarde, having reduced the Falltelline, embarks, with the greater Part of his Army, on the Lake Como.—The French driven from St. Gothard.—Strong Position taken by Massena, in Front of Zurich.—Situation of the Archduke, and Causes of his Inaction.—Respective Forces, and Forces of the opposite Armies, in Switzerland.—Political Measures of the Allies.—The Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Wurtemberg enter into the Coalition.—Plan of a general Attack on the Allies formed at Paris.—Particular Plan of Massena.—The Austrians attacked on the whole Extent of their Line.—And entirely driven from the Cantons of Schwitz and Uri.—The first Division of the Russian Auxiliary Army arrives at Schaffhausen, and proceeds to Zurich.—Measures taken, by the Archduke, to stop the Progress of the Republicans.—The French Army of the Rhine passes that River on several Points.—The Archduke, with his Army, quits Switzerland.—After obtaining some Successes, obliged to fall back; and return to Mentz.—The Allies, on the 25th of September, attacked on the whole of their Line the Linth and the Limatt.—Zurich surrounded.—The Russian General, Korsakow, who succeeded to the Archduke in the Command of the Allied Forces, in Switzerland, retreats.—Marshal Suwarrow marches from Italy, into Switzerland.—His March, Progress, and Retreat to the Country of the Grisons, one Series of Battles, or a continued Engagement.—Action at Constance.—The French, on the 4th and 5th of October, pass the Rhine.—Take Possession of all the Country between the Maine and the Lake.—They are compelled to withdraw into the Angle, formed by the Neckar and the Rhine, and completely to repass this River. 249

## C H A P. XV.

*Situation and Force of the French and Austrian Armies, in Italy, at the Beginning of 1799.*—The French driven, with great Loss, from the left Bank of the Adige.—Operations of the Austrians on the Flanks of the French Army.—The French, on the Fifth of April, defeated with great Loss.—Retire to the Mincio.—And afterwards to the Chiesà.—The Austrian General, Melas, passes the Mincio with all his Army.—23,000 Russian Auxiliaries arrive with Marshal Suwarrow, who takes the chief Command of the Troops of the two Emperors.—Peschiera and Mantua invested.—Brescia taken by the Allies.—Who march to the Oglio, which the French abandon.—Moreau succeeds in the Command of the French Army to Scherer, who was become the Object of public Animadversion.—The Allied Army encamps on the Adda.—Distribution of the French Forces on that River.—Dislodged therefrom on the Twenty-seventh, by Marshal Suwarrow.—Battle of Cassano.—The French compelled to fly towards Milan.—Which is entered by the Austrians on the Twenty-eighth.—Embarrassing Situation of Moreau.—The Plan he determines to pursue.—Reduction of the Fortresses of Peschiera and Pizzighetone.—Plan of Operations pursued by Marshal Suwarrow.—Capture of the Cities of Tortona and Turin.—Moreau passes the Bormida, and retreats towards Com.—Reduction of the Citadels of Milan and Ferrara.—The French driven from Ravenna.—General Macdonald,

## C O N T E N T S.

donald, with all his Army, evacuates the Kingdom of Naples.—Crosses the Appenines.—Makes himself Master of Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Placentia.—But is defeated in a Series of Battles, on both Sides of the Trebbia, by Marshal Suvarrow.—Moreau, who had crossed the Appenines, with a View of drawing near to Macdonald, and gained several Advantages, on the Approach of the Russian Commander, retires to Genoa.—Reduction of the Citadel of Turin.—Insurrection of the Inhabitants of Tuscany.—Macdonald accomplishes his Retreat and Junction with Moreau.—Alexandria and Mantua surrender, by Capitulation.—Cardinal Ruffo, on the Twentieth of June, makes himself Master of the City of Naples.—Complete Deliverance, by the English Fleet, of the Kingdom of Naples.—Military Measures taken by the new French Directory.—The Command of the Army of Italy restored to Joubert, who puts his Troops in Motion on the Eleventh of August.—Battle of Novi.—Victory long doubtful at last decided in Favour of the Allies.—Enormous Loss on both Sides.—Conditional Capitulation of Tortona, which falls on the Eleventh of September.—General Suvarrow sets off for Switzerland.—Coni becomes the sole Object of the Campaign.—March of the Neapolitans and the Austrians against Rome.—General Garnier, French Commander, in Rome, surrenders the Roman Territory, by Capitulation, to Commodore Trowbridge.—Siege and Capture of Ancona.—And of Coni.—Other Places taken by the Austrians.—Genoa and its small Territory, the only Possession remaining to the French, in Italy, at the Close of 1799.—Estimate of the Advantages gained on both Sides in the whole of the Campaign or Campaigns in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. 278

## C H A P. XVI.

Expedition, under the Command of the Duke of York, to Holland.—Object of this.—Plan of Co-operation between Great Britain and Russia.—An Armament sets sail from Deal, on the thirteenth of August.—Plan of Operations.—Stormy Weather.—The British Troops land at Helder.—Force opposed to them.—Engagement.—The British Army gains Possession of Helder.—Surrender of the Dutch Fleet.—Position and Force of the Enemy.—An Action, in which they are defeated, and forced to retire to Alkmaar.—Engagement on the nineteenth of September.—Motives which induced the Duke of York to renew the Attack on the Enemy.—Several Places on the Zuyder-Sea, submit to the British Flag, and the Authority of the Prince of Orange.—The British Army, on the second of October, attacks the French.—Who are defeated.—Progress of the British Army to Alkmaar.—The French take Post on the Isthmus between Beverwick and the Zuyder-Sea.—The British moved forward to a new Position.—The French advance from Beverwick to meet them.—Engagement.—Night coming on, undecided.—The British Troops withdraw from their advanced Position to their former Station at Schagenbrug.—Attacks on the British at Schagenbrug.—Repulsed.—Farther Successes of the Marine Force of the British in the Zuyder-Sea.—Suspension of Arms.—Capitulation.—The British and Russian Forces return to England.—Meeting of the British Parliament in September.—Its Proceedings. 300

# CONTENTS.

## CHAP. XVII.

*The State of Military Operations, connected with that of the internal Policy of the French Republic.—Character and Views of the French Directory in the early Part of 1799.—State of Parties in France.—Principles and base Artifices of the Directory.—Coalition of Parties against them.—New Election of one-third of the Legislature.—And, on June 18, of a Directory.—Unexpected and sudden Arrival of Buonaparte from Egypt.* 314

## CHRONICLE.

I—70

<i>Births in the Year 1799</i>	43
<i>Marriages</i>	44
<i>Promotions</i>	46
<i>Deaths</i>	54
<i>Sheriffs appointed by his Majesty in Council</i>	68

## APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

<i>London Gazette, June 22</i>	70
<i>The like, August 17</i>	75
<i>London Gazette Extraordinary, September 3</i>	77
<i>The like</i>	86
<i>The like, September 9</i>	90
<i>London Gazette, September 10</i>	91
<i>London Gazette Extraordinary, September 14</i>	99
<i>The like, September 16</i>	101
<i>London Gazette, September 21</i>	103
<i>London Gazette Extraordinary, Sept. 24</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>The like, October 24</i>	109
<i>London Gazette, October 26</i>	120
<i>The like, October 26</i>	126
<i>The like, November 16</i>	128
<i>The like, November 23</i>	134
<i>New Constitution of the French Republic, Dec. 13</i>	142
<i>Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the British House of Commons, on the Seditious Societies, March 15</i>	150
<i>Abstract of the total Amount of the Loans raised by the British Government since the Year 1750</i>	182
<i>Public Acts passed in the third Session of the eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain</i>	183
<i>An accurate Extract of the Prices of the Quarterly Loaf, W. harten Bread, at the Commencement and Conclusion of the several Mayoralties of London, from 1735 to 1799, both inclusive.</i>	186
<i>Average Prices of Corn for 1799</i>	187
	<i>Account</i>

## CONTENTS.

<i>Account of the Import of foreign Wheat into the Port of London, from 1791 to 1792</i>	187
<i>Prices of Stuck for 1799</i>	188
<i>Total Value of Imports into Great Britain from 1785 to 1798</i>	189
<i>The like of Exports in the same Years</i>	ibid.
<i>Metecorological Table, for 1799</i>	190
<i>Annual Bill of Christenings and Burials</i>	191
<i>Supplies granted by Parliament for the Year 1799</i>	192
<i>Taxes imposed in 1799</i>	200

## STATE-PAPERS.

<i>Message from the King to the House of Commons, Jan. 22.</i>	201
<i>The like, March 1</i>	ibid.
<i>Protest against an Union with Ireland, April 11</i>	ibid.
<i>Message from the King to the House of Commons, June 6</i>	204
<i>Protest against the Treason-Forfeiture-Bill, July 4</i>	205
<i>The like, against the Militia-Reduction-Bill, July 12</i>	ibid.
<i>The King's Speech to both Houses, on closing the Session, July 12</i>	207
<i>The like at the Meeting of Parliament, Sept. 24</i>	208
<i>Protest against the Militia-Service-Extension-Bill</i>	210
<i>Declaration by the King of Great Britain, and the Emperor of Russia, in addition to the Treaty of Dec. 1798</i>	211
<i>Convention between his Britannic Majesty, and the Emperor of all the Russias, June 22</i>	212
<i>Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Mornington, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, March 20</i>	216
<i>Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultan, to the Executive Directory</i>	233
<i>Copy of Articles of Engagement proposed by Tippoo to the Directory</i>	234
<i>Letter from Dubuc to the Rajah of Travancore, Minister at Aleppo</i>	235
<i>Letter from Dubuc to Tippoo Sultan</i>	ibid.
<i>Proclamation by the British Commissioners for the Affairs of the Mysore at Seringapatam, June 24, 1799</i>	238
<i>Speech of the Lord-Lieutenant at the Meeting of the Irish Parliament, January 22</i>	239
<i>The like, on proroguing the Parliament</i>	240
<i>Decree of the Prince of Brazil, declaring himself Regent of Portugal,</i>	242
<i>Message of the French Executive Directory to the Councils</i>	243
<i>Treaty of Commerce between the French and Helvetic Republics</i>	ibid.
<i>Message from the Executive Directory to the Councils</i>	245
<i>Explanatory Decree of the Executive Directory</i>	251
<i>Message from the Executive Directory to the Councils</i>	ibid.
<i>Proclamation of General Buonaparte, Nov. 10</i>	252
<i>Letter, from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Foreign Agent of the Republic</i>	253
<i>Proclamation of the Consuls to the French</i>	254
	Notice



# CONTENTS

<i>Notice of the Consulate respecting the English Prisoners of War in France</i>	255
<i>Official Documents which preceded the Convention, stipulating the Evacuation of Egypt, by the French, but which Convention, was never carried into Effect</i>	ibid.
<i>Imperial Autlic Decree to the Diet of Ratisbon, July 12</i>	257
<i>Treaty of Alliance between the Emperor of Germany, and the King of the Two Sicilies</i>	259
<i>Conclusum adopted by the Diet of Ratisbon, Sept. 7</i>	261
<i>Note from the French Ministers, at Rastadt, to the Deputation of the Empire</i>	262
<i>Substance of the Emperor's Answer, relative to the March of the Russian Troops</i>	263
<i>Note of the French Ministers to the Deputation of the Empire, Jan. 31</i>	ibid.
<i>Note of the French Ministers to the the Minister of the King of Hungary and Bohemia</i>	ibid.
<i>Note of the French Ministers, declaring their Determination to leave Rastadt</i>	264
<i>The Executive Directory of the French Republic to all People, and to all Governments</i>	266
<i>Imperial Autlic Decree to the German Diet, respecting the late Catastrophe near Rastadt</i>	268
<i>Conditions of the Treaty of Union between the Country of the Grisons and the Helvetic Republic</i>	270
<i>Note, transmitted by the sublime Porte, to the Ambassador, from the Republic of Holland</i>	271
<i>The Ministry of the Sublime Porte to the French Army in Egypt</i>	ibid.
<i>Note sent to the Spanish Minister, ordering him to leave Constantinople,</i>	272
<i>Protest of the King of Sardinia against the Conduct of the French, in driving him from his Dominions</i>	273
<i>Acknowledgment of the new Pope by Louis XVIII.</i>	ibid.
<i>Edict of the Emperor of Russia respecting Hamburg</i>	274
<i>Proclamation of General Suwaroff to the Inhabitants of Lucern and St. Martin</i>	ibid.
<i>Manifesto addressed to the Roman Nation on the Approach of the combined Armies</i>	275
<i>Note sent to all the foreign Ministers at Petersburg</i>	276
<i>Extract of an Order from St. Petersburg, directed against Denmark</i>	277
<i>Ukase of the Emperor Paul to the Senate of Hamburg</i>	ibid.
<i>Treaty of Alliance between Russia and Portugal</i>	ibid.
<i>The like between Russia and Sweden</i>	282
<i>Declaration made by the Emperor of Russia to the Members of the German Empire</i>	287
<i>Declaration of War by the Emperor of Russia against Spain</i>	ibid.
<i>Answer of the King of Spain to the Manifesto of the Emperor of Russia.</i>	289
<i>The Minister Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic, to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs</i>	289
<i>A Proclamation by the Prince of Orange</i>	294

*Proclamations*

## C O N T E N T S.

<i>Proclamation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie to the Dutch</i>	293
<i>Message from the President of the United States of America to the Senate,</i>	296
<i>Speech of the President to both Houses of Representatives, Dec. 3</i>	298
<i>Secret Articles of the Treaty of Campo Formio</i>	301

## C H A R A C T E R S.

<i>Egyptian Mode of taking Repasts; from Sonnini's Travels</i>	304
<i>Manners and Address of the Emperor Joseph II. from Wrazall's Correspondence</i>	ibid.
<i>Account of the Gaol of Philadelphia, and of the Laws of Pennsylvania, with respect to the Punishment of Crimes; from Weld's Travels</i>	305
<i>Character of Jézzar, the celebrated Pacha of Acré; from Brown's Travels,</i>	308
<i>Of the Manners of the Inhabitants of Dár-Fur; from the same</i>	310
<i>Some Account of Bondou and its Inhabitants, the Foulahs; from Park's Travels</i>	312
<i>Account of the Mainottes, the Descendants of the ancient Lacedæmonians; from Taylor's Travels</i>	314
<i>Biographical Anecdotes of the late Tippoo Sultan; together with an Account of his Revenue-Establishment of his Troops, &amp;c. from the Asiatic Annual Register</i>	316
<i>Memoirs of the Life of Charles Berns Wadstrom; by Helen Maria Williams</i>	322
<i>Life of Saussure, the Naturalist</i>	326
<i>Memoirs of the celebrated Astronomer, Le Monnier</i>	330
<i>Memoirs of the late Pope Pius VI.</i>	333
<i>Character and Manner of the Life of General Washington; from Weld's Travels</i>	344
<i>Sketch of the Life of the late William Seward, Esq.</i>	346
<i>Character of the Rev. Clayton Cracherode</i>	347
<i>Memoirs of Robert Merry, Esq.</i>	349
<i>Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Tucker</i>	350
<i>Anecdotes of the late Admiral Earl Howe</i>	354
<i>Anecdotes of the late Mr. Bacon</i>	359
<i>Anecdotes of James Burnett Lord Menboddie</i>	363

## N A T U R A L   H I S T O R Y.

<i>On a submarine Forest, on the eastern Coast of England, by Joseph Correa de Serra, L. L. D. F. R. S. and A. S. from the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society</i>	367
<i>Description of the mountainous Part of the Province of Taurida; from Mr. Tooke's View of the Russian Empire</i>	373
<i>Account of the Ice Fox; from the same</i>	374

## CONTENTS.

<i>An Account of the Pearl-Fishery in the Gulph of Maner, in March and April, 1797, by Henry J. Le Beck, Esq. from the Asiatic Researches,</i>	376
<i>Extract of a Journal to the Peak of Teneriff, by M. M. de Lamanon and Monges; from La Pérouse's Voyage round the World</i>	387
<i>Account of the Corbivæu, an African Bird, from Valliant's Natural History of the Birds of Africa</i>	389
<i>Description of a Volcanic Island, recently formed in the Vicinity of Iceland, by Captain Van Lowenhorn</i>	391

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

<i>List of Patents granted in the Year 1799</i>	395
<i>Experiments and Observations on various Kinds of Manure, by John Middleton, Esq. from the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce,</i>	402
<i>On preserving Seeds in a State fit for Vegetation, by John Sneyd, Esq. from the same</i>	404
<i>Description of an easy Method of cleaning and bleaching Prints of all Kinds, by G. Fabbroni; from Brugnatelli's Annali di Chimica</i>	405
<i>Description of a Liquor for discovering in Wines the Presence of such Metals as are injurious to Health, by Dr. Hachneman, from the Journal de Physique</i>	406
<i>On the Art of cleaning Woollen and other Cloths, by M. Chaptal, from the Bulletin des Sciences</i>	407
<i>Experiments and Observations on the glutinous Part of Wheat, by M. Tefier, from Memoires de l'Institut National</i>	409
<i>Experiments made with a View to ascertain the Truth and Importance of Dr. Hunter's Opinion, respecting the Food of Plants, by Major Thomas Vellay, from the Letters and Papers of the Bath and West of England Society,</i>	413

## ANTIQUITIES.

<i>Temple of Dendera, in Egypt, from Sestri's Travels</i>	419
<i>Singular Tenure of the Manor of Wichnar, from Stann's History of Staffordshire</i>	417
<i>Inquiry whether Herodotus was acquainted with the River Joliba, by Professor Heeren, of Göttingen</i>	418
<i>Preparations made by the French for invading England, in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century, from Biographiana</i>	424
<i>Account of the Theatre of Saguntum, translated from the Latin</i>	425

## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

<i>Of the Prose Style, introduced by Addison and his Contemporaries, from the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy</i>	434
<i>Propriety</i>	

## C O N T E N T S.

<i>Propriety in Females, from Mrs. More's Strictures on Female Education,</i>	436
<i>Female Sensibility, from the same</i>	437
<i>Miscellaneous Thoughts, by Montesquieu</i>	439
<i>Thoughts on Education, from Seward's Biographiana</i>	442
<i>Account of Elizabeth Woodcock, who remained buried in the Snow, without Food, for Eight Days</i>	446
<i>Defence of the City, in a Letter to the Editor</i>	448
<i>A Letter from the Pepper-box to the Salt-box</i>	449
<i>The Universality of Genius</i>	450

## POETRY.

<i>Ode for the New Year, 1799, by H. J. Pye, Esq.</i>	453
<i>Ode for the King's Birth-Day, by the same</i>	454
<i>Horace's Ode to Thaliarchus, translated by Miss Seward</i>	456
<i>A Peruvian King to his Son, by the same</i>	457
<i>Verses on his own Birth-Day, by C. J. Fox, Esq.</i>	ibid.
<i>A Negro Song; by the Dutchess of Devonshire</i>	ibid.
<i>Epilogue to the Play of Pizarro</i>	458
<i>Song in Pizarro, by R. B. Sheridan, Esq.</i>	460
<i>Pizarro, an excellent new Song</i>	ibid.
<i>Ode to the German Theatre, by the late Mr. Seward</i>	462
<i>Extract from Campbell's Pleasures of Hope</i>	463
<i>The Hopes of Love, from the same Poem</i>	465
<i>Apostrophe to the Poets of the Age, from the Anti-Jacobin</i>	466
<i>Simplicity; or the Curate, by Peter Pindar</i>	469
<i>Verses, written by Lord Hervey, during a Fit of Sickness</i>	470

## Account of Books for 1799.

<i>A Voyage round the World, in the Years 1785, 86, 87, and 88, by J. F. G. de la Pérouse, edited by M. L. A. Milet Murcau, translated from the French, 3 Vols. 8vo. with a Atlas. 1799.</i>	472
<i>Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa, performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 96, and 97, by Mungo Park, Surgeon; with an Appendix, containing Geographical Illustrations of Africa, by Major Rennel, 4to. 1799.</i>	489
<i>Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the Year 1792 to 1798, by W. G. Browne, 4to. 1799.</i>	498
<i>The Works of Sir William Jones, in 6 Vols. 4to. 1799.</i>	500
<i>Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia, Vol. 5, printed verbatim from the Calcutta Edition, 8vo. 507</i>	













